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COINS OF THE JEWS.

BY



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WITH 279 WOODCUTS AND A PLATE OF ALPHABETS.

*Num. natu
of 2*



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1881.

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PREFACE.

THE following work may be virtually considered a Second Edition of my "History of the Jewish Coinage and Money in the Old and New Testaments,"¹ embracing as it does nearly all the original matter contained in that volume, as well as the additional information printed in its "Supplement."² It is further enriched by the critical corrections gained from all papers on the subject that I have been able to obtain, so that the "History of the Coins of the Jews," from the earliest times to the destruction of Jerusalem and the building of *Ælia Capitolina* by order of the Emperor Hadrian, is brought up to the knowledge of the present day.

It is much to be regretted that no thorough representative collection of Jewish coins exists in England, though several private collectors, as Dr. Churchill Babington, the Rev. S. S. Lewis and Dr. John Evans, have in their cabinets many rare and valuable examples. The late Mr. Wigan's cabinet of Jewish coins was not acquired for the National Collection, but a hope may be expressed that the collection formed by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, which contains some of the more remarkable specimens of the Jewish Coinage, may eventually find a home at the British Museum.

Since the publication of my original work, the late M. de Saulcy has described and illustrated the interesting coins of the towns of Palestine in a handsome book, entitled, "*Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*."³ It was therefore unnecessary to include all these in the present volume, but it has been thought advisable to retain the "Imperial Colonial Coins of *Ælia Capitolina*," originally produced in my first edition, these having a more intimate relation with the "Coins of the Jews" than those of any of the other towns.

¹ Quaritch, London, 1864.

² In the "*Numismatic Chronicle*," n.s. 1874, vol. xiv. pp. 281-316; 1875, vol. xv. pp. 41-80, 101-139, 169-195, 298-333; 1876, vol. xvi. pp. 45-70, 81-132, 177-234.

³ Rothschild, Paris, 4to. 1874.

Great attention has been paid to the chronology of all periods, and an historical commentary has, where needful, been prefixed and interwoven with the purely Numismatic portion of the work.

A Chapter has been devoted to the question of ancient Jewish Palæography, which points out how the Shemitic Alphabets (especially the Jewish) were altered or modified during successive centuries.

The Appendices deal with the "Weights mentioned in the Bible," the "Money in the New Testament," the evidence of the Talmud "on the coins of the Revolts," and "on Counterfeit Jewish Coins," and conclude with a "list of works and papers in connexion with Jewish Numismatics published since 1849," which, it is hoped, will be of much service to the future student of Jewish coins.

The woodcuts in the work can be classified as follows:

From my "Jewish Coinage," drawn by the late Mr. F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A.	247
From the "Numismatic Chronicle," kindly lent by the Council of the Numismatic Society, fifteen of which were drawn by the late Mr. Fairholt, ¹ and all of which are distinguished by an asterisk (*)	20
Engraved through the liberality of the publishers especially for this work by Mr. R. B. Utting, and distinguished by the letter T.	11
Lent by Mr. John Murray	1
Making a total of	<u>279</u>

The Plate of Alphabets has been lithographed principally from my own drawings by Messrs. Vincent Brooks, Day and Son.

In concluding these prefatory remarks, I gladly embrace the opportunity of returning my warmest thanks to all those gentlemen who have rendered me so much valuable assistance, among whom may be specially mentioned my indefatigable friend MR. EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S., whose experienced suggestions have been of the greatest use; MR. H. A. GRUEBER, Assistant in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum; MR. BERNARD JACKSON, B.A., late Scholar of Downing College, Cambridge; the REV. CHURCHILL BABINGTON, D.D., Honorary Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; the REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of

¹ Those not by Mr. Fairholt are, (1) Shekel of the year 5; (2) Herod Philip II. No. 1; (3) Agrippa I. with Claudius; (4) Agrippa I. and Agrippa II.; and (5) Agrippa II. with Titus, No. 2.

Queen's College, Oxford, and Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology; the REV. S. S. LEWIS, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; MR. A. NEUBAUER, M.A., Sub-Librarian, Bodleian Library, Oxford; the REV. H. C. REICHARDT of Damascus; MR. W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.R.S., Secretary R.A.S.; and MR. G. A. BIENEMANN, Exhibitioner of Oriel College, Oxford.

It is also with much pleasure that I record my obligations to Messrs. Stephen Austin and Sons for the care bestowed upon the printing of the work, and for the able manner in which they have interpreted and seconded my efforts to make the volume worthy of the reputation of both the Publisher and the Printer.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

BRIGHTON COLLEGE, *July*, 1881.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 21, *note* 6. M. T. de La Couperie, a gentleman employed at the British Museum to arrange its collection of Chinese coins, has read a portion of the Chinese legend on the *iron* coin. He says, "The legend is in the writing *Li*, official in China from B.C. 215 to A.D. 300 . . . The characters indicate the value of the coin . . . The reading agrees with the weight of the period. I have a copper coin of the same time with a legend of the same kind but another weight. The iron is 222 grains, copper 171" (Mr. Thomas, MS. communication).

Pages 27, 28. In June, 1880, a Hebrew inscription was discovered by Mr. Schick, a German architect at Jerusalem, of which various detached notices have been given in our literary journals (Prof. Sayce, "The Athenæum," 12th March, 1881, p. 364; Mr. Neubauer, Colonel Warren, and Mr. Walter Besant, "The Athenæum," 19th March, 1881, p. 395; M. Halévy, "The Athenæum," 14th May, 1881, p. 656; cf. "The Athenæum," 18th June, 1881, p. 809). Prof. Sayce has fortunately succeeded in copying the greater portion of it, and has recently published the results of his investigations in a small pamphlet entitled, "The ancient Hebrew inscription discovered at the Pool of Siloam in Jerusalem" (Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881). The inscription is in six lines, and is of the purest Hebrew. Prof. Sayce points out that the *Vau*, the *Zain* and the *Tsadhe* are more archaic in shape than the corresponding letters on the Moabite stone. The form of *Vau* (X), though older than that of the Moabite alphabet, nevertheless resembles that of the early Hebrew gems, as well as of the Nimrud lion weights (8th cent. B.C.). The *Zain* was first identified by Mr. Neubauer, and like the *Tsadhe* presents a form from which the forms found on the Moabite stone and in later inscriptions are derived by dropping the loop, and in the case of the *Tsadhe* by yet further modifications (*Zain*, C; Moabite, I: *Tsadhe*, Q; Moabite, R). Twenty letters of the Hebrew alphabet out of the twenty-two occur in the inscription, those missing being the *Teth*, as on the Moabite stone, and the *Samech*. Prof. Sayce considers that palæographically the age of this new inscription is greater than that of the Moabite stone, and he is therefore inclined to assign it to the "age of Solomon, when great public works were being constructed at Jerusalem, more especially in the neighbourhood of the Tyropœon valley" (p. 7). Mr. Neubauer, however (p. 15), comparing Isaiah viii. 6, suggests that Ahaz made the conduit to increase the rapid flow of the waters of Siloam (cf. Rev. T. K. Cheyne, "The Academy," 16 July, 1881, p. 53), whilst Mr. M. W. Shapira ("The Athenæum," 16 July, 1881, p. 80) has read the name [U]zziah and attributes the inscription to the time of King Uzziah who built many towers and dug wells in the desert (2 Chron. xxvi. 9 and 10); but this reading is disputed by Mr. Neubauer ("The Athenæum," 23 July, 1881, p. 112).

Pages 36-38. The late Dean Milman ("Hist. of the Jews," 4th ed. 1866, vol. ii. p. 457) gives a representation of two Jewish inscriptions, from the work of Signore Visconti, taken from the newly-discovered catacomb at Rome (p. 455, *note*); but I have not been able to obtain any information about the work referred to. The inscriptions are in *Greek*, and have on them a representation of the seven-branched candlestick.

Page 41, Column 11. Gesenius, "Mon. Phœn." pl. xxviii. *read* "plates 4 and 28."

Page 41, Column 12. Gesenius, "Mon. Phœn." pl. xxx. (Turin) xxxi. and 32 (Blacas), *read* "plates 4, 30 (Turin), 31 and 32 (Blacas)."

Page 41, Column 13. Gesenius, "Mon. Phœn." pl. v. *read* "pl. 5."

Page 103, *note* 1. Reland, "De Spoliis Templi, 1710," *read* 1716.

Page 125. Another specimen of the coin of the "year 12" (L. 1B.) of Herod Philip II., formerly in the collection of Major de Rauch, and now in that of M. Hoffmann, was published by the late M. de Saulcy in 1879 ("Monnaie inédite de Philippe le Tétrarque," in the "Annuaire de la Soc. Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie," vol. i. p. 181), four years after the publication of the example given in my text (cf. "Num. Chron." N.S. 1875, vol. xv. p. 53). M. de Saulcy was unable to describe the obverse legend correctly on account of the bad preservation of the coin, but after careful examination he considered that it should be read CEBACTW KAICAPI, a reading confirmed by the previous known piece. The reverse gives the date L. 1B. (year 12) between the columns of the Temple and the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Τ. . . De Saulcy assigns its date to A.D. 7-8, but as I have shown in my text (p. 126; TABLE, p. 128), the "year 12" really coincides with A.D. 8-9.

Page 134, *note* 4. "Lett. Num. Cont." t. v. p. 103, No. 1, *read* t. vi.

Page 209. The Rev. S. S. Lewis has recently acquired a coin of Vespasian in *gold* similar to that described as of silver (No. 3); and the gold coin (No. 4) described from the "Cab. of Major de Rauch" is now in the collection of Mr. Lewis.

Page 228, line 2. "And did not send it away beyond the Euphrates, where *they* had been stationed before," *read* "where it had been stationed before."

COINS OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY USE OF SILVER AND GOLD AS A MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE AND COMMERCE AMONG THE HEBREWS BEFORE THE EXILE.

THE earliest mention in the Bible, after the Flood, of the use of the precious metals occurs in the history of Abraham, who came back from Egypt "very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold."¹ Though this passage does not imply anything more than 'bullion,' yet we soon find a notice of the use of silver as the *price* paid for a slave. "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money (שֶׁקֶל silver), must needs be circumcised."² The first actual transaction of commerce is the purchase by Abraham of the Cave of Machpelah. It is related that "Abraham weighed (שָׁקַל) to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current with the merchant (עֶבֶר לְפָחַר), LXX. δοκίμων ἐμπορίου)."³ Silver and gold as a medium of commerce, or of presents, or of tribute, may also be met with among the nations of the Philistines,⁴ the Midianites,⁵ the Phoenicians,⁶ the Egyptians,⁷ the Syrians,⁸ the Assyrians,⁹ and the Arabians.¹⁰ Abimelech, king of Gerar, is said to have given to Abraham "a thousand of silver."¹¹ The Lords of the Philistines persuaded Delilah to find out wherein the great strength of Samson lay, on the promise of "eleven hundred of silver,"¹² which money (שֶׁקֶל silver) she afterwards received.¹³ Abimelech, the son of Jerubbaal (Gideon), was enabled to form his conspiracy by hiring 'vain and light persons' with the three-score and ten of silver taken from the house of Baalberith;¹⁴ and the eleven hundred [*shekels*] of silver which Micah stole and then restored, two hundred of which were melted down to form a graven image,¹⁵ also prove the use of silver in its quasi-pecuniary character. The purchase of Joseph by the "Ishmeelites" (Midianites), who "came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt," and who paid for his purchase, "twenty of silver,"¹⁶ proves that silver was recognized as a medium of exchange from "Gilead

¹ Gen. xiii. 2; xxiv. 35.

² Gen. xvii. 13.

¹⁰ 1 Kings x. 10; 2 Chron. ix. 9.

¹¹ Gen. xx. 16.

³ Gen. xxiii. 16.

¹² Judges xvi. 5.

¹³ Judges xvi. 18.

⁴ Gen. xx. 16; Judges xvi. 5, 18; 1 Kings iv. 21; 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

¹⁴ Judges ix. 4.

¹⁵ Judges xvii. 2-4.

⁵ Gen. xxxvii. 28.

⁶ 1 Kings ix. 14, 28.

¹⁶ Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28. "Ils le vendirent pour un vil prix, pour les derhams comptés." Korân xii. 20.

⁷ 1 Kings x. 29; 2 Chron. i. 17; 2 Kings xxiii. 33; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3.

"Le prix était vil, à cause de l'excès d'alliage que contenait la monnaie, ou de son manque de poids. *Comptés*, c'est à dire peu nombreux. En effet, on avait l'habitude de peser les sommes qui atteignaient 1 once et de compter celles qui étaient au-dessous

⁸ 1 Kings xv. 19; 2 Chron. xvi. 3; 2 Kings v. 5, 23.

⁹ 2 Kings xviii. 14.

to Egypt"; from which country Solomon purchased chariots for "600 [*shekels*] of silver" each, and horses for "150" each.¹ By the laws of Moses, men and cattle,² the possessing houses and fields,³ provisions,⁴ and all fines for offences,⁵ were regulated by the standard of the current value of silver. The same may be said of the contribution to the Temple,⁶ the sacrifice of animals,⁷ the redemption of the first-born,⁸ and the payment to the seer.⁹

The tribute rendered by subject kings, though frequently designated by the terms 'gifts' or 'presents,'¹⁰ was really 'tribute silver'¹¹ or 'gold,' and was generally brought 'a rate year by year.'¹² Thus Solomon received yearly "six hundred three-score and six talents of gold,"¹³ an almost incredible amount if some estimates are correct, equalling a sum more than the revenues of the whole Persian Empire under Darius.¹⁴

The monuments of Egypt show the early use of the precious metals for tribute payment. The annals of Thothmes III. (*circa* B.C. 1591-1565) record that this king, in addition to slaves, corn, cattle, precious stones, copper, and iron and lead in bricks or bars of constant form and weight,—as was afterwards the custom together with copper among the Greeks, Romans, and Ancient Britons,¹⁵—received also as tribute regular amounts of 'gold and silver,' which are calculated according to a special Egyptian weight, the *Uten* or *Ten*, which is divided into ten *Kat*.¹⁶ The 'gold and silver' was also in solid

de ce poids" (H. Sauvaire, "Journ. Asiat." 1880, vol. xv. p. 229).

"And they sold him for a mean price, for a few pence" (Sale's Translation, ii. p. 37). Foot-note adds, "namely for 20 or 22 *dirhems*, and those not of full weight either; for having weighed one ounce of silver only, the remainder was paid by tale, which is the most unfair way of payment."

"Le *derham* . . . le nom d'une monnaie rond en argent. Il est notoire que l'adoption de sa forme arrondie eut lieu sous le Khalifat d'Omar. Antérieurement à ce Khalife, il avait à peu près la forme d'un noyau de datte et ne portait aucune inscription. . . . En somme, le *derham* est lexicologiquement le nom donné à une monnaie ronde en argent. Dans le langage de la jurisprudence, on l'applique, absolument parlant, au poids de cette monnaie. . . . Le *dirhām* suit cette analogie" (H. Sauvaire, *op. cit.* pp. 229, 230).

¹ 1 Kings x. 29; 2 Chron. i. 17. The Chronicler (2 Chron. ix. 28) adds that horses were brought to Solomon "out of all lands."

The 'chariot' probably includes horses, harness, etc. Six hundred silver shekels would equal about £80 (see APPENDIX A. Weights). In the reign of Marduk-idin-akhe (B.C. 1100), king of Babylon, "a chariot with its team of horses" sold for "100 weights of silver." Messrs. Oppert and Menant ("Records of the Past," vol. ix. p. 105) add in a note that "a weight of silver may be an *obolus*, the 360th part of a *mina*." The *mina* being equal to £9, the 360th part would be 6d., and the price of the "chariot and team" £2 10s.!! Can this be correct?

² Levit. xxvii. 3 *seq.*; Numb. iii. 45 *seq.*

³ Levit. xxvii. 14 *seq.* ⁴ Deut. ii. 6, 28; xiv. 26.

⁵ Exodus xxi.; xxii. ⁶ Exodus xxx. 13, 15; xxxviii. 26.

⁷ Levit. v. 15. ⁸ Numb. iii. 45 *seq.*; xviii. 15 *seq.*

⁹ 1 Sam. ix. 7 *seq.*

¹⁰ 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6; 1 Kings iv. 21; x. 25; 2 Kings xvii. 3, 4.

¹¹ 2 Chron. xvii. 11; cf. Herod. iii. 89.

¹² 1 Kings x. 25; 2 Chron. ix. 24. Tiglath-Pileser II.

organized the districts he had conquered into satrapies, each of which had to pay a fixed sum to the Assyrian treasury "every year." Separate cities also contributed, Nineveh 30 talents, Calah 9 talents, etc. (Prof. Sayce, "Babylonian Literature"—Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution—p. 62, Bagster & Sons, 1879; "Records of the Past," vol. xi. p. 139.)

¹³ 1 Kings x. 14; 2 Chron. ix. 13.

¹⁴ See APPENDIX A. Weights, *s.v.* Talent.

¹⁵ Mommsen, "La Monnaie Romaine," ed. Blacas, vol. i. pp. 173-175; Lenormant, "La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité," vol. i. pp. 216-219; Evans, "Ancient British Coins," p. 18.

¹⁶ Birch, "Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Literature," vol. ii. p. 100; "Records of the Past," vol. ii. pp. 17-58; De Rougé, "Rev. Arch." 1860, p. 297; Chabas, "Notes sur un poids Egyptien" in the "Rev. Arch." 1861; "Recherches sur les poids, mesures, et monnaies des anciens Egyptiens," Paris, 1876.

The earliest payments, purchases, and even salaries in ancient Egypt appear to have been made or paid in *Utens* of copper (Lenormant, "La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité," vol. i. p. 95), showing that at a very early date barter had been superseded, and a full system of sale and purchase established.

The '5 Kat' weight, weighing 697.8 grains, formerly in the possession



of Mr. Harris of Alexandria, who bought it at Thebes, is now in the British Museum ("Ninth Annual Report of the Warden of the Standards for 1874-75," p. 49). It is made of a dark greyish green stone, known as Serpentine of the Desert. Upon the top of it is

engraved a vertical band of hieroglyphs, which Mr. Edwin

bars,¹ lumps or bricks,² though generally in the form of 'rings,' to which I shall presently refer. About B.C. 609 Pharaoh-Nechoh, king of Egypt, deposed Jehoahaz, making Jehoiakim king in his stead, and put the land of Judah to a tribute of a "100 talents of silver and a talent of gold."³

Similar lumps or ingots were employed for payments in ASSYRIA, but *not* rings.⁴ Assur-nasir-pal, when invading Syria, in B.C. 870, received from different kings "4 manehs of silver, 10 manehs of silver, 20 talents of silver, gold, 100 talents of copper," and other articles of tribute.⁵ The inscription placed by Shalmaneser II. on the black obelisk now in the British Museum records, amongst other objects, the delivery of 'silver and gold,' and 'a tribute,' in B.C. 842, from Jehu, king of Israel.⁶ The records of Vulnirari III. (B.C. 810-781) show that tribute was exacted from Syria, the kings of which country had to pay "2300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3000 talents of copper, and 5000 talents of iron."⁷ Pul, king of Assyria,⁸ who has been identified with Tiglath-Pileser II.⁹ (B.C. 745-727), exacted of Menahem, king of Israel, "1000 talents of silver," which he raised by demanding "of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man 50 shekels of silver,"¹⁰ as he had not that resource in the Treasury of which the kings of Judah availed themselves on similar emergencies.¹¹ Tiglath-Pileser II. also took tribute from Azariah (Uzziah) and Jehoahaz (Ahaz), kings of Judah, and from Hoshea, king of Israel, whom he placed on the throne of Samaria, in B.C. 730, in the room of the murdered Pekah.¹² In B.C. 727 Shalmaneser IV. made Hoshea "render him tribute,"¹³ but Hoshea having entered into a conspiracy with So (Shebek, Sabaco), king of

Smith has read "belonging to the sun" ("Proceedings Soc. Ant." 2nd series, vol. i. p. 242). Upon the side of it is engraved the following legend:



Kat. v. of the treasure of On.

The employment of weights of stone was common to many nations of antiquity, and especially the Hebrews (Deut. xxv. 13; Prov. xi. 1; xvi. 11; Micah vi. 11, etc.). The Romans also made use of a kind of black stone called *Lydius lapis* (Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 8; cf. Chabas "Rev. Arch." 1861, p. 12).

¹ From the earliest times bars of gold and silver were in usual traffic in the East (Brandis, "Das Münz- Mass- und Gewichtswesen," Berlin, 1866, pp. 78, 138). This explains the mention of a 'wedge' or 'tongue' of gold (נִיבָה לְזָהָב; LXX. γλῶσσαν μίαν χρυσήν; Vulg. *regulam auream*, Josh. vii. 21, 24), weighing 50 shekels, as also the different payments mentioned in the Old Testament, which presuppose with certainty the currency of single pieces of metal according to weight. See pp. 8 and 14, and APPENDIX A. Weights, s.v. Talent.

² Corresponding to the classical *πλινθοὶ χρυσαὶ καὶ ἀργυραὶ* (Polyb. x. 27, 12) and *lateres argentei atque aurei* (Plin. xxxiii. 3, 17).

³ 2 Kings xxiii. 33; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3.

⁴ Lenormant, "La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité," vol. i. p. 112.

⁵ Rev. J. M. Rodwell, "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 71.

⁶ "Yahua son of Khumri" [Omri] (Dr. Hincks, "Dublin Univ. Mag." Oct. 1853; Prof. Rawlinson, "Anc. Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 105; Smith, "Assyrian Canon," p. 114; Prof. Sayce, "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 41). The bas-reliefs repre-

sent Shalmaneser II. receiving the tribute of five nations, among whom are the Israelites. Previously, in his 6th year (B.C. 854), the king had defeated Benhadad of Damascus, and Ahab, king of Israel, but does not appear to have taken tribute from them (Smith, "Assyrian Canon," p. 108; Sayce, "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 99). The mention of an Ahab (*Akhabbu*) in B.C. 854 in the inscription has occasioned much discussion, and the late G. Smith came to the conclusion ("Assyrian Canon," pp. 154, 189, 190, 198) that neither the "Ahab who assisted Benhadad," nor the "Jehu, son of Omri," are the "Ahab, king of Israel," or the "Jehu of the Bible;" but the identifications are now generally recognized (Schrader, "Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament," Gießen, 1872, pp. 97, 107; "Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung," 1878, pp. 366-371; cf. Prof. Rawlinson, "Bible Educator," vol. i. p. 127).

⁷ Smith, "Assyr. Canon," p. 115. ⁸ 2 Kings xv. 19, 20.

⁹ Schrader, "Die Keilinschriften und das A. T." pp. 121-133; "Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung," pp. 422-460; cf. Smith, "Assyrian Canon," pp. 76, 183. Prof. Rawlinson, however, does not hold this view, but considers that Pul, who is not mentioned in the inscriptions or the Canon, was a pretender to the Assyrian crown, and never acknowledged at Nineveh ("Anc. Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 123).

¹⁰ Josephus ("Antiq." ix. 11, 1) gives the sum raised as 'fifty drachms' per head (κατὰ κεφαλὴν δραχμὰς πενήκοντα), which is incorrect. Cf. Madden, "Supplement to Jew. Coinage" in "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. pp. 84, 85.

¹¹ 1 Kings xv. 18; 2 Kings xii. 18; xvi. 8; xviii. 16.

¹² Smith, "Assyr. Canon," pp. 117, 123; Rev. J. M. Rodwell, "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 43; Prof. Rawlinson, "Bible Educator," vol. i. p. 141. ¹³ 2 Kings xvii. 3.

Egypt, shortly after ceased to pay it, upon which Shalmaneser came up again, in B.C. 723, and besieged Samaria, which was eventually taken by his successor Sargon¹ in B.C. 721. Sennacherib, in B.C. 701, according to his own account,² received from the Jewish king Hezekiah "30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver," sums stated in the Bible as "300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold."³

In spite, however, of the absence of coined money⁴ and the constant payment of the precious metals by weight, trade transactions were carried on actively in Assyria. "In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.," writes Prof. Sayce,⁵ "Nineveh was a bustling centre of trade, and its merchants had connexions as far as India on the East, and possibly Tartessus on the West. The commerce of Tyre and Sidon had been ruined by the Assyrian kings, acting, perhaps, in the interests of the mercantile classes of Nineveh, like Edward III. in our own country; and the conquest of Carchemish, the Hittite capital,⁶ by Sargon, secured to Assyria the passage of the Euphrates and the high road from Mesopotamia to Palestine. Carchemish, now governed by an Assyrian satrap, became a meeting-place of the merchants of all nations, and the 'Maneh of Carchemish' was made the standard of weight.⁷ Houses and other property were sold or leased, and the carefulness with which the deeds of sale or lease were drawn up, the details into which they went, and

¹ "The King of Assyria," 2 Kings xvii. 6; Smith, "Assyr. Canon," p. 125; Oppert, "Records of the Past," vol. vii. p. 28.

² Sir H. Rawlinson, in Prof. Rawlinson's "Bampton Lectures," 1859, p. 141; Dr. Hincks, in Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 143; Smith, "Assyr. Canon," p. 135; Fox Talbot, "Records of the Past," vol. i. p. 39; Rev. J. M. Rodwell, "Records of the Past," vol. vii. p. 63.

³ 2 Kings xviii. 14. Various explanations have been given of this discrepancy (Prof. Rawlinson, "Bampton Lectures," 1859, p. 412; "Anc. Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 164; "Bible Educator," vol. i. p. 188; "Speaker's Commentary," vol. ii. p. 99; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 145; Vaux, "Nineveh and Persepolis," p. 498), but in all probability the opinion of Brandis is the correct one. He maintains (pp. 98, 101) that the two amounts are identical, or nearly so, for 800 Assyrian fiftieths of 5.61 grammes [86.6745 grains] yield 4488 grammes [69,339.6 grs.], while 300 Jewish silver shekels of 14.55 grammes [224.7975 grs.] yield 4365 grammes [67,439.25 grs.]. Multiplying in each case by 3000, the Assyrian talent will be 16830 grammes [260023.5 grains], and the Jewish talent 43650 grammes [674392.5 grs.]. These two talents multiplied by 800 and 300 respectively give the following totals:—

Assyrian . . . 13,464,000 grammes [208,018,800 grs.].

Jewish . . . 13,095,000 ,, [202,317,750 ,,].

Mr. Head is inclined to think (compare Brandis, pp. 100, 160) that the Assyrian silver talent was somewhat lighter, equalling 16350 grammes [252607.5 grs.], and having a siglos or 1/60th of 5.45 grammes [84.2025 grs.]. In this case 800 talents would equal 13,080,000 grammes [202,086,000 grs.], and would still more nearly agree with the Jewish amount.

⁴ "Payment might still be made in kind, but more ordinarily in bars of the three chief metals which were weighed, though mention of coined money also occurs" (Prof. Sayce, "Encyc. Brit." 9th ed. s.v. Babylonia, vol. iii. p. 192). As to the

"mention of coined money," Prof. Sayce writes to me, in reply to my query, that the phrase in question must have been misinterpreted by Assyrian scholars, as all the terms used of money transactions by the Assyrians imply weighed and *not* coined metal.

⁵ "Babylonian Literature," pp. 64-67.

⁶ Carchemish (2 Chron. xxxv. 20; Isa. x. 9; Jer. xli. 2) in Prof. Rawlinson's opinion is not to be identified with Circesium, but perhaps with the later city of Mabog or Hierapolis ("Anc. Mon." vol. ii. p. 67; vol. iii. p. 49). So also Rev. H. W. Phillott ("Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 247), and Prof. Lushington ("Records of the Past," vol. ii. p. 67). The contrary opinion is held by Prof. Sayce ("Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 88), and Prof. Oppert (vol. vii. p. 30), the former of whom has now adopted the late Mr. G. Smith's settlement of the site at the modern *Jerablús* ("The Academy," Sept. 16, 1876, p. 291; Nov. 4, 1876, p. 454; Aug. 16, 1879, p. 124). Schrader ("Keilschriften und Geschichtsforschung," 1878, pp. 222-225) has fully examined the question, and seems inclined to accept this latter identification.

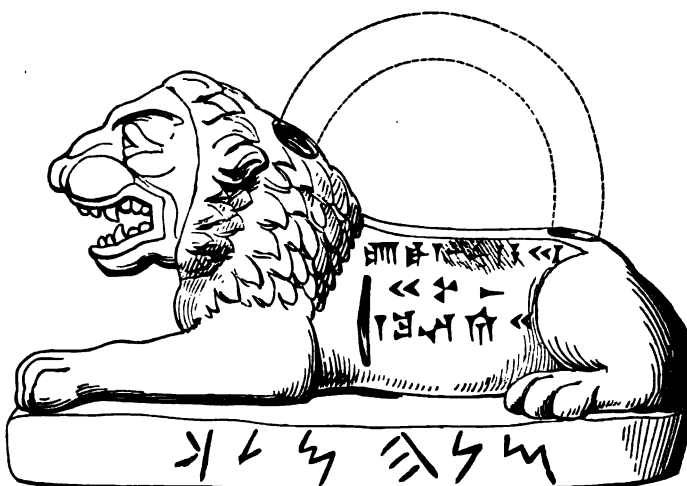
⁷ Mr. Head ("The Academy," No. 394, Nov. 22, 1879, p. 376) thinks that there is good reason to suppose that the "maneh of Carchemish" is identical with the Babylonian silver mina of about 8656 grains Troy = 561 grammes (Brandis, p. 100). It was the weight which the Hittites used in their commercial transactions with the peoples of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lydia, Phrygia, and the Troad, etc., and the name was given it in Assyria to distinguish it from the other heavier silver mina of about 11,225 grains used in Phoenicia. The shekel of the weight of Carchemish (173 grains) was superseded along the western coasts of Asia Minor, as well as in Thrace, by the shekel (224 grains) of the Phoenician mina of 11,225 grains, but in Cilicia and Cyprus it held its own against its rival down to the age of Alexander the Great.

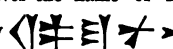
Besides the "maneh of Carchemish" (perhaps the מן עירן)

the number of attesting witnesses, might win the admiration even of a modern lawyer. The Aramaic of Northern Syria took its place as the *lingua franca* of trade and diplomacy; and the Assyrian contract-tablets are frequently accompanied by a docket in the Aramaic language and alphabet,¹ stating the chief contents of the documents and the names of the contracting parties. Some of the deeds are very curious. Thus we find an unfortunate girl sold by her father and brothers to Nitocris, an Egyptian lady, who wished to marry her to her son Tachos. The intended wife was only valued at about £2 8s.,² but marriage, it would seem, raised her price, as the contract could only be annulled by Nitocris, or her heirs, three of whom are named, by the payment of £90.³ Another tablet, dated the 16th of Sivan, or May, B.C. 692, and subscribed by seven witnesses, one of them apparently a Jew, named Zedekiah, records the sale of a house 'with its woodwork and doors, situated in the city of Nineveh, near the houses of Mannu-ci-akhi and Ilu-ittiya, and of the markets,' to an Egyptian astronomer, who paid one maneh of silver, or £9, for his purchase.⁴ The former owners of the house attached their nailmarks instead of seals to the deed, probably because they were too poor to possess seals of their own. The contract was signed in the presence of three judges. In another deed, dated the 20th of Ab, or July, B.C. 709, we have three Israelites,

known to the Phœnicians by the collective term "the cities" and to the Assyrians by the name of that particular Syrian city with which they were more immediately connected—Sir Henry Rawlinson, "Bilingual Readings," J.R.A.S. 1864, N.S. vol. i. p. 226, *note*), there seem to have been two other minæ in use—the "maneh of the king" (cf. "king's weight," מנה המלך 2 Sam. xiv. 26), and the "maneh of the great goddess of Nineveh and Arbela" (cf. the "shekel of the sanctuary," Exod. xxx. 13, etc.), both of these being native Assyrian weights (Rawlinson, *op. cit.* p. 219, *note* 52). As for the "weight of the country" (מנה ארץ Be zi arqd), which occurs on so many of the lion weights in the British Museum, Sir H. Rawlinson suggests (*op. cit.* pp. 219, *note*, 226, *note*) that the Phœnician word *arqd* may mean Assyria, and thinks that the Chaldean word מנה ארשא was not substituted for מנה ארשא (*earth*, Jer. x. 11) until long after the age of these inscriptions.

Some of these lion weights are attributed in my "Jewish Coinage" (pp. 259-264) to Asshur-izir-pal, B.C. 880 (Nos. 8 and 13), and to Shalmaneser II., B.C. 850 (Nos. 4, 5, and 9), but the reading of the name of Asshur-izir-pal on Nos. 8 and 13 has been corrected to Shalmaneser ("Ninth Report of the Warden of the Standards," 1874-75, pp. 45, 46), and as to the attribution to Shalmaneser II., Sir H. Rawlinson is of opinion (*op. cit.* p. 244, *note*) that "the lion weights are connected in a continuous chronological series, and that the Shalmaneser whose name they bear must be the king who intervened between Tiglath-Pileser II. and Sargon." The weights consequently bear the names of Tiglath-Pileser II. B.C. 745-727 (Nos. 6, 10), Shalmaneser IV. B.C. 727-722 (Nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 13), Sargon, B.C. 722-705 (No. 15), and Sennacherib, B.C. 705-681 (No. 12). No. 8 ["Jewish Coinage," p. 261] (Handle lost) on side of lion to left l; on side of lion to



right מנה 'one maneh'; on base of lion to left מנה המלך 'one maneh of the king'; on base of lion to right X. Cuneiform inscription, "Palace of Shalmaneser, king of multitudes, king of the country of Assyria, one maneh of the king." The woodcut (where marked with lines) gives the name of Asshur-natsir-pal, but the Cuneiform is really  Shalmaneser (Prof. Sayce, MS. communication). On No. 9 the reading should be סנב *Sinab*, or 'two-thirds of a maneh' (Rawlinson, *op. cit.* p. 207, *note* 39*).

¹ See CHAPTER III. "Writing."

² "16 drachmes of silver" (Prof. Oppert, "Rec. of the Past," vol. vii. p. 115).

³ "Ten mines of silver" (Oppert, *op. cit.* p. 116).

⁴ "One mina of the king, of silver" (Oppert, *op. cit.* p. 113).

as M. Oppert thinks, sold by a Phœnician for £27,¹ any retraction or annulment of the sale being subject to a penalty of £230 or thereabouts,² part of which was to go to the temple of Istar of Arbela. Some twenty years later we hear of the sale of seven slaves, among them an Israelite, Hoshea, and his two wives, for £27;³ the sixth witness to the sale, for some unknown reason, failed to appear and sign his name.⁴ . . . Besides these deeds of sale, we find other documents in which silver, iron, and various objects of metal are let out at interest, the borrower binding himself to pay interest upon them in the presence of several subscribing witnesses. In one case ten shekels of the best silver are lent at four per cent. on the 3rd of Sebat, or January, B.C. 650-640, lender, borrower, and judge affixing their seals, and an Aramaic docket accompanying the deed; in another case, the 11th of Sivan, B.C. 676, two talents of iron are lent at three per cent.; and in a third case, the 26th of Iyyar, B.C. 667, four manehs of silver (£36), at five shekels of silver per month interest."⁵

So too among the PHœNICIANS, the great merchants of antiquity, did the precious metals largely circulate.⁶ The paintings of Thothmes III. (*circa* B.C. 1591-1565) show the Phœnicians, called Kefa, bringing tribute of gold and silver in rings or bars. The tribute that Thothmes III. received from Syria, as recorded in the inscriptions of Karnak, prove that at this time the Syrians were highly civilized, and were engaged in active commerce with Babylonia;⁷ and it is certain that under Egyptian supremacy the Phœnicians must have largely developed the exchange of goods, metals, etc., between Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt, and secured in the process much of their own prosperity.⁸

At the time of David, friendly relations were established between the Phœnicians and the Hebrews,⁹ and Hiram, king of Tyre, supplied materials and men for the construction of David's palace,¹⁰ and for the erection of a temple.¹¹ The building of the temple was not, however, undertaken by David, but by Solomon, who still retained the friendship of Hiram;¹² and the latter, amongst other presents, furnished Solomon with gold to the amounts respectively of 120 and 420 talents.¹³

There is frequent mention in the annals and records of the Assyrian kings of 'tribute' of bars of silver, gold, and lead being exacted from the Phœnicians.¹⁴

¹ "3 mines of silver" (Oppert, *op. cit.* p. 114).

² "10 mines of silver, one mine of gold"—£140 with £90 silver, £230 (Oppert, *op. cit.* p. 114).

³ "3 manehs of silver" (Prof. Sayce, "Rec. of the Past," vol. i. p. 139).

⁴ Prof. Sayce, *op. cit.*

⁵ Prof. Sayce, *op. cit.* p. 138. The late Mr. G. Smith acquired "a collection of tablets, consisting of the cheques and deeds, of a great banking firm which flourished at Babylon from the reign of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, to the end of that of Darius Hystaspes," which "were found by some Arabs deposited in a number of earthenware jars which served the purpose of our modern 'safes'" (Prof. Sayce, "Babylonian Literature," p. 67).

⁶ "And Tyros did build herself a stronghold and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets" (Zech. ix. 3; cf. Ezek. xxvii.). The quantity of silver obtained by the Phœnicians at Tartessus was so great that they were

unable to carry it away, and they consequently made "silver anchors" in place of those that they had brought with them (Aristot. "De Mirab. Auscult." 147; cf. Diod. v. 35; Kenrick, "Phœnicia," p. 211; Max Duncker, "Hist. of Antiquity," trans. by Abbott, Bentley, 1877, 1879, vol. ii. pp. 85, 86).

⁷ Brandis, p. 93; Max Duncker, "Hist. of Antiq." vol. i. p. 304; vol. ii. pp. 69, 294.

⁸ Herod. i. 1.

⁹ 2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Kings v. 1.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Chron. xiv. 1.

¹¹ 1 Chron. xxii. 2; xxix. 1-9.

¹² 2 Sam. vii. 12, 13; 1 Kings v. 6; vii. 13; 1 Chron. xxii. 10; 2 Chron. ii. 3.

¹³ 1 Kings ix. 11, 14, 28; cf. x. 11; "450 talents," 2 Chron. viii. 18.

¹⁴ Smith, "Assyrian Canon" *passim*; "Records of the Past" *passim*; Max Duncker, "Hist. of Antiq." vol. ii. pp. 271, 308 *seq.*

We have thus seen that in Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia and Judæa, the metals 'gold and silver' were largely employed. At the same time *silver* 'by weight' was the more common medium of exchange among the Hebrews. Honesty in weighing was strictly enforced,¹ and it is probable that the Hebrews employed public weighers, as did the Egyptians,² to see that the weight was just. Yet though frequent mention is made in the Bible of the balance and of the weighing of money,³ it is not probable that the system was applied to *each individual lump or piece*, nor is it likely that it was employed in every transaction of business. In the second book of Kings⁴ it is recorded that the priest Jehoiada "took a chest,⁵ and bored a hole in the lid of it, and set it beside the altar," and "the priests that kept the door put therein all the money that was brought into the house of the Lord." When the chest was full, the king's scribe and the high-priest came and "told [ver. 11 *וַיִּסְמְנוּ* 'numbered'; ver. 12 *וַיִּשְׁתַּכְּנוּ* 'measured' or 'weighed out'] the money" and "put it up [Heb. 'bound up'] in bags,"⁶ perhaps afterwards weighing it in the bags.⁷



¹ "Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights [Heb. 'a stone and a stone'—*אֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן*], a great and a small; . . . thou shalt have a perfect and just weight" (Deut. xxv. 13, 15); "just balances, just weights" [Heb. 'stones'] (Levit. xix. 36); "a false balance is an abomination to the Lord" (Prov. xi. 1; cf. xvi. 11; xx. 10, 23; Ezek. xlv. 10; Amos viii. 5; Micah vi. 11, etc.).

² Lepeius, "Denkmäler," Abt. iii. lib. 39, No. 3. The Greeks and Romans had public weighers called respectively *συνδοραται* (Artemid. ii. 37) and *libripendes* (Plin. xxxiii. 3). The weights here represented have the form of a 'lion' and a 'bull.' 'Crouching antelopes' also occur (Wilkinson, "Pop. Acct. of Anc. Egyptians," vol. ii. p. 148). The Assyrian and Babylonian weights were also in the form of lions (see p. 5, note 7). Such too is the form of the bronze talent weight found at Abydos (engraved and published by Mr. F. Calvert in "Arch. Journal," 1860, Sept. pp. 199, 200; De Vogüé, "Rev. Arch." Jan. 1862, n.s. vol. v. pp. 30-39; Levy, "Jud. Münzen," p. 153; Poole, art. 'Weights' in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. iii. p. 1731; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 271-272; Brandis, p. 54) bearing an Aramaic inscription *אֲשֶׁר לְקַבֵּל סִתְרִיא* "approved" or "found correct on the part of the satrap appointed over the silver," or "money" ("Contrôlé en présence des conservateurs de l'argent," De Vogüé). The satrap mentioned is probably one of the "magistrates who had control of the weights and measures, as at Nineveh, also in the name of the great king"; and the silver mentioned is either "la denrée commerciale transportée par les vaisseaux Phéniciens," or "cette matière spécifique divisée en quantités déterminées pour les usages du commerce et les besoins du trésor public" (De Vogüé, *op. cit.*). The *Resh* on the back of the lion has not been satisfactorily explained. As to the words *וַיִּשְׁתַּכְּנוּ* and *וַיִּסְמְנוּ*, see Levy, "Jud. Münzen," p. 153 note and "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. pp. 423, 424, 498; vol. vi. p. 278; cf. Ezra v. 8; vi.

8, 12, 13; vii. 17, 21, 26; viii. 36; Esther iii. 12; viii. 9; ix. 3.

³ Gen. xxiii. 16; Exod. xxii. 17; 2 Sam. xviii. 12; 1 Kings xx. 39; Jer. xxxii. 9, 10, etc.

⁴ 2 Kings xii. 9, 10.

⁵ *אֲרֹן*; LXX. *κιβωτός*; Vulg. *gazophylacium*. Cf. 2 Chron. xxiv. 8, seq. LXX. *γλασσοκομον*; Vulg. *arca*. See APPENDIX B. x.

⁶ The A. V. reads "put up in bags and told the money," but the 'telling' may have preceded 'the placing in bags.' It has been proposed to alter the text. "For *וַיִּצְרוּ* 'and they bound up,' Houbigant would read *וַיִּצְקוּ* 'and they poured out,' while Ewald suggests *וַיִּשְׁתַּכְּנוּ* 'and they emptied,' which is the form used in 2 Chron. xxiv. 11" (Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 63). The Chronicler simply says 'and emptied the chest.'

⁷ The use of the 'bag' or 'purse' is of frequent occurrence in the O. T. (Gen. xlii. 35; 2 Kings xii. 10; Prov. i. 14; vii. 20; Isa. xlv. 6; cf. Job xiv. 17). Traders carried their weights in 'bags' (Deut. xxv. 13; Mic. vi. 11; Prov. xvi. 11). A talent of silver bound up in a bag and one change of garment was about as much as one man could carry (2 Kings v. 23), and it may be that sometimes weighing was avoided by the sealed bags containing a certain weight of silver (cf. Tobit ix. 5), and so long as the seal remained unbroken the 'bag' or 'purse' probably passed current for the amount marked thereon. This custom obtained partially also among the Egyptians at the time of Thothmes III. (circa B.C. 1591-1565), but the bags frequently contained "gold dust," ["which is mentioned by Job (xxviii. 6) as a well-known form of that metal; and this is confirmed by 'pure gold' being written over them" (Wilkinson, "Pop. Acct. of Anc. Egyptians," vol. i. p. 148; vol. ii. p. 149),] brought by the conquered nations tributary to the Egyptians, a form in which tribute appears to have been brought by Jehu and the Israelites as represented on the black obelisk of

In the large total of 603,550 half-shekels, accumulated by the contribution of each Israelite to the Tabernacle,¹ each *individual half-shekel* could hardly have been weighed. That there were occasionally lumps or pieces of ascertained denominations is evident from the *half-shekel*, which was to be paid as the atonement money, and from the command "the rich shall not give more and the poor shall not give less."² The *third part of the shekel* is mentioned in Persian times;³ and the *fourth part* seems to have been an actual piece, for it was *all the silver* that the servant of Saul had wherewith to pay the seer.⁴

Shalmaneser II., and in which it was also paid to Darius by the Indians (Herod. iii. 94, 95, 98, 102-105), and of which a considerable portion of the wealth of Croesus consisted (Herod. vi. 125).

In the Vedas, as discovered by Prof. Wilson and pointed out by Mr. Thomas ("Internat. Num. Orient." vol. i. part i. p. 33; cf. p. 25), mention is made of "ten purses" of gold, identified by Mr. Thomas with "the curious little red bags filled with crude gold to the amount of about sixteen shillings ["gold dust separated into *Phetangs* (covered money?), each tied up in a bit of cloth, is current as coin at eight Rupees the Phetang"—Trail, "As. Res." xvii. p. 24], which still figure in the Trans-Himalayan commerce with Northern India"; and the custom (several centuries B.C.) of employing bags with fixed and definite quantities in each may be gathered from a passage in the *Mahābhārata* (Wheeler's ed. p. 179, London, 1867)—"a thousand bags, each containing a thousand pieces of gold" (Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 38).

Thevenot, in his account of the "Money, Weights, etc., of Ispahan," when speaking of the *Abassis*, says ("Travels," part ii. p. 89) that there was "so great equality in their weight, that in great payments, they are weighed after this manner. They put five-and-twenty *Abassis* in one scale of the balance and as many in the other, and if the one weigh more or less than the other, they conclude for a certain that there are some false *Abassis* amongst them, and fail not to examine them; in which they are never out, for each scale ought most exactly to weigh alike. They then put the five-and-twenty of the one scale into the other, which by that means contains fifty, and that number makes the *Toman*, afterwards they count no more of the money, but only filling up the empty scale of the balance, until it weigh as much as the other wherein the *Toman* is counted, and when they find that both scales weigh not alike they examine the pieces."

The Institutes of Akbar (A.D. 1593) show that there were always "ready in the palace large sums in *dāms*, every thousand of which is kept in bags" (Gladwin, "Āfn-i-Akbari," i. 3; Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 33; "Pathān Kings of Dehli," p. 421).

M. Sauvaire records ("Journ. Asiat." 1880, vol. xv. p. 428) that a *badr* is a purse containing 10,000 *dirhams*, and that it is still the custom in Spain to count money in this manner. A 'talega' (purse)=1000 dollars (De Gayangos, "Hist. of the Moh. dyn." ii. p. 469, n. 16). The *badrah* is . . . a bag containing 1000 or 10,000 *dirhams* or 7000 *dīnārs* (Tādj el-'arūf, iii. p. 35). See page 1, note 16.

It is very probable that large gold coins, such as that of the Bactrian king Eukratides (B.C. 185), weighing 2593.5 grains (and being a twenty-stater piece), those issued by Akbar, and the large pieces in silver of the Persian monarchs, took the place of 'bags' or 'purses.' Mr. Thomas writes ("Pathāns," pp. 422-423): "It is curious that the Greeks should so early have adapted themselves to Eastern notions of bullion and ingots, although they reduced the crude lump of metal to the classic form in

which it now exists. This numismatic precedent introduces us appropriately to the massive medals of Akbar's mints. There was an idea abroad at one time that these *Sihansah coins* were merely occasional pieces, struck more for vanity sake than for real utility, but the number of specimens found ready prepared amid Akbar's reserved treasures, and the continuity of their issue by succeeding kings, seems to indicate that they were consistently designed to serve for the purposes of larger payments, such as our civilized age recognizes in one hundred pound notes, etc." Cf. Purchas, i. 217; Marsden, p. 641; No. DLVI; Prinsep, "J.A.S. Bengal," 1838, p. 415. Large pieces called *tankas* of gold and silver, ten and twenty times heavier than the current *mohur* and rupee, were ordered to be struck in A.D. 1617 by the Emperor Jahāngir, and bore the date of the succeeding year (Sir H. Elliot, "Hist. of India," vol. vi. pp. 354-355).

It may be that the *Pentecontalitra*, or decadrachms of Gelon I. (B.C. 485-478) and Dionysius (B.C. 406-367), commonly called "Syracusan medallions," and the large gold pieces of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids (called *μναια*, as equal to 100 drachms of silver), though undoubtedly *current coin* (Lenormant, "Hist. de la Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. i. p. 7; "Gazette des Beaux Arts," May, 1877, p. 437), answered the same purpose as a 'bag' containing 100 or other number of coins. In the later Roman empire large gold pieces were struck of size and weight totally unknown previously. Constantius II. (A.D. 323-337) issued pieces of 56 *solidi* (Cohen, "Méd. Imp." No. 21); Valens (A.D. 364-378) pieces of 15, 40, 48 and 90 *solidi* (Cohen, Nos. 1, 6, 8, 10). The gold medallion of Justinian I. (A.D. 527-565) weighs 36 *solidi*, or half a pound (Pinder and Friedländer, "Die Münzen Justinians," pl. ii.; Sabatier, "Mon. Byz." vol. i. p. 176). Gregory of Tours ("Hist. Francorum," vi. 2) mentions having seen gold coins of a pound weight (72 *solidi*), sent by Tiberius II. (A.D. 578-582) to Chilperic. Most of these pieces have the legend GLORIA ROMANORVM. They are clearly *not* coins but veritable *medallions* (cf. Lenormant, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 10-14). There remains to be mentioned the large silver medallion of Priscus Attalus (A.D. 409-416) in the British Museum, weighing 1202.5 grains (H. A. Grueber, "Rom. Medallions in Brit. Mus." 1874, p. 101), though of low weight, as it should weigh 1260 grains; it was probably issued as a quarter of a pound of silver (Dr. Finlay, "Greece under the Romans," 2nd ed. p. 534, note).

¹ Exod. xxxviii. 26.

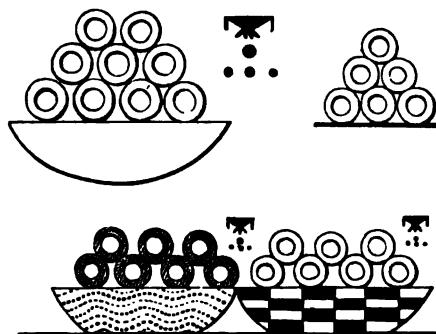
² Exod. xxx. 13, 15.

³ Neh. x. 32.

⁴ 1 Sam. ix. 8, 9. "When in Sam. ix. 8 we are told, as something not at all uncommon, that the servant who accompanied Saul had a quarter-shekel in his pocket, this shows that the traffic in such pieces of silver was very widely spread" (Brandis, p. 78, note 5). See p. 3, note 1.

There is no positive mention of the use of *gold money* among the Hebrews, though gold, as we have seen, constituted part of the wealth of Abraham, if we exclude the "600 shekels of gold by weight" paid by David for the threshing-floor and oxen of Ornan,¹ and the "6000 of gold" taken by Naaman on his journey to the king of Israel.² As to the first statement, the parallel passage reads "fifty shekels of silver";³ and for the second, as the word 'shekels' occurs in many other passages in the Hebrew, and as the Authorized Version has also supplied 'shekels' in others of a similar kind,⁴ and as a weight is no doubt intended, the word understood in this case would also probably be 'shekels' in preference to 'pieces.' Nor can the passages, "They lavish *gold* out of the bag and weigh silver in the balance,"⁵ or "Wisdom . . . cannot be gotten for *gold*, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof,"⁶ be brought forward in favour of gold money;⁷ and gold was generally employed for personal ornaments⁸ and for objects in connexion with the Temple.⁹

It is, however, probable that a system of "jewel-currency" or "ring-money" was in use. The case of Rebekah, to whom the servant of Abraham gave "a golden earring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten [shekels] weight,"¹⁰ proves that the ancient Hebrews made their jewels of a specific weight so as to know the value of these ornaments in employing them in lieu of money. That the Egyptians kept their bullion in jewels or rings is evident from their monuments, where they are represented weighing rings of gold and silver,¹¹ and is further illustrated by the fact of the Israelites having at their exodus from Egypt borrowed "jewels of silver and jewels of gold"¹²—and spoiled the



¹ 1 Chron. xxi. 25.

² 2 Kings v. 5.

³ 2 Sam. xxiv. 24.

⁴ See Note at end of this chapter.

⁵ Is. xlv. 6.

⁶ Job. xxviii. 15.

⁷ Shakspeare ("Measure for Measure," act ii. scene 2, Isabella *log.*) is therefore mistaken in speaking of "shekels of the tested gold."

⁸ Gen. xxiv. 22; xli. 42; Judges viii. 26; cf. 1 Kings x. 16, 17, 21; 2 Chron. ix. 15, 16, 20.

⁹ Num. vii. 14, 20, etc.; 1 Kings vii. 48 *seq.*; 2 Chron. iii. 9. The gold unit is only mentioned once in O. T.—"the gold of the offering . . . 730 shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary" (Exod. xxxviii. 24).

¹⁰ Gen. xxiv. 22. See p. 10, note 8.

¹¹ See woodcut on p. 7. The woodcut of the rings is from Wilkinson's "Pop. Acct. of the Anc. Egyptians," vol. ii. p. 149. The hieroglyphics signify "gold" and "white gold," viz. "silver." These rings remind us of the Hebrew expression for the heaviest unit in weight—the talent קֶמֶח , which originally signified 'a circle' (cf. $\phi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\upsilon\upsilon$, Böckh, "Metrolog." p. 51). The Leyden Museum possesses a collection of gold rings found in Egypt, which certainly must have served as a medium of exchange, and not as jewels (Brandis, p. 82). Gold rings were also

in use as a means of exchange in Britain (Dickinson, "Num. Chron." o.s. vol. xiv. p. 64), in Ireland (Hoare, N.C. o.s. vol. xvii. p. 62), and among the Norwegian sea-kings (Dickinson, N.C. o.s. vol. viii. p. 208); also in Interior Africa (Dickinson, N.C. o.s. vol. vi. p. 201; cf. viii. p. 215; xi. p. 161; xvi. p. 168); in Arabia and India ("silver rings" Dickinson, N.C. o.s. vol. viii. p. 217), and in China (copper and iron), where the money "consisted simply of round discs of metal with a hole in the centre" (Williams, N.C. o.s. vol. xvi. p. 44). Mr. Vaux's opinion that the existence of rings as a medium of exchange similar to money is altogether imaginary (N.C. o.s. vol. xvi. p. 128) cannot be accepted (cf. Dickinson, N.C. o.s. vol. xvi. p. 150).

¹² $\text{כֶּלִי כֶסֶף וְכֶלִי זָהָב}$. Exod. xii. 35; cf. Exod. iii. 22; xi. 2. The word כֶּלִי *Keli*, rendered "jewels" in A. V., may also be found in Gen. xxiv. 53; Numbers xxxi. 50; 1 Sam. vi. 8, 15; 2 Chron. xx. 25; xxxii. 27; Job. xxviii. 17, and Ezek. xvi. 17. The LXX. translate by $\sigmaκε\tau\eta$ and the Vulg. by *vasa* (except in Numbers, where simply *auri* is put). That "vessels" are probably intended by the word "jewels" seems likely from the employment of the word "vessels" for

Egyptians.”¹ So, too, it would appear that the money used by the children of Jacob when they went to purchase corn in Egypt was an “annular currency.”² Their money is described as “bundles of money” (צִירֹת כֶּסֶף; LXX. δεσμοὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου; Vulg. *ligatæ pecuniæ*), and when returned to them was found to be “of [full] weight.”³ It was therefore of a form capable of being tied up, which receives corroboration from the passage in Deuteronomy,⁴ where directions are given as to the payment of the tithes to the sanctuary—“then shalt thou turn it into money and *bind up* the money in thine hand, and shalt go unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose.” The account of the sale of Joseph by his brethren to the Midianites affords another instance of the employment of jewel ornaments as a medium of exchange,⁵ as we gather from accounts of the spoiling of the Midianites that they carried the whole of their wealth in the forms of jewels, chains, bracelets, rings, earrings and tablets.⁶ Hence the “wedge” or “tongue” of gold of 50 shekels weight, found by Achan at Jericho.⁷ A still more positive statement as to “rings of gold” is made in the case of Job, whose friends when visiting him each gave him, in addition to a “piece of money” (קֶשֶׁטֶף), an “earring of gold” (נֶזֶם זָהָב);⁸ LXX. τετραδάραχμον χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀσήμου; Vulg. *inaurem auream unam*).⁹ Now, had these earrings of gold not been intended as representing money, all the friends of the patriarch would not have given him the same article, and that in connexion with a piece of silver, and it seems evident that Job must have employed his gifts in purchasing cattle almost immediately, as we read that he soon became possessed of thousands of animals.

כֶּלִי (LXX. σκεῦη; Vulg. *vasa*) in other passages of the A. V., Josh. vi. 24 (σκεῦη omitted); 2 Sam. viii. 10; 1 Kings x. 25; Ezra i. 7, 11; viii. 27; Is. lii. 11; and moreover there is a special treatise or *Massicot* (מַסִּיקוֹת) on *kelim* (כֶּלִים) relating to the purity and impurity of vessels, furniture, etc., in the 6th book of the Talmud, entitled *Seder taharoth* (סֵדֶר טְהָרֹת). The phrase “furnish thyself to go into captivity” (Jer. xli. 19), is rendered in the Hebrew “make thee instruments of captivity” or “vessels of wandering” (כֶּלִי נִלְוָה; LXX. [xxvi. 19] σκεῦη ἀποικισμοῦ; Vulg. *vasa transmigrationis*). In other places the A. V. translates by “stuff” (Gen. xxxi. 37; xlv. 20), by “furniture” (Exod. xxxix. 33; both, LXX. σκεῦη; Vulg. *suppellex*), and by “sacks” (Gen. xlii. 25; LXX. ἀγχιῶν [vessels]; Vulg. *saccos*), though in this last-quoted passage two other words occur for “sacks,” שָׂק (vv. 25, 27, 35) and אֶתְחַבֵּר (v. 27), and the latter is employed in the continuation of the same story (Gen. xliii. 18, 21, 22).

Mr. Conder (“Bible Educator,” vol. iii. p. 178) supposes from the fact of the weight of the gold (16,760 shekels, or, as he writes, 17,000 *aurei*) taken from the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 52), and from the dedication by David of the “vessels of gold, of silver, and of brass” to God (2 Sam. viii. 10, 11)—it being illegal to dedicate any vessels not specially made for the service of God—and from the absence of any reference to money, that the word *keli* means *coin*. Moreover, that if “vessels” had been intended, it would have been written in the plural, *kelim*.

But the vessels might have been *melted down* and then dedicated with the “other silver and gold that David dedicated

of all nations which he had subdued,” as we know was done in the time of Darius.

Besides the references given above (to six only of which Mr. Conder alludes, *i.e.* Gen. xxiv. 53, xlii. 25; Exod. xii. 35, xxxix. 33; Num. xxxi. 50; 2 Sam. viii. 10), Mr. Conder quotes a “cognate word” מְקִלּוֹת זָהָב (2 Chron. iv. 21, LXX. τὰ χρυσῆα χρυσίου καθαρῶ; Vulg. *de auro mundissimo*) rendered in A. V. “perfect gold.”

¹ Exod. xii. 36.

² Gen. xlii. 35; cf. צִירֹת הַכֶּסֶף Prov. vii. 20; A. V. ‘a bag of money.’

³ Gen. xliii. 21.

⁴ Deut. xiv. 24-26.

⁵ Gen. xxxvii. 28.

⁶ Numbers xxxi. 50, 51; Judges viii. 26.

⁷ Josh. vii. 21. See p. 3, note 1, and APPENDIX A. “Weights,” *s.v.* Talent.

⁸ נֶזֶם signifies “a ring.” Though translated “earrings” in Gen. xxiv. 22, it is expressly designated as “an earring for the face” in verse 47 of the same chapter, and nose-rings are evidently intended in Prov. xi. 22; Is. iii. 21; Ezek. xvi. 12. In this latter passage the “earring” עָגִיל (cf. Num. xxxi. 50) is separately alluded to. The *nezem*, however, signifies an earring proper in Gen. xxxv. 4, and may or may not have this signification in Judg. viii. 24, 25, 26, and Prov. xxv. 12, though in Judg. viii. 26 the word נְזָמִים, rendered in A. V. “collars,” would also seem to mean “ear-drops or pendants” (Kitto, “Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.” ed. Alexander, *s.v.* Collar).

⁹ Job. xlii. 11.

Some other terms occur in the O. T. which have been thought to signify 'money.'

The first is the *Kesitah* (קֶשֶׁתָּה). This word occurs three times in the Old Testament:

(1) in the record of the purchase by Jacob of a field at Shalem (LXX. *ἐκατὸν ἀμνῶν*; Vulg. *centum agnis*; A. V. "piece of money");¹ (2) the same purchase again mentioned (LXX. *ἀμνάδων ἐκατὸν*; Vulg. *centum novellis ovibus*; A. V. "piece of silver");² and (3) as the name of the piece of money given to Job by his friends when visiting him at the end of his trial (LXX. *ἀμνάδα μίαν*; Vulg. *ovem unam*; A. V. "piece of money").³

From the translation by the LXX. of "lambs," it has by many been assumed that the *Kesitah* was a coin bearing the impression of a lamb or a sheep. Such a view has been put forward in a paper in Danish on the "Kesita," by Frid. Munter,⁴ and more recently by Mr. James Yates in the "Proceedings of the Numismatic Society" for 1837-1838.⁵ The coins, however, that are quoted as examples of the *Kesitah* belong probably to Cyprus, and were not struck till after B.C. 450.⁶

Dr. Grotefend⁷ considers the *Kesitah* to have been "merely a piece of silver of undetermined size, just as the most ancient shekel was nothing more than a piece of rough silver without any image or device."

The confusion in the text of the LXX. and Vulg. may perhaps in some degree be accounted for from the fact that in Gen. xxxi. 7, 41, the words עֶשְׂרֵת מְנִים (A. V. "ten times"; Vulg. *decem vicibus*, מְנֵה more usually standing for a weight) have been translated by the LXX. *δέκα ἀμνῶν*, which looks as if the scribe had made a mistake for *μνῶν*.⁸ The real meaning, however, of *Kesitah* seems to be "a portion," and it is probably connected with the Arabic word كَسَطَ⁹ "he or it divided equally";¹⁰ at the same time "the sanction of the LXX., and the use of weights having the forms of lions, bulls, and geese, by the Egyptians, Assyrians, and probably Persians, must make us hesitate before we abandon a rendering so singularly confirmed by the relation of the Latin *pecunia* and *pecus*."¹¹

The second is the term *Agorat Keseph* (אֲגוֹרַת כֶּסֶף; LXX. *ὁβολός ἀργυρίου*; Vulg. *nummus argenteus*; A. V. "a piece of silver").¹²

The אֲגוֹרָה, so called from אָגַר, "to collect," may be the same as the גֶּרָה (*Gerah*). Both are translated in the LXX. *ὁβολός*.

The third is the expression *Ratsee Keseph* (רַצִּי כֶסֶף; LXX. *ἀργύριον*; Vulg. *argentum*; A. V. "piece of silver").¹³

¹ Gen. xxxiii. 19.

² Josh. xxiv. 32.

³ Job xlii. 11.

⁴ Copenhagen, 1824.

⁵ P. 141.

⁶ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 6.

⁷ "Num. Chron." o.s. vol. ii. p. 248.

⁸ Hussey, "Weights and Money," p. 194, note; Rev. E. Venables, Kitto, "Bibl. Cyc." ed. Alexander, s.v. *Kesitah*.

⁹ Root كَسَطَ. 1. a justo deflexit, iniquus. 2. separavit.

3. justitiam exaravit. 4. v distribuerunt rem aequaliter inter sese. viii distribuit. Hence كَسَطَ *Kusfar*, "Numularius," aliis "mercator"—Freytag.

¹⁰ Comp. קָשַׁת (unused root) 'to divide equally.' From a comparison of the passages Gen. xxxiii. 19 and xxxiii. 16 relating to the purchase and price of land, it has been supposed (Gesenius, "Lex." ed. Tregelles, s.v. קֶשֶׁתָּה) that the *Kesitah* was heavier than the shekel, and that it contained four shekels.

¹¹ R. S. Poole, Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Money; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 7; cf. Wilkinson, "Pop. Acct. of Anc. Egyptians," vol. ii. p. 151; Hussey, "Weights and Money," p. 194; Lepsius, "Denkmäler," Abth. iii. Bl. 39, No. 3, etc.

¹² 1 Sam. ii. 36.

¹³ Ps. lxxviii. 30. Heb. 31; LXX. lxxvii. 30; Vulg. 31.

The word קֶרֶן , from קָרַע , "to break in pieces," must mean "a fragment" or "piece of silver" broken off.

In neither of the two latter cases can the passages imply "a coin."

A curious passage is that in Ezekiel xvi. 36. The Hebrew text has $\text{עַן הַשֶּׁפֶךְ הַנִּשְׁתַּחֲשֵׁהוּ}$, translated by the LXX. *'Ανθ' ὃν ἐξέχεας τὸν χαλκὸν σου*, and by the Vulg. *quia effusum est aes tuum*. Gesenius¹ understands the word נִשְׁתַּחֲשֵׁהוּ to here represent *brass money*; but this is a very improbable interpretation, as brass or copper was the latest metal introduced into Greece for money.

On this question the Rev. Dr. Lindsay Alexander writes:²—"Gesenius understands by it [נִשְׁתַּחֲשֵׁהוּ] *money*, like the Latin *aes*, but there is no evidence that the Hebrews used copper money, and besides it seems to give a feeble turn to the passage to understand the word so here. Hävernicks thinks the allusion is to the gifts which the harlot had bestowed (ver. 33) having become worthless; they were of silver or gold, but they should be poured out as base copper; an interpretation which seems somewhat fanciful and far-fetched. Fürst understands by it the *pudenda muliebria*, and supposes the meaning of 'Thy shame shall be poured forth' to be the same as that of $\text{תִּשְׁפַּךְ תִּנְנוֹתַי}$ in ver. 15, viz. Thy whoredoms shall be profuse, and without restraint. He arrives at this, however, by making נִשְׁתַּחֲשֵׁהוּ mean bottom or lower part (for which Ezek. xxiv. 11, to which he refers, gives no authority), and so the lower part of the trunk, the *pudenda*. This is quite gratuitous, and not less so is it to make the words 'Thy shame was poured forth' mean, Thy whoredom was carried on. May not *Nechoaheth* be used here simply as a designation of what is worthless, and the meaning be that her worthless favours were profusely bestowed?"

This suggestion seems to be very probable, more especially as the expression "they are all brass and iron" ($\text{נְחֹשֶׁת וּבְרֹזֶל}$) in Jer. vi. 28 (cf. Ezek. xxii. 18) is used to signify "anything vile like base metal."

There is another passage (Ezra viii. 27; cf. 1 Esdras viii. 57), where mention is made of "fine copper precious as gold" (Heb. "yellow or shining" מִצְהָב ; LXX. *σκεύη χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος ἀγαθοῦ διάφορα ἐπιθυμητὰ ἐν χρυσῷ*; Vulg. *vasa æris fulgentis optimi duo, pulchra ut aurum*). Perhaps the copper here alluded to is like the "bright brass" recorded in 1 Kings vii. 45 (נְחֹשֶׁת מְרִירָה ; LXX. *χαλκᾶ*; Vulg. *aurichalcum*), and in Dan. x. 6 (נְחֹשֶׁת קָלִיל ; LXX. *χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος*; Vulg. *aes candens*; cf. Ezek. i. 7; LXX. *ἐξαστράπτων χαλκός*). It is referred to by Josephus,³ who speaks of the "vessels of brass" weighed out by Ezra to the priests as "more precious than gold" (*χαλκᾶ σκεύη χρυσοῦ κρείττονα*), a term he also employs for the "brazen vessels" made by Solomon for the Temple⁴ (*χαλκὸς ὃν τοῦ χρυσοῦ κρείττονα ἔλεγον*).

It will be noticed that the Vulgate has translated the term in 1 Kings vii. 45 by

¹ "Lex." ed. Tregelles, s.v. נִשְׁתַּחֲשֵׁהוּ .

² Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. *Nechoaheth*.

³ "Antiq." xi. 5, 2.

⁴ Joseph. "Antiq." vii. 5, 3.

In the time of Julius Cæsar two new coins were struck of "yellow brass," called *sestertius* and *dupondius*.¹⁰ From the golden colour of the metal doubtless arose the orthography

⁶ "Ubiqueque quinta argenti portio est, *electrum* vocatur."—Plin. "Nat. Hist." lib. xxxiii. cap. 4. Isidorus ("Orig." xvi. 24) gives the proportion as *three* parts of gold and *one* of silver. The analyses made by the Duc de Luynes ("Rev. Num." 1856, p. 89) do not confirm these proportions. The earliest passage of any Greek writer in which the word *ηλεκτρον* is used as a metal is in the "Antigone" of Sophocles (1038), where τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων ἡλεκτρον . . . καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν χρυσὸν are placed in apposition, the former evidently referring to the "pale gold" of the Pactolus, of which the coins of Cyzicus, Phocæa, and other neighbouring states were probably made. Certain coins of Syracuse seem to have been made of a metal of about four-fifths gold and one-fifth silver (Mommson, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas, vol. i. pp. 286, 287; B. V. Head, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1874, vol. xiv. p. 26), and the gold coins of the Bosphorus after A.D. 200 appear to have been composed of a mixture of gold and silver (Mommson, vol. iii. pp. 25, 294). But *money of electrum* is nowhere

¹⁰ See APPENDIX B. VI.

"aurichalcum." The true derivation would seem to be from ὄρος and χαλκός, namely, *mountain-bronze*.¹

A fine brass (χαλκολλιβανον) is mentioned in Revelation (i. 15; ii. 18). The Vulgate renders both passages by *aurichalcum*. This Gesenius² would explain by χαλκὸν λιπαρόν = לֶשֶׁן מֶלֶךְ. Other explanations have been offered.³

From the statements given above, it seems evident, firstly, that if the Hebrews became learned in "all the wisdom of the Egyptians,"⁴ they did not, in any case, learn from them the use of money; and secondly, that nowhere in the Pentateuch is there any mention of *coined* money. Nor do the passages in Joshua, Judges, and Job add to our knowledge on this subject. It is true that a "piece of silver" (אֶגְרָה) is mentioned at the time of Samuel,⁵ but it can only be considered as expressive of some small denomination, and does not imply a *coin*. The reigns of David and Solomon were an era of prosperity for Judæa; "silver was in Jerusalem as stones, it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon;"⁶ still it is certain that there were no *real coins*, namely, pieces struck under an authority, before the Exile. It is, on the other hand, most probable that the Hebrews employed pieces of a definite weight, either in ingots or rings,⁷ and this being the case, it is remarkable that none of the many excavations in Palestine have ever brought to light an example. I must, however, observe that when the pieces of silver were collected for the treasury, they were melted down before re-issue.⁸ It is recorded⁹ that Shaphan the scribe came to King

¹ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 299, 300. Bochart observes that in his time the French called "brass" *archal* by corruption from the Latin *aurichalcum*, and at the present time they still designate "brass-wire" *fil d'archal*. For an analysis of this metal see Pinkerton, "Essay on Medals," vol. i. p. 106; Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas, vol. iii. p. 38, note.

² "Lex." ed. Tregelles, s.v. לֶשֶׁן מֶלֶךְ.

³ Smith, "Dict. of Bible," s.v. Brass and Copper; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 17, note 4.

⁴ Acts vii. 22; cf. 1 Kings iv. 30.

⁵ 1 Sam. ii. 36.

⁶ 1 Kings x. 21, 27; 2 Chron. ix. 20, 27. In 2 Chron. i. 16, the words "and gold" are added.

⁷ "A fixed weight to single pieces so as to adjust their value as money. . . . Without this acceptation many of the biblical passages (especially Gen. xxiii. 16; cf. 2 Kings xii. 5) would be difficult to rightly understand; indeed, they not only presuppose pieces of metal of a definite weight, but also, that they had been at once recognized at such, whether in the unwrought form or through certain characters inscribed on the pieces" (Dr. Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," pp. 9, 10).—"From many passages of Scripture . . . we conceive that in these olden times silver money must have been already long in use, if not coined; yet in weighed pieces of certain standard" (Soetbeer, "Das Gold in der Gegenwart," Heft 144, p. 535; cf. Movers, "Phoenix," iii. 1, 33; Brandis, p. 78, note 5). See pp. 3 and 8.

⁸ Mr. Fox Talbot ("Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit." vol. vii.)

attempted to show from his examination and interpretation of the cylinder of Sargon (s.c. 722), which is preserved in the British Museum, that this king coined silver and gold money. The word *kaship* he translated "money" from כֶּשֶׁת *kashet*, "to compute or to account," from the same root as כֶּסֶף *kaspa*, "silver," and the word *rikkatî* "coins or pieces of stamped money" from רָקַע "to strike metal with a hammer so as to spread it out," hence the substantive רִיקְעִי for *lamina* of metal. But this theory was disputed by the late Mr. Dickinson ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 123), especially on the ground that if coined money had existed in Assyria at this period, it would also have existed in Judæa; and it is well known that neither in Assyria, Egypt, or Judæa has any coined money of this date been found, nor even pieces of silver graduated to weights. Moreover, Sir H. C. Rawlinson ("J.R.A.S." 1864, n.s. vol. i. p. 208), who examined the same inscription, though allowing that *kaspa* meant "silver," compared the Cuneiform word *riggatî* not with רָקַע but with the Chaldee רִגְגַּת, which was probably in its origin an ingot of metal used instead of money, translated in Prov. xvi. 11 "just weight," and interpreted the words *riggatî la rusi* as "in solid bullion," though he admitted that the passage was difficult. As to the words *kaspa va sipar*, "silver and copper," it is uncertain whether they refer to the weight of the metal given to the proprietors for their lands, or to the material of the tablets on which the title-deeds were written (cf. "Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 291).

⁹ 2 Kings xxii. 9; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 17.

Josiah and said, "Thy servants have gathered (הָיִינוּ);¹ LXX. ἐχώμευσαν; Vulg. *conflaverunt*) the money that was found in the house, and have delivered it into the hand of them that do the work, that have oversight of the house of the Lord." The same plan was followed by Darius (B.C. 521-485), who melted the gold and silver into earthen vessels, which, when full, were broken off, leaving the metal in a mass. When any was wanted, a piece was broken off as necessity required.²

NOTE.

The general expression for *silver* and *money* in the Old Testament is כֶּסֶף *keseph*, translated by the LXX. ἀργύριον, and by the Vulgate *argentum*, but sometimes *pecunia* (Gen. xiii. 2; xvii. 13; xxiv. 35; Exod. xxi.; xxii. *passim*; *pecunia*, Deut. ii. 6; xiv. 26; xxiii. 19, etc.; cf. עֶבֶר כֶּסֶף, "money of every one that passeth [the account]," 2 Kings xii. 4; עֶבֶר לְפֹחֵר, "current with the merchant," Gen. xxiii. 16; LXX. δοκίμου ἐμποροῖς; Vulg. *probata moneta publica*).

In one passage (Isaiah vii. 23) the word *silverlings* is employed in the Authorized Version as the translation of כֶּסֶף, rendered by the LXX. σίκλος, and by the Vulg. *argenteus* (sc. *siclus*).³

The word "shekel" (שֶׁקֶל) occurs in the Hebrew and in the Authorized Version in the following passages:⁴—Gen. xxiii. 15, 16; Exod. xxi. 32; xxx. 13, 15; xxxviii. 24-26 (ver. 24 gold shekels); Lev. v. 15; xxvii. 3-7, 16; Num. iii. 47, 50; vii. 13, 19, 25, 31, 37, 43, 49, 55, 61, 67, 73, 79, 85, 86; xviii. 16; Josh. vii. 21; 1 Sam. ix. 8; xvii. 5, 7 (brass and iron shekels); 2 Sam. xiv. 26; xxi. 16 (brass shekels); xxiv. 24; 2 Kings vii. 1; xv. 20; 1 Chron. xxi. 25 (gold shekels); 2 Chron. iii. 9 (gold shekels); Neh. v. 15; x. 32; Jer. xxxii. 9; Ezek. iv. 10; xlv. 12; Amos viii. 5.

It is supplied in the A. V. in connexion with "silver" in Deut. xxii. 19, 29; Judg. xvii. 2-4, 10; 2 Sam. xviii. 11, 12; 1 Kings x. 29; 2 Chron. i. 17; and in connexion with "gold" in Gen. xxiv. 22; Num. vii. 14, 20, 26, 32, 38, 44, 50, 56, 62, 68, 74, 80, 86; Judg. viii. 26; 1 Kings x. 16; 2 Chron. ix. 15, 16.

¹ Margin A. V. "melted" or "poured out"; so LXX. and Vulgate. The same word is employed in Ezek. xxii. 20, 21, in the sense of "melting" metals (Gesenius, "Lex." ed. Tregelles, s.v. הָיִינוּ).

² Herod. iii. 96. Alexander, after the battle of Arbela (B.C. 331), found at Susa 50,000 talents (say £11,500,000), of which the greatest portion was in uncoined gold and silver, the remainder in Darics (Curt. v. 2, 11; Diodor. xvii. 66; Arrian, iii. 16, 19), and at Persepolis 120,000 talents (say £27,600,000) of gold and silver (Curt. v. 6, 9; Diodor. xvii. 71). In modern times the Persians converted the gold and silver into bars, so as to remove them if required (Janbert, "Voy. en Arménie et en Perse," p. 272, Paris, 1821; Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. xi. p. 493; vol. xii. p. 4).

³ Mr. Aldis Wright, in his edition of the "Bible Word-book" which was commenced by the Rev. J. Eastwood (Macmillan, 1866), says, "The Hebrew word is used for a shekel, like the G. [German] *silberling*. *Silverling* occurs in Tyndale's version of Acts xix. 19, and in Coverdale's of Judg. ix. 4, xvi. 5. The German *silberling* is found in Luther's version." The Rev. E. Venables ("Bible Educator," vol. iv. p. 210) adds "that the same word is used in Cranmer and Tyndale for the money stolen by Micah from his mother (Judg. xvii. 2, 3), 'The leuen hundredth *sylyerlynges*.'"

⁴ For a more extended account of these passages see my 'Supplement to Hist. of Jew. Coinage' in "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. pp. 82-88.

The word "pieces" has been supplied in the A.V. for a word understood in the Hebrew. The rendering is always "a thousand," or the like, "of silver" (Gen. xx. 16; xxxvii. 28; xlv. 22;¹ Judg. ix. 4; xvi. 5; 2 Kings vi. 25; Song of Solomon viii. 11; Hosea iii. 2; Zech. xi. 12, 13). In similar passages, the word "shekels" occurs in the Hebrew, and there is no doubt that this is the word understood in all these cases. The same word is supplied in connexion with "gold" in only one passage (2 Kings v. 5). In several other passages of a similar kind in connexion with gold, the A.V. supplies the word "shekels"; and as a similar expression is found in connexion with silver, and as there is not much doubt that a weight is intended, the word understood in this passage also would probably be "shekels."

The word שֶׁקֶל is generally translated by the LXX. δίδραχμον or σίκλος, sometimes στάθμουν, and by the Vulg. generally *sichus*, but sometimes *stater*, and the term "didrachm" was probably adopted as the common name of the coin which was equal in weight to the shekel.

The various divisions of the shekel:—

Bekah, or half a shekel (בֶּקֶעַ, Gen. xxiv. 22; LXX. δραχμή; Vulg. *duo sichi*; Exod. xxxviii. 26; LXX. (xxxix. 2) δραχμὴ μίᾳ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ σίκλου. In Exod. xxx. 13, 15, the expression is מִחֲצִית הַשֶּׁקֶל; LXX. ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου; Vulg. *dimidium sichi*).

Rebah, or quarter shekel (רִבְעֶה, 1 Sam. ix. 8; LXX. τέταρτον σίκλου ἀργυρίου; Vulg. *quarta pars stateris argenti*).

Gerah, or twentieth part of the shekel (גֵּרָה, Exod. xxx. 13; Levit. xxvii. 25; Num. iii. 47; xviii. 16; Ezek. xlv. 12; LXX. ὀβολός; Vulg. *obolus*).

Third part of the shekel (שְׁלִישִׁית הַשֶּׁקֶל, Neh. x. 32—Heb. 33; LXX. τρίτον τοῦ διδράχμου; Vulg. *tertia pars sichi*).

Three kinds of shekels appear to be mentioned:—(1) the shekel; (2) the shekel of the sanctuary (שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ); and (3) the shekel of the king's weight (אֵבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ). The "shekel of the sanctuary" or "holy shekel," a term generally applied to the silver shekel, but once to the gold (Exod. xxxviii. 24), was probably the normal weight, and was kept in the Temple. The "shekel of the king's weight" (2 Sam. xiv. 26) was connected with the Assyrio-Babylonian maneh of the king as marked on the monuments from Nineveh, and which in Palestine, as well as in Nineveh, was considered as established weight (Brandis, pp. 102, 103). The Phœnician Asia Minor or fifteen-stater standard was in use in early times in Syria and Palestine, and the Jewish shekels were struck after this standard. [See APPENDIX A. Weights.]

¹ In Gen. xxxvii. 28 and xlv. 22 the LXX. has χρυσός instead of δίδραχμον, ἀργύριον or ἄργυρος. The reason for the employment of this word in these passages cannot be explained.

CHAPTER II.

THE INVENTION OF COINED MONEY.—THE MATERIALS EMPLOYED FOR MONEY.

THE title to the invention of coined money¹ is a question which has been often discussed. In the countries where we should have expected to have found the earliest coins, not a single specimen has been discovered. Egyptian money, as stated in the previous chapter,² was probably composed of rings of gold and silver, and Egypt never had a coinage³ till it was introduced when the country was conquered by the Persians⁴ and afterwards by the Greeks. In Assyria and Babylonia clay tablets only, commemorating grants of money *specified by weight*, have been found in considerable numbers; and in Phœnicia, a country most likely to have produced a coinage, no stamped pieces of an antiquity earlier than the Persian rule have hitherto come to light.⁵

Before the introduction of coined money into Greece⁶ by Pheidon, king of Argos, there was a currency of ὀβελοσκοί, 'spits' or 'skewers,' six of which were considered a handful (δραχμή). Colonel Leake⁷ thought that they were pyramidal pieces of *silver*,⁸ but it seems more probable that they were long nails or bars of *iron* or *copper*, capable of being used as spits in the Homeric fashion. This is likely from the fact that six of them made a handful, which implies that they were of a considerable size.⁹

¹ The terms employed by the Greeks for "money" are ἀργύριον, χρήματα, and νόμισμα. It was called ἀργύριον from ἄργυρος silver, and this latter word was itself sometimes used to signify "money" (Soph. "Antig." 295). All words connected with "money" were derived from ἄργυρος and not from χρυσός, as καταργυρῶ "to bribe with money," ἀργυραμοιβαί "money-changers," ἀργυροκοπιστήρ or ἀργυροκόπος "a coiner" (argentiarius; A. V. "silversmith," Acts xix. 24; ἀργυροκόπος ἀργυροκομεῖ; conflavit conflator; A. V. "founder," Jer. vi. 29; cf. Judges xvii. 4); ἀργυροθήκη "a money-chest"; ἀργυρονόμος, ἀργυροπράτης or ἀργυροπώλης "a money-dealer," etc. (see Liddell and Scott; Lenormant, "La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité," vol. i. pp. 73, 174). [See APPENDIX B. ix.—*Money-changers*.] There is, however, one example of the employment of χρυσός in Æschylus, δ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἄρης σωμάτων ("Agam." 436, see Hussey, "Weights and Money," chap. v. sect. 2; and Rawlinson's Herod. vol. i. "App."), but with apparent allusion to weight (καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορός, ver. 437). Χρήματα signifies all that is needful for the employments of life, especially property, money (cf. Pindar "Isthm." B. v. 17). Νόμισμα from νόμος, anything recognized by established law, hence *current coin* (cf. Demosth. "contra Timocrat." ed. Didot, p. 367; Aristoph. "Nub." 247). [See CHAPTER VI. sect. F.] The word KOMMA occurs on coins of Seuthes I. king of the Thracian Odrysæ, B.C. 424, and is used by Aristophanes ("Ran." 726) to express "the striking of money," hence that which is struck—a coin; ΞΕΥΘΑ KOMMA "the money of Seuthes." On another coin of Seuthes there is the legend ΞΕΥΘΑ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ "the money of Seuthes" (Dr. Birch, "Num. Chron." o.s. vol. xi. p. 151). In Dion Cassius (liv. 26) the triumviri monetales are called οἱ τὸ τοῦ νομίσματος κόμμα μεταχειριζόμενοι.

² See CHAPTER I., p. 9 and woodcut.

³ Sir G. Wilkinson says that the papyri state that the Egyptians had unstamped copper money called "pieces of brass," which, like the gold and silver, was taken by weight even in the time of the Ptolemies ("Pop. Acct. of Anc. Egyptians," vol. ii. p. 150). ⁴ Herod. iv. 166.

⁵ Rawlinson, Herod. vol. i. "App." pp. 710, 711, 3rd ed. 1875.

⁶ Coined money is not found in the time of Homer, but traffic was carried on by barter, chiefly with oxen. "The arms of Diomed are worth nine oxen, those of Glaucos are worth a hundred ("Il." vi. 236). The tripod, which was the first prize for wrestlers in the Twenty-third Iliad, was valued at twelve oxen; the woman captive, skilled in works of industry, at four ("Il." xxiii. 702-705). . . When Eurycleia was brought to Ithaca, she was purchased by Laertes for twenty oxen ("Od." i. 431), or for the value of them" (Gladstone, "Juventus Mundi," p. 534). Sometimes by means of masses of unwrought iron ("Il." xxiii. 826), or by quantities of silver and gold, especially of gold ("Il." ix. 122, 279; xix. 247; xviii. 507; xxiii. 269; "Od." iv. 129; viii. 393; ix. 202, etc.), which latter metal, mentioned in the expression τάλαντον χρυσοῦ, may have been the only one measured by weight.

⁷ "Num. Chron." o.s. vol. xvii. p. 203; "Num. Hell. App." p. 1.

⁸ The pyramidal lumps of metal (copper) issued at Agrigentum, having for type, a crab, eagle, etc., and on their bases .:., .:, and .. are suggested to be "Coin-weights (?)" representing the Tetras, Trias, and Hexas ("Cat. of Greek Coins in British Museum, Sicily," pp. 23, 24).

⁹ Rawlinson, Herod. vol. i. "App." p. 715.

There are two accounts relative to the invention of coined money,¹ the one that it was first struck in Ægina, the other that its organization was due to the Lydians. The former opinion was maintained by a distinguished numismatist, the late Col. Leake.² The principal authority appealed to is that of the Parian marble. This states 'Αφ' οὗ Φ . . . δὼν ὁ 'Αργεῖος . . . ἀνεσκεύασε καὶ νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐποίησεν, ἐνδέκατος δὲν ἀφ' 'Ηρακλέους.³ But the text of this chronicle only declares that Pheidon stamped silver coins, not that he was the first who did so; and that he struck them in Ægina, but it is not said that this was not also done elsewhere or at an earlier date, nor does it determine that the Æginetans had not coined money before Pheidon.⁴ Ephorus expressly states that Pheidon employed the Æginetans to strike money for him,⁵ and the inference is that the people of Argos were at this time ignorant of the method of stamping money, and that the Æginetans had made some progress in the art.⁶ This supposition has been shown to be highly probable by Mr. Borrell, who attributes a coin on which are two dolphins, and on the reverse an incuse square, to Pheidon king of Argos; while the known Æginetan coins, marked with a turtle or a tortoise (and hence called *χελώναι*), are clearly from their style of an earlier date. The weight, and the general form and fabric of the coins seem also to favour this conclusion. The reason of the adoption of this device of two dolphins for coins of Pheidon is unknown, but Mr. Borrell has ingeniously, but not conclusively, conjectured that "it would neither suit the Æginetæ to impress the coins they fabricated for Pheidon with the private mark or symbol of their own people, nor for Pheidon to have permitted it."⁷

The other account is derived from the authority of Herodotus, who says, "they (the Lydians) were the first nation to introduce the use of gold and silver coin,"⁸ a statement confirmed by

¹ It is perhaps hardly necessary to allude to the supposed earliest Chinese coins (?) called *pu* coins, made to represent a fork (?), and *tao* coins, representing a knife, and said to have been made B.C. 2218! (Dickinson, "Num. Chron." N.S. 1862, vol. ii. p. 213). They must be included in the age of bullion currency, for as "the Egyptian and Arabian bought with the gold or silver cup which he used, or the ring and bracelet which he wore, what commodity he wanted, the Chinese did the same with his copper knife, fork, and spoon" (Dickinson, *op. cit.*).

² "Numismata Hellenica, Appendix"; "Num. Chron." O.S. vol. xvii. p. 202 *seq.*

³ "Frag. Hist. Græc." vol. i. ed. Didot, p. 546.

⁴ The date of Pheidon according to the marble is B.C. 895, which when reduced to the dates of Eratosthenes will give B.C. 869 (Clinton, F. H. vol. i. p. 247). The testimonies of Ephorus (ap. Strabo, viii. p. 358) and Pausanias (vi. 22, 2) establish that the Olympiad which Pheidon celebrated (which according to Pausanias was the 8th) was omitted in the Elean register, and as no Olympiads were registered before that of Coroebus, it is manifest that this 8th Olympiad was B.C. 748 (Clinton, *l.c.*). The account of Plutarch ("Amat. Narrat." 2) makes the beginning of his reign 47 or 48 years before the foundation of Syracuse, B.C. 734. Böckh ("Ad. Corp. Inscr. Græc." No. 2374), Müller ("Æginetica," p. 63), and Clinton (*l.c.*) place him between B.C. 783 and B.C. 744; Grote ("Hist. of Greece," vol. ii. p. 315, ed. 1869) between B.C. 770 and B.C. 730, and Rawlinson (Herod. vol. i. "App." p. 711) about B.C. 750.

If any of these dates were correct, Pheidon would of course be anterior to Gyges, king of Lydia. Weissenborn ("Beit. zur Griech. Alterthumskunde," p. 18, Jena, 1844) vindicates the emendation of Pausanias proposed by some former critics, altering the "8th Olympiad" of Pausanias into the "twenty-eighth," thus showing that Pheidon cannot have flourished earlier than B.C. 600 (cf. Herod. vi. 127, ed. Rawlinson), but his arguments are not considered by Grote ("Hist. of Greece," vol. ii. p. 315, *note*) to be "very forcible, and certainly not to justify so grave an alteration in the number of Pausanias." Curtius ("Griech. Geschichte," vol. i. pp. 206-209) adopts the proposal of Weissenborn, to which also Lenormant ("La Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. i. p. 129) has given some prominence. In this case Pheidon would be posterior to Gyges. Head ("Num. Chron." N.S. 1875, vol. xv. p. 252; "Internat. Num. Orient." vol. i. part iii. p. 7) supposes that Pheidon "some time before the middle of the 7th century instituted a mint in the island of Ægina."

Herodotus (vi. 127, ed. Rawlinson) only says that Pheidon established weights and measures throughout the Peloponnese.

⁵ "Εφωρος δ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἀργυροῦν πρῶτον κοινῆναι φησιν ἐπὶ Φεῖδωνος. Ephorus ap. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 619, ed. Falconer, Oxford, 1837.

⁶ Καὶ πρῶτοι (Αἰγινῆται) νόμισμα ἐκόσμησαν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλήθη νόμισμα Αἰγιναίων. Ælian. "Var. Hist." xii. 10.

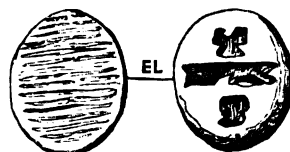
⁷ "Num. Chron." O.S. vol. vi. p. 42 *seq.*

⁸ Πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοσμήσαντο. Herod. i. 94.

Xenophanes of Colophon.¹ History is certainly in favour of a Lydian origin, which has been successfully argued by Prof. Rawlinson, in a short essay on the respective claims of the Lydians and Greeks;² and "since it is now universally admitted that Pheidon introduced his scale of weights and measures (known as the Eginetan) *from Asia*,³ it is at least not unlikely that he may have been beholden to the Asiatics for his other innovation. On the whole, then, it may be said that authority and probability are alike in favour of a Lydian rather than a Grecian origin of the invention."⁴ In order, however, to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, it is necessary to examine the coins of these respective countries that have been preserved to us.

It has been well observed by M. Lenormant,⁵ that taking either the *electrum* of Lydia, or the silver of Ægina, it is difficult to decide at first between them, which is the most ancient, yet on careful examination the lumps or ingots—for the early coins of Lydia are little more—seem to represent the transition between the ancient form of metallic circulation and 'money proper'; whilst the coins of Ægina, though more irregular in form, are really more truly *money*, since "to the hollow stamp of the reverse is opposed the type in relief produced by the coin-die, yet unknown at the time of the fabrication of the *electrum* of Gyges."

The earliest coins of Lydia are of *electrum*, and were issued during the reigns of Gyges and Ardys (B.C. 700–637). They were of two kinds—one for commerce with Babylon by land, weighing 168·4 grains; the other for dealings with the Ionian coast towns, weighing 224 grains. They "bear no type—the obverse being plain, and the reverse marked with three deep incuse depressions, the one in the centre oblong and the others square—together with certain similar smaller coins which appear to represent the $\frac{1}{2}$, the $\frac{1}{4}$, the $\frac{1}{8}$, and the $\frac{1}{16}$ parts of the larger of the two staters."⁶ The stater here represented is a specimen of the former, and was probably issued at Sardes.



WEIGHT.
166·8

OBVERSE.
Plain (*typus fasciatus*).

REVERSE.

Three incuse depressions, that in the centre oblong, the others square, within the central oblong a fox ??? running to left.

(Brit. Mus.—Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 12; Head, "Internat. Num. Orient." vol. i. part iii. pl. i. No. 1.; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. pl. vii. No. 1.)

¹ Pollux, ix. 83; cf. Eustathius ad Dionys. Periget. v. 840.

² Rawlinson, Herodotus, vol. i. "App." p. 709 *seq.*

³ The weight adopted by Pheidon "appears to be only a degradation of the Phœnician silver standard, the maximum weight of the earliest Æginetic staters being as high as 212 grains, though the average weight is not more than 190 grains" (Head, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 252; "Internat. Num. Orient." vol. i. part iii. p. 7). Lenormant ("La Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. i. p. 130) seems however to disagree with the idea that the coinage of Ægina can be taken back to a derivation from the

system of a Babylonian weight, and to consider it a standard completely national and *sui juris*, but as the proof of his assertion is to appear in his "sixth book," not yet out, it is impossible to say how far his views may be correct.

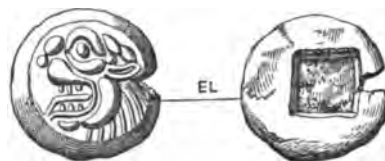
⁴ Rawlinson, Herod. vol. i. "App." p. 712.

⁵ "Hist. de la Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. i. pp. 132-134.

⁶ Head, "The Coinage of Lydia and Persia," in the "Internat. Num. Orient." vol. i. part iii. p. 11; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 256.

⁷ The supposed fox on the reverse, which on other specimens

The next period extends from the accession of Sadyattes in B.C. 637, to that of Crœsus in B.C. 568. About B.C. 600 the issue of pale *electrum* ceases, and staters of comparatively pure gold, weighing 248 grains, were issued at Sardes by Alyattes on what has been called the Phocaic standard.¹

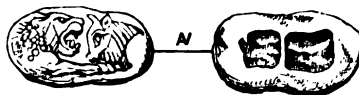


WEIGHT.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
248	Head of lion to left with open mouth and tongue protruding.	Incuse square.

(Brit. Mus.—Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 12; Head, "Internat. Num. Orient." vol. i. part iii. pl. i. No. 7; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. pl. x. No. 8.)

On the accession of Crœsus (B.C. 568), "the coinage of *electrum* was entirely abolished, and in its place a double currency in pure gold and in silver was issued," partly on the Babylonian and partly on the Euboic standard.²

The specimen here represented is a stater of the Euboic standard and was the prototype of the Darics.



WEIGHT.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
125	Fore-parts of lion and bull facing each other.	Oblong incuse, divided into two parts.

(Brit. Mus.—Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 12; Head, "Internat. Num. Orient." vol. i. part iii. pl. i. No. 10; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. pl. x. No. 1.)

This coin was issued at Sardes, and the lion and bull facing represent the Arms of that city.³

As to Ægina, it has been recently demonstrated⁴ that this island, about the year B.C. 680 (previous to the time of Pheidon), issued pieces of *electrum*, of which the stater weighing 207 grains, the $\frac{1}{4}$, and $\frac{1}{8}$, have been preserved to us. These were struck on the Milesian

perhaps takes a more definite form, has been recognized by M. Lenormant ("Mon. Roy. de la Lydie," Paris, 1876) to be a symbol of the Lydian Dionysus, whose name *Bassareus* (cf. Hor. "Odes," i. 18, 11) is perhaps connected with the word *βαρράρα* or *βαρράρις*, a fox. But the reviewer of M. Lenormant's above-quoted work states ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1877, vol. xvii. p. 77) that as regards this particular coin "M. Lenormant has improved into the semblance of a fox what is merely the rough unworked surface of the metal within the incuse depression."

¹ Head, *opp. cit.* The attribution of this coin to Miletus (Brandis, p. 394), and its supposed great antiquity, it having been considered by Burgon to be the oldest of all Greek coins, has been satisfactorily opposed by Mr. Head; nor was Phocæa

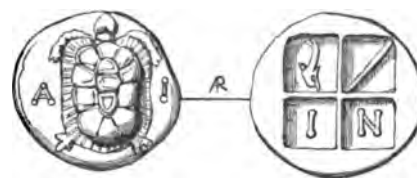
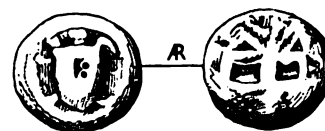
the place where *money originated* (Prof. Curtius, trans. by Mr. Head, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1870, vol. x. p. 110).

² Head, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 257; "Internat. Num. Orient." vol. i. part iii. p. 21.

³ Crœsus sent the image of a golden lion to the temple at Delphi (Herod. i. 50; cf. 84), and the lion was sacred to Cybele, the "mother of the gods," who was worshipped at Sardes, and who is generally represented as accompanied or drawn in her chariot by lions (Soph. "Philoct." 391-402; Virg. "Æn." iii. 111-113). Borrell says ("Num. Chron." o.s. vol. ii. p. 216) that all of these coins that have been discovered have been found within a radius of thirty miles from Sardes.

⁴ Head, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 269.

standard, slightly reduced, and were followed by the *first Greek silver coins* based on the same standard, introduced by Pheidon about B.C. 669 (?). These pieces bear on the obverse either a land or sea tortoise—the emblem of the Phœnician goddess of the sea and of trade¹—and the earliest have on the reverse a rude incuse stamp. Gradually the rude stamp gives place to an indented square, divided into four compartments by raised lines, one quarter being again divided by a diagonal line so as to form five compartments,² and shortly after the letters ΑΙΓ or ΑΙΓΙ for ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΩΝ are introduced into the upper part of the square, and a figure of a dolphin generally into one of the lower parts. On the specimen here given the ΑΙ is on the obverse, and the ΙΝ [ΓΙΝ and reading enigmatically—boustrophedon fashion—ΤΗΝ?] on the reverse.



It may then be fairly assumed that the first idea of *impress* and the invention of an *actual coin* should be assigned to Lydia, while the honour of perfecting the coin by adding a *reverse design* may be given to the Æginetans.³

The three metals employed by the Greeks and Romans for the fabrication of their coinage were, as at the present day, gold, silver, and copper. Other metals and materials are said, however, to have been sometimes used. *Iron* is mentioned as having been employed for money by the Lacedæmonians and Byzantines,⁴ but in all probability this money consisted of nails or bars of iron.⁵ Notwithstanding the perishable nature of this metal, an *iron coin*, attributed to the Bactrian king Hermæus (B.C. 138–120), has been preserved to us.⁶ A *nickel* coinage was

¹ Head, *op. cit.*

² There are usually only five compartments on the reverses of the Æginetan coins, but in the sale catalogue of the coins of Mr. Henry Pershouse, lot 58, a reverse of *eight* divisions is mentioned (Dickinson, "Num. Chron." N.S. 1862, vol. ii. p. 127, note).

³ Cf. Dickinson, *op. cit.*

⁴ Pollux, vii. 106.

⁵ Lenormant, "La Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. i. p. 216. "Bars of iron are still used in trading with the natives of Central Africa. Iron money is still, or was not long since, used in Japan for small values, but its issue from the mint has been discontinued [see note 6]. The use of *pure iron* coins in civilized countries at the present day is out of the question, both because of the cheapness of the metal and because the coins would soon lose the sharpness of their impressions by rusting, and become dirty and easily counterfeited. But it is quite possible that iron or steel might still be alloyed with other metals for the coining of pence" (Prof. Jevons, "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," p. 43, 1876).

⁶ This piece, which was picked up in one of the buried cities near Khoten, is in the possession of Sir T. Douglas Forsyth, who kindly sent me the following description of it, which was made at the British Museum. *Obv.* In Arian letters *Māhārāja* *raja* [*dirajasa tradatasa Herama*] *yasa*. Horse to right (the *Hera* of the king's name not clear). *Rev.* A peculiar device (symbol for *cash*?) in the midst of letters which seem of the

Chinese class, but have not yet been identified. Mr. Thomas concurs in the transliteration of the visible letters, but does not concur in the tentative restorations, nor does he accept the attribution of the coin to Hermæus. The title of *Raja rajasa* is exceptionally adopted by Azas; Hermæus' second title is *Tradata*. Since this was written the coin has been published with a woodcut of the obverse by Mr. P. Gardner ("Num. Chron." N.S. 1879, vol. xix. pp. 275–276), but no certain attribution is made. Another *iron* coin, but smaller and of later date, is also engraved, resembling the degraded copies of Scythian coins issued in the Northern districts of India between the first and sixth centuries A.D. It is to be remembered that the Chinese were in the habit of coining *iron* cash, and have been imitated by the Japanese, who have an *iron* coin of the value of about one hundredth part of a farthing, principally used for almsgivings and offerings to the gods (J. White, "Num. Chron." N.S. 1880, vol. xx. pp. 174–176). See note 5.

In the province of Kordofan, in the interior of Africa, the most common money in circulation is a piece of *iron*, not unlike the section of a mushroom, and called *Hasshahshah*. Its value is about 2½d. (A. T. Holroyd, "Num. Chron." O.S. 1839, vol. i. p. 210). At Loggun thin plates of *iron* are in use, these are made into parcels of ten and twelve, according to weight, and 30 of these parcels are equal in value to 10 rottola or a dollar (Denham and Clapperton, "Travels in Africa in 1822–1824," p. 237).

introduced by the Bactrian kings Pantaleon and Agathocles (*circ.* B.C. 246), which was copied by Euthydemus (*circ.* B.C. 225).¹ *Platinum* was tried in Russia from 1828 to 1845; but owing to the difficulty of melting it, and the cost of making the coins, they were withdrawn from circulation.² *Tin* is said to have been struck by Dionysius I., tyrant of Syracuse (B.C. 406-367),³ and some of his bronze coins are supposed by M. Six to be mixed with a certain quantity of *tin* and to be the pieces referred to.⁴ There is a notice in the law of the Digest⁵ of false *tin* coins. Some years since there was discovered at Lyons a number of *tin* pieces of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and Julia Domna, which M. Lenormant considers⁶ to have been really issued for circulation, and probably after the expedition of Severus to Britain, from whence the *tin* had been obtained. British *tin* coins, cast in wooden moulds, are also known to exist, though they do not appear to have been current in that part of Britain where *tin* was produced, nor to be of any great number.⁷ *Leaden* money is frequently mentioned by the poets,⁸ but *lead* was more frequently employed for the *tesserae*. True coins, however, exist, struck in Egypt, some with the name ΜΕΜΦΙC,⁹ in Gaul,¹⁰ and by the kings of Numidia, of types similar to their copper pieces.¹¹ *Glass* money was employed in Egypt under the Upper Empire,¹² under the Byzantine monarchs,¹³ and perhaps under the Arabs.¹⁴

¹ Gen. Cunningham, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1868, vol. viii. p. 282; 1873, vol. xiii. p. 188; Dr. Flight, 1868, vol. viii. p. 305; E. Thomas, "Internat. Num. Orient." vol. i. part. i. p. 43, note 5, p. 44, note 1. *Nickel* is only used as an alloy. The analysis made by Dr. Flight shows that these coins owe their whiteness entirely to the presence of *nickel*, which amounts to as much as 20 per cent., while the mass of metal, or upwards of 77 per cent., is of pure copper, a proportion which differs but little from the 5 and 10 centime pieces of Belgium, which consist of 25.55 of *nickel* and 74.44 of copper [see CHAPTER I., p. 13, note 6]. Gen. Cunningham thinks *nickel* was procured from China, and may be intended under the names of "white iron," "white or silvery brass," as recorded by Quintus Curtius ("Vit. Alex." ix. 8) and by Crinagoras ("Antholog. Græca," Lips. vi. 261). Dr. Flight observes that it formed a very constant constituent of some of the alloys known to the Chinese, especially *packfong*, *tutenag*, and *white copper*.—In 1869 and 1870-1 pence and half-pence were executed in *nickel* at the English mint for the colony of Jamaica, but were discontinued when the price of *nickel* rose, and the German Government have chosen the same alloy for the ten and five pfennig pieces of its new monetary system (Prof. Jevons, "Money, etc." p. 50).

² Prof. Jevons, "Money, etc." p. 48.

³ Aristot. "Oeconom." ii. 2; Pollux. ix. 79.

⁴ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 29; but see Lenormant, "La Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. i. p. 211, note 5.

⁵ xlviii. tit. 19.

⁶ "La Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. i. p. 213.

⁷ Evans, "Anc. Brit. Coins," p. 123. "The kings of England often coined *tin*. In 1680 *tin* farthings were struck by Charles II., a stud of copper being inserted in the middle of the coin to render counterfeiting more difficult. *Tin* half-pence and farthings were also issued in considerable quantities in the reign of William and Mary (1690 to 1691). *Tin* coins were formerly employed among the Javanese, Mexicans, and many other peoples, and the metal is said to be still current by weight in the straits of Malacca" (Prof. Jevons, "Money, etc." p. 44).

At the city of Tavoy in Ava *tin* pieces called Danga were in circulation for small change only (Marsden, "Num. Orient." vol. ii. p. 806; Nightingale, "Num. Journ." vol. ii. pp. 59, 60; S. B. [Birch], "Num. Chron." o.s. 1844, vol. vi. p. 91).

⁸ G. Rink, "De veteris numismatis potentia et qualitate," p. 34, 1701.

⁹ Longpérier, "Rev. Num." 1861, p. 407.

¹⁰ Longpérier, "Rev. Num." 1861, p. 253.

¹¹ Garrucci, "Rev. Num." 1862, pp. 412-416. Garrucci publishes several other *leaden* pieces, some of which may have served for coins (cf. Lenormant, "La Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. i. p. 211). A specimen of a *leaden* stater of Philip II. king of Macedon is in the British Museum. "In 1635 *leaden* bullets were used for change, at the rate of a farthing a piece, in Massachusetts. At the present day it is still current in Burmah, being passed by weight for small payments" (Prof. Jevons, "Money, etc." p. 44).

¹² Longpérier, "Rev. Num." 1861, p. 412.

¹³ Longpérier, "Rev. Num." 1861, p. 413.

¹⁴ S. L. Poole, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1872, vol. xii. p. 109; Longpérier, "Rev. Num." 1861, p. 413, note; Lenormant, "La Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. i. p. 214, note 3. Mr. E. T. Rogers objects ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1873, vol. xiii. p. 60; "J.R.A.S." n.s. 1877, vol. x. p. 98) to these *glass* discs being considered *coins*, and is of opinion that they are *standard coin weights*; and he is supported by De Goeje ("The Academy," 5 Feb. 1876, p. 196), who translates the Arabic of Mokaddasi as follows:—"The weights for money (*sandj*, from the Persian *seng*=stone) are made of glass, and bear the same stamp as the ordinary pounds, viz. the name of the prince of the faithful." He adds that Prof. Karabecet of Vienna "had come already to the conclusion that the so-called glass coins were in reality weights, and that he held the testimony of Mokaddasi to be decisive." Mr. J. G. Chester ("The Academy," 5 Feb. 1876, p. 123) is opposed to Mr. Rogers' theory, but remarks that "these glass roundels are often found in the weight-boxes of the drug-sellers in the bazaars of Cairo and elsewhere."

Leather money is reported as having been employed by the Spartans,¹ the Carthaginians,² and the Romans.³ It was also in use in China in A.D. 692.⁴ In later times *leather* money was more prevalent. Under William I., king of Sicily (1154–1166), the Sicilians were compelled to bring gold and silver to Palermo and other towns, and received in exchange a kind of *leather money* bearing the monogram of the king.⁵ The earliest specimen that I have seen is that struck by the town of Leyden when besieged by the Spaniards in 1574, and an example of a *sequin* in *leather* of Francesco Cornaro is also in the British Museum. It is of great rarity. *Leather* money is said to have circulated in Russia as late as the reign of Peter the Great (1689–1725).⁶ *Wood* and *shells* are also quoted as materials for money,⁷ and moulds of *baked clay* of gold and silver coins of different countries, belonging principally to the middle of the fifth century B.C., have been discovered by M. A. Salinas, which are thought to have had “une circulation fiduciaire, mais d’un caractère tout privé, comme celle des billets de crédit dont la loi autorise dans certains pays l’émission par des institutions particulières.”⁸ At the present day countries little advanced in civilization use either ornamental articles or vegetable productions or manufactured materials for money.⁹

¹ Seneca, v. 14.

² Aristides, “Orat. Platon.” p. 145, explained by the Scholiast to mean that they did not actually make ‘coins of leather,’ but exchanged skins of animals with each other (Eckhel, “Doct. Num. Vet.” vol. i. p. xxi). “In the traffic of the Hudson’s Bay Company with the North American Indians furs, in spite of their differences of quality and size, long formed the medium of exchange . . . and even after the use of coin had become common among the Indians, the skin was commonly used as the money of account” (Prof. Jevons, “Money, etc.” pp. 20, 21).

³ Suidas, s.v. *δερμάτια*.

⁴ A memorial was presented to the Chinese Empress Tsê-t’ien, in A.D. 692, in which the following words occur: “The treasuries were emptied, soldiers and horses exhausted, and envoys despatched in yearly and monthly succession, till *money was made of leather*, and coins reckoned by the string,” etc. (S. W. Bushell, M.D., “Early History of Tibet,” translated from the Chinese, in “J.R.A.S.” n.s. 1880, vol. xii. p. 462).

⁵ J. G. Pfister, “Rev. Num.” 1842, p. 52.

⁶ Prof. Jevons, “Money, etc.” p. 20. In Russia, both before and after money was coined, “bars of silver” were still employed, marked off by divisions, but not otherwise separated, which marks indicated numeral values (Sir E. Bayley, com. to Mr. E. Thomas). Sir E. Bayley added that the word *Ruble* means “to cut.” Before the time of Peter the Great, the *Ruble* was an

imaginary money of account, consisting of 100 copper copecks (Prof. Jevons, “Money, etc.” p. 71).

⁷ Eckhel, “Doct. Num. Vet.” vol. i. p. xx.

⁸ Lenormant, “La Mon. dans l’Antiq.” vol. i. p. 216.

⁹ In 1851 more than 1000 tons of cowries were brought from the East Indies to Liverpool, to be exported thence to the West Coasts of Africa and exchanged for palm oil. In the British West Indian islands, pins, a slice of bread, a pinch of snuff, a dram of whisky, and in the central parts of South America, soap, chocolate, cocoa nuts, eggs, etc., serve the same purpose (J. Yates, “Descriptive Cat. of a collection of current coins of all nations, exhibited in the Exhibition of 1862”). The value of the cowrie in India “used to be about 5000 shells for one rupee, at which rate each shell is worth about the 200th part of a penny. . . . Among the Fijians whales’ teeth served in the place of cowries and white teeth were exchanged for red teeth, somewhat in the ratio of shillings to sovereigns. . . . In 1521, at Caracas, about 30 cacao nuts were worth one penny English. . . . Straw money, consisting of small mats, called libongos, woven out of rice straw, and worth about 1½d. each, circulated until 1694 in the Portuguese possessions in Angola. . . . Salt circulated in Abyssinia, Sumatra and Mexico” (Prof. Jevons, “Money, etc.” pp. 24–29). See also an article by Sir J. Lubbock on the ‘History of Money’ (“Nineteenth Century,” Nov. 1879, p. 789).

CHAPTER III.

WRITING.

THE ancient Hebrew character is acknowledged to have been the same as, or an offshoot of the Phœnician. Without entering deeply, therefore, into the question of the invention of Writing, it will be desirable to consider briefly the opinions advanced by palæographers and scholars as to the origin of the Phœnician itself.

That writing was used at a very remote period by the Egyptians and Babylonians is certain, and it is not therefore surprising that advocates have been found to refer to one or the other the source of that alphabet, which in its turn became the parent of the letters of the Western Nations. The *Hieroglyphic* system of the ancient Egyptians consists of a certain number of figures used to express letters or syllables, and a vast number of ideographic or symbolic forms devoted to the representation of words. The use of the *Hieratic* writing is assigned to the sixth dynasty (*circ.* B.C. 2200),¹ and its object was the writing *Hieroglyphics* on *papyrus* with greater ease and expedition.² According to the united testimonies of classical writers, the Egyptians are spoken of as the earliest instructors of other nations in writing, and Tacitus³ more expressly states that letters were adopted by the Phœnicians from the Egyptians.

There are three opinions as to the origin of the so-called Phœnician alphabet:⁴—1. That it was derived from Egypt. 2. That it originated in Babylon. 3. That it was produced from an early pictorial alphabet at home.

1. Paravey, Salvolini, Charles Lenormant, and more recently Halévy have endeavoured to prove that the Phœnicians derived their alphabet immediately from the *Hieroglyphics*, but De Rougé⁵ has shown that this theory lies open to serious objections, and has brought

¹ This date is taken from Mr. Poole's calculations (Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," *s.v.* Egypt), where the first dynasty and the accession of Menes is assigned to B.C. 2700. Lepsius has placed the commencement at B.C. 3892, and Bunsen 200 years later, but according to Poole (*i.e.*) these calculations are based on a statement of the false Manetho. The earliest Hieratic writing known to exist is said to be on the papyrus of M. Prisse d'Avennes, at Paris, which has been published by M. Chabas in the "Revue Archéologique" (vol. xv. p. 1). It is supposed to be of the sixth dynasty. It was assigned by the Rev. Mr. Heath, in the "Monthly Review" (July, 1856), to a Phœnician king, Assa, who was one of the Shepherd Kings of the fifteenth dynasty. Mr. Poole is inclined to this latter opinion (see "Horæ Egypt." p. 175; Joseph. "contr. Apion," i. 14). To whatever dynasty Hieratic writing may be assigned, it is certain that it is not of a later date than B.C. 2000. Eisenlohr has discovered that the

geometrical papyrus in the British Museum is of the age of the Hyksos; so that we have another papyrus to set by the side of the Papyrus Prisse (Prof. Sayce, MS. communication to Mr. Thomas).

² The formation of the *Hieratic* from the *Hieroglyphic* is clearly seen in the Tables of Brugsch ("Grammaire Demotique," 1855).

³ "Ann." xi. 14; cf. Lucan, "Pharsal." iii. ver. 220-224; Pliny, "Nat. Hist." v. 12; cf. vii. 56.

⁴ Prof. Rawlinson ("Contemporary Review," Aug. 1870, p. 104, *note*) takes exception to the term 'Phœnician,' and would prefer 'Cadmean,' as proposed by the late Mr. Deutch. Dr. W. Wright ("North British Review," Oct. 1870, p. 3) prefers to designate the alphabet as 'Shemitic.'

⁵ "Sur l'Origine Egyptienne de l'Alphabet Phœnicien," publ. in the "Revue de l'Instruction publique," 8 Sept. 1859.

forward a more probable supposition, viz. that the Phœnicians framed their alphabet on the basis of the *Hieratic*, by selecting a certain number of characters sufficient for the purpose, and rejecting altogether the ideographic forms. In support of his view he compares the alphabet on the Phœnician monument of Esmunazar, King of Sidon (*circ.* B.C. 600)¹ [PLATE, col. 4], with that found on one of the most ancient papyri known to exist in the *Hieratic* character (the Papyrus Prisse) [PLATE, col. 1], which is anterior to the eighteenth dynasty (B.C. 1500), and hence he concludes that they probably borrowed their alphabet during the sojourn of the Shepherd Kings in Egypt.² If not absolutely proved, yet many circumstances tend to confirm the view here taken.³ The geographical position of the Phœnicians, and their known character as a commercial and sea-faring nation, would lead them immediately to Egypt to barter their wares, and it would not be long before they would naturally feel sensible of the necessity of a less complex medium than the Egyptian alphabet afforded in order to maintain their intercourse. Sir Gardner Wilkinson seems to give us the real solution, in brief but precise words. He says,⁴ "The claim to *real alphabetical writing* is certainly in favour of the Phœnicians. . . . For while the Egyptians in the *Hieroglyphic* and *Hieratic* had (upwards of 2500 years before our era) the *first germ* of the alphabetic system, the Phœnicians, a highly practical people, *first struck out the idea of a simple and regular alphabet.*"⁵ This alphabet must have been used and even communicated to Greece⁶ long before the *Demotic* form of writing was introduced into Egypt (about the seventh century B.C.),⁷ and one cannot help supposing, that in return for the benefit conferred on the Phœnicians by the primitive mode of writing in Egypt, this nation of merchants must have considerably influenced the Egyptians in causing them to adopt the more perfect phonetic system of the *Demotic* writing, which in its form bears even some resemblance to the Phœnician letters.

¹ This is the date assigned to it by the Duc de Luynes. De Rougé (*l.c.*) says it is of the twelfth century B.C. but he afterwards abandoned this view.

² About B.C. 2080 Egypt was invaded by strangers, known as the Shepherds, who appear to have been Arabs cognate with the *Phœnicians* (Poole, Art. "Zoan," Smith's "Dict. of the Bible").

³ The invention of the alphabet by the Phœnicians and its derivation from the *Hieratic*, as set forth by De Rougé, has been most elaborately worked out by M. François Lenormant in his great work entitled "Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phœnicien dans l'ancien Monde," vol. i. Première livraison, 1872; vol. i. Seconde livraison, 1873; vol. ii. Première livraison, 1873. Prof. Sayce (MS. communication) has called my attention to the newly published work of Simeone Levi, entitled "Raccolta dei Segni Ieratici Egizi nelle diverse epoche con i corrispondenti Geroglifici ed i loro differenti valori fonetici" (Turin, 1880), in which copies are given of all the known forms of the *Hieratic* characters with reference to the papyri on which each form is found, adding that "the forms found in the 'Papyrus Prisse,' given by Levi, make it plain to every one that De Rougé was right." ⁴ In Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, 3rd ed. vol. ii. p. 313.

⁵ Gesenius and Ewald both are of opinion that the Semitic alphabet was constructed by a *people connected with Egypt* (see Davidson, "Biblical Criticism," vol. i. p. 24).

⁶ The correspondence between the Phœnician characters and

those of the earlier *Hieratic* is sufficiently striking to warrant us in regarding it as at least provisionally true that what was natural and perfectly possible did actually take place. The general testimony of the early Greek and Roman writers that the alphabet was invented in Phœnicia must then be limited to the sense in which Tacitus says that the Phœnicians had the credit—*tantum repererint quæ acceperant*." (J. Peile, art. "Alphabet," in "Encyc. Brit." 9th ed. vol. i. p. 607.)

⁷ At the same time among the Syrians and Phœnicians a cursive method was developed, just as in Egypt the *hieratic* writing grew up beside the *hieroglyphic*. This cursive writing of the Western Semitic nations has not, however, arisen out of the cuneiform symbols, but out of the *hieratic* writing of the Egyptians. The Phœnicians must claim the merit of having abbreviated still further, for their own use, the cursive writing of the Egyptians. But the picture-symbols of the *hieratic* writing were not merely contracted and simplified; the mixture of pictorial, syllabic, and alphabetic symbols—beyond which the Egyptians did not rise—was abandoned, and then for the first time an alphabet was discovered." (Max Duncker, "Hist. of Antiquity," trans. by Abbott, vol. i. p. 281; cf. Dr. Tylor, "Early Hist. of Mankind," 3rd ed. p. 102.) ⁸ See PAGE 29.

⁹ The earliest instance now existing of *Demotic* writing is dated B.C. 665 (Brugsch, "Grammaire Demotique," p. 4), but it was of course used previously.

2. It must not, however, be concealed, that many eminent scholars have turned their eyes in another direction for the origin of the Semitic alphabet, and have designated Babylonia as the true mother of the characters employed in very ancient times in Syria and Mesopotamia. Kopp,¹ Hoffmann,² Davidson³ and Levy⁴ support this view, and chiefly on the following grounds, that besides the cuneiform writing used so constantly in Assyrian and Babylonian monuments, a cursive character was also employed identical with the Phœnician, and therefore probably borrowed by the latter people.⁵ The earliest specimens of this cursive character (accompanied by cuneiform) are on the bronze lion-weights now in the British Museum,⁶ and others occur on some of the bricks, cylinders and gems. But on this theory Kenrick⁷ justly remarks, that the occurrence of these characters only proves the intercourse between the two people, and *not that the cuneiform was the parent of the Phœnician*. Norris,⁸ also, in reference to the same point, writes: "It has been suggested, and it is certainly possible, that these legends may be in the *cursive Assyrian alphabet*, which would then have been *subsequently adopted by the Phœnicians*," but that these cursive characters on undoubted Assyrian monuments, though allied to them, are still different, and "the language of the inscriptions . . . seems peculiarly *Hebrew or Chaldee* rather than Assyrian." Gesenius⁹ is on the same side of the question, and argues that the characters on the bricks are genuine Phœnician, but not of the most antique form, and he suggests that, during the period of the Persian sovereigns, the Babylonians possessed a common alphabet with the Phœnicians. Lastly, Sir G. Wilkinson maintains¹⁰ that the ancient Assyrian letters "could not have been the origin of those used in Greece."

3. The theory that the Phœnician alphabet was produced from an early pictorial one at home is one only of conjecture, for no traces of such a system remain, and yet it has its probabilities. In support of this view it is important to note that "the names of the Phœnician or Hebrew letters are not arbitrary, but each significant of some object; though the meaning of the names cannot in all cases be recognized with absolute certainty. For instance, *Aleph*, *Beth*, *Gimel* and *Daleth*, mean, Ox, House, Camel, Door; and if we find that these and the succeeding letters, when in their most primitive forms (so far as known), present similarities with the whole or a portion of the objects by the names of which they

¹ "Bilder und Schriften," 1819, vol. ii. p. 147.

² "Gram. Syr." 1827, p. 61.

³ "Biblical Criticism," vol. i. p. 25.

⁴ "Jüd. Münzen," 1862, p. 140.

⁵ Another exponent of this view has recently come forward in Dr. Deecke ("Zeitschrift d. D.M.G." 1877, vol. xxi. pp. 102-116), and his theories were accepted in the "Academy Newspaper" (No. 267, 16th June, 1877). Prof. Sayce has, however, shown ("The Academy," No. 268, 23rd June, 1877) that they are an utter failure, and that nearly half the characters given by Dr. Deecke are non-existent. The latter defended his system ("The Academy," No. 273, 28th July, 1877), but it was again demonstrated to be weak and improbable by the Rev. Isaac Taylor and Prof. Sayce ("The Academy," No. 274, 4th Aug. 1877).

⁶ See CHAPTER I. p. 4, note 7. Prof. Max Duncker states

("Hist. of Antiquity," trans. by Abbott, vol. i. p. 281) that the Phœnician alphabetic writing was in use in Babylon side by side with the corresponding cuneiform on a weight of Irba-Merodach (P. circ. B.C. 1050) found at Nineveh. But he is mistaken, as this duck-weight, which has been frequently published (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," 1853, p. 601; Norris, "J.R.A.S." 1856, vol. xvi. p. 217; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," 1864, p. 265; Smith, in "Rec. of the Past," vol. v. p. 91; Chisholm, in "Ninth Ann. Report of the Warden of the Standards," 1876, p. 47), only bears a *cuneiform* inscription, "30 manehs. The palace of Irba-Merodach, king of Babylon."

⁷ "Phœnicia," 1855, p. 164.

⁸ "J.R.A.S." 1856, vol. xvi. p. 226, note.

⁹ Art. "Palæographie" in Ersch and Gruber's "Allgemeine Encyclopædie."

¹⁰ In Rawlinson's Herodotus, 3rd ed. vol. ii. p. 316.

are distinguished, there is a strong probability of a pictorial origin for the letters."¹ It may be "that the Phœnicians, possibly in the first instance borrowing the idea from the Egyptians, struck out for themselves a more purely literal and therefore a more simple and useful alphabet,"² and in choosing the word *aleph* as the name of the first letter of the alphabet, took it from "a mode of writing in which the representation of an ox (or of some part of an ox) stood for the sound of A."³

Which of these theories is correct cannot at present be decided with any certainty, but thus much can be ventured, that the Phœnician alphabet was not derived from the cuneiform. It would certainly appear, since the letters of the Hebrew alphabet contain no trace whatever of ships nor have any association with the sea, but rather refer to a people rich in cattle, that the inventors of the alphabet, whoever they were, were a pastoral people, living in a comparatively advanced stage of civilization,⁴ and this may have been the condition of the Phœnicians inhabiting the Delta, called Caphtor or "Greater Phœnicia";⁵ in any case, if the Phœnicians did not invent the Shemitic alphabet, they have "a just claim to being its chief disseminators."⁶

The most ancient Phœnician inscription existing⁷ is that on the "Moabite Stone," or "stelè of Mesha, king of Moab," a black basalt stone, which was discovered at Dibân, in August, 1868, by the Rev. F. A. Klein, of the Church Missionary Society [PLATE, col. 2]. The account of its unfortunate destruction, and the history of the recovery of the greater portion of its pieces, have frequently been published, together with various versions of the inscription.⁸

¹ Dr. J. Evans, "On the Alphabet and its Origin," a lecture delivered before the Royal Institution on Friday, March 15, 1872, p. 7; Prof. Rawlinson, "Contemporary Review," Aug. 1870, p. 109; Dr. W. Wright, "North British Review," Oct. 1870, p. 4.

² Evans, *op. cit.* p. 9.

³ Prof. Sayce, "Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch." 1876, vol. v. p. 30. This paper is on the "Hamathite Inscriptions," mostly found at Hamah (Hamath), at Aleppo (Helbon), at Carchemish, and at Ibreez in Lycaonia. They are written in hieroglyphics, and Prof. Sayce adds, "If the first Semitic employers of the so-called Phœnician alphabet were already acquainted with the Hittite or Hamathite hieroglyphics, we can well understand their applying to the letters of the new alphabet the names of the objects represented by the characters they had hitherto employed. In this case the names given to the letters of the Phœnician alphabet would have been derived from the Hamathite inscriptions."

The Hittites possessed a peculiar system of hieroglyphic writing as yet undeciphered. From the excavations about to be undertaken on the site of Carchemish, it is expected that a large number of inscriptions will be obtained, affording a clue to the decipherment of the character in which they are written (Prof. Sayce, "The Bible and the Monuments," in Eyre and Spottiswoode's "Aids to the Student of the Bible").

⁴ Evans, *op. cit.* p. 10.

⁵ Prof. Sayce, "Introduction to the Science of Language," vol. ii. p. 168; "The Bible and the Monuments," in Eyre and Spottiswoode's "Aids to the Student of the Bible"; "The History of Writing," a Lecture at the London Institution, 12 Feb.—notice of in "Nature," 19 Feb. and 26 Feb. 1880.

⁶ Aldis Wright, art. "Writing," in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. iii. p. 1790.

⁷ The absence of Phœnician writing non-monumental is well known, but M. de Vogüé has published ("Syrie Centrale—Inscr. Sémitiques," p. 131; cf. Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. p. 93, *note*) a papyrus which is said to be positively Phœnician.

⁸ Clermont-Ganneau, "La Stèle de Dhiban," in the "Rev. Arch." 1870, pp. 184, 357; Ganneau et de Vogüé, "Inscription de Mésa, Roi de Moab," Paris, 1870; Derenbourg, in the "Journal Asiatique," 1870; Deutsch, in the "Times," March 3, 1870; Dr. Ginsburg, "Moabite Stone," 1870, 2nd ed. 1871; Prof. Rawlinson, in the "Contemporary Review," vol. xv. p. 96, Aug. 1870; Dr. W. Wright, in the "North British Review," Oct. 1870; Prof. Davidson, in the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," Feb. 1871; Edward Thomas, in the "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 202; Rev. W. Pakenham Walsh, "The Moabite Stone," Dublin, 1872; F. Lenormant, "Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'ancien Monde," vol. i. pp. 128, 144, Paris, 1872; Captain Burton and Tyrwhitt Drake, "Unexplored Syria," vol. i. p. 335; "Our Work in Palestine,"—"Palestine Exploration Fund," p. 253, 1873; Prof. Rawlinson, in the "Bible Educator," vol. i. p. 124, 1874; MM. Neubauer, Schlottmann, Nöldeke, Schrader, Geiger, etc., etc. A catalogue of the principal literature on the Moabite Stone is given by Dr. Ginsburg in "The Moabite Stone," 2nd ed. 1871, p. 31. He has further published it in the "Records of the Past" (vol. xi. p. 163). The late Dr. Levy also printed a translation ("Das Mésa-Denkmal und seine Schrift," Breslau, 1871).

It commemorates the successes of Mesha, king of Moab, over a king of Israel, who was either son or grandson of Omri, the founder of Samaria, and agrees generally with the account in the Bible of the wars of Mesha, after the death of Ahab, with Ahaziah and Jehoram, two grandsons of Omri.¹

With respect to the date, the inscription was at once, from a palæographical point of view, recognized as more ancient than any previously known inscriptions, earlier even than those on the lion-weights [PLATE, col. 9] of the Assyrian kings (B.C. 745-681), or the writings on the Phœnician gems of the eighth century B.C. [PLATE, col. 3].² With this view the tenour of the inscription itself well agrees, as the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram fall about B.C. 853-841.³

Of the twenty-two letters which constitute the Phœnician and Hebrew alphabet, ⁴ twenty-one are found on this stone. The *teth* is the letter omitted, though it may perhaps have existed in the word *A[t]aroth*.⁵

¹ 2 Kings i. 1; iii. 4-27.

² De Vogüé, "Intailles à légendes Sémitiques," in the "Rev. Arch." N.S. 1868, vol. xvii. pp. 432-439, pl. xiv.; cf. Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. pp. 128, 142, pl. ii. col. 3. The *teth* does not occur on the gems published by de Vogüé, as given by Lenormant [see note 5]. On a sardonyx now at Florence is the figure of a man with a high crown, and the legend *לֹאבִיבֶעַל* 'Of Abibaal.' It has been suggested that this stone belonged to Abibaal, king of Tyre, and father of the Hiram of the Bible (De Luynes, "Num. des Satrapies," pl. xiii. No. 1; cf. Max Duncker, "Hist. of Antiquity," trans. by Abbott, vol. ii. p. 264), but on no sure grounds. Another gem found at Khorsabad, and probably engraved at Tyre or Sidon, bearing the inscription *עֲבִרְבֶּעַל*, is on the contrary considered to give a certain date, Khorsabad having been built *circa* B.C. 721, and to be a monument of the eighth century B.C. (De Longpérier, "Journal Asiatique," 5 sér. vol. vi. p. 422; Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. p. 143).

Several fragments of brass containing a Phœnician inscription were discovered many years ago at Cyprus. The attention of M. Renan having been called to them by Dr. Euting, the former published them with an illustrative plate ("Journal des Savants," 1877, p. 487). Recently M. Clermont-Ganneau has made a careful examination of these antiquities, and has come to the conclusion that they all formed part of the same vase of bronze, which had been purposely broken into pieces at some time far remote ("The Athenæum," 17 April, 1880, pp. 502-504). Reconstructing the form he has arrived at the following complete inscription:—

לִבְנֵעַל לִבְנֵי אֲדָנִי . . . וְסִכְן קִרְתִּיחַדַּשַׁת
עֲבֵר חֲרוֹם מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם אִין יִתֵּן לִבְעַל
לִבְנֵי אֲדָנִי בְּרֹאשַׁת נִחְשַׁת חִי מִבְּסִכְן
קִרְתִּיחַדַּשַׁת א

i.e. 'To Baal-Lebanon, his lord . . . [mention of a vow, name and rank of the author] . . . (? and) soken of Qarthadachat, servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians, has given it [or, 'he has given it'] to Baal-Lebanon, his lord, in excellent brass [or in 'heave offering of brass']—H . . . tob, soken of Qarthadachat ['who' ? or 'that' ? 'it' ?] . . .'

It will be seen that the inscription contains the name of 'Hiram, king of the Sidonians' or 'the Phœnicians,' and it has been conditionally attributed by M. Clermont-Ganneau to a Hiram (for several Phœnician kings might have borne this

name), who lived in the former half of the eighth century B.C. In any case M. Clermont-Ganneau, who is preparing a critical memoir on these monuments (which will doubtless give further explanation of the words *soken* (? inhabitant), Qarthadachat (? Carthage), the position of the sanctuary of Baal-Lebanon, *tob* and other queries), comes to the conclusion, and thereby confirms the remarks of M. Renan about the palæographical rank of these fragments, that "they may claim the second place immediately after the Moabite stone."

The *teth* occurs *once* in the inscription, in the word *טֹב Tob*, but this has not been explained.

³ These would be the dates derived from the Assyrian canon and monuments (see Smith, "Assyrian Canon"; Schrader, "Keilinschriften, etc."; Max Duncker, "Hist. of Antiquity," trans. by Abbott, vol. ii. pp. 114, 115, 234, 239, 249). The Bible dates are Ahab, B.C. 918-897; Ahaziah, B.C. 897-896; Jehoram, B.C. 896-884.

⁴ The Moabite Stone clearly disproves the statement of some that the original Shemitic alphabet contained only "sixteen letters" (cf. Plin. "Nat. Hist." vii. 56; Dr. Donaldson, "The New Cratylus," p. 170), and shows the worthlessness of tradition on this point, unless supported by inscriptions (J. Peile, "Encyc. Brit." 9th ed. vol. i. p. 609). The occurrence of the *Samech* was considered as proof of the late date of the inscription, as the Greek *Xi* is said to have been invented by Simonides (B.C. 530), but there can be no doubt that the *Samech* on this stone, or on the Phrygian rocks [see page 30], was the prototype of the Greek *Xi*. The Palæographical importance of the Moabite stone has been fully discussed by Prof. Rawlinson ("Contemporary Review," Aug. 1870, pp. 104-112), and by Dr. Ginsburg ("The Moabite Stone," 2nd ed. 1871, pp. 29, 30).

⁵ It has been maintained by several scholars (Ginsburg, Clermont-Ganneau, Schlottmann, Geiger, etc.) that the *teth* did originally occur in the word *A[t]aroth*, in lines 10 and 11. This letter is rare in Phœnician, Gesenius ("Script. Linguaeque Phœn. Mon." tab. i.; cf. p. 80) only giving *three* examples, and Lenormant ("Essai," vol. i. pl. ii. col. 3) only *two*, in his "Premier type paléographique de la Phénicie propre," but these latter cannot be accepted with any certainty [see note 2]. In the Duc de Luynes' Alphabets, in Thomas's "Prinsep's Essays" (vol. ii. p. 166), under Phœnicia Proper, in all nine alphabets, only *one* alphabet (Esmunazar, king of Sidon, plate xia. col. 3)

To these early alphabets succeed the inscriptions of Malta¹ and of Nora in Sardinia;² after which may be placed the inscriptions of Esmunazar [PLATE, col. 4], to which I have already alluded, and several others, which have been styled by M. Lenormant "Deuxième type paléographique de la Phénicie propre,"³ and "Type de transition de l'écriture Phénicienne."⁴

With respect to the introduction of letters into Greece, it is asserted by Herodotus⁵ that "the Phœnician letters were adopted, but with some variation in the shape of a few, and so they arrived at the present use, *still calling the letters Phœnician*, as justice required, after the name of those who were the first to introduce them into Greece." Prof. Sayce writes⁶ that "the names of the letters of the Greek alphabet all end in *a*, showing that it must have been brought into Greece not by the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon, but by the Aramæans of the Gulf of Antioch, since the *emphatic aleph* is a characteristic of Aramaic, not of Phœnician. Even the names of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet disclose their Aramaic origin, אֵלֶף, בֵּיטָא, גִּמְלָא, etc., being perfectly Aramaic, and we may therefore conclude that the alphabet was introduced rather by Aramæans than the Phœnicians who traded in Greece and elsewhere."

As to the date of this introduction, Grote was of opinion⁷ that letters were unknown to the Greeks of the time of Hesiod and Homer (*circa* B.C. 850-776), and were first introduced about the period of the first Olympiad (B.C. 776), an opinion also entertained by Dr. Ginsburg.⁸ The forms of the Greek inscriptions of Thera, a Phœnician settlement,⁹ dating from Olympiad 40 (B.C. 620), and those on other inscriptions, dating about B.C. 650-500,¹⁰ do not differ materially from the forms on the Moabite stone, and it would therefore seem probable that the Phœnician alphabet was altogether taken over by the Greeks¹¹ about

exhibits it; whilst the Punic series supplies *one* example before B.C. 396, but has a gap in all the following lists till the second Punic war (B.C. 218), and it occurs only *once* on the inscription of Esmunazar. In fact, it appears to be especially absent from all early Aramæan monuments. It is curious that the Θ is also equally rare in early Greek. In the first ten alphabets given by Rose ("Inscript. Græc. Vet." p. xv.) there are *five* gaps. The Phrygian alphabet has no Θ, though the Carians naturally retain it in their early Greek inscriptions in Egypt [see page 30, and PLATE, cols. 6, 7, 8]. It is also absent in Lycian (Sir C. Fellows, "Discoveries in Lycia," p. 443, 1841). Mr. Sharpe in "Appendix B." p. 452, remarks, "The Lycians must have copied [?] the Greek alphabet before it contained the long vowels Η and Ω, or the consonants Θ, Ξ, Φ, Ψ, which have no Lycian representatives."

¹ Gesenius, "Mon. Phœn." pl. viii. Nos. 3 and 4; Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. pp. 128, 142.

² Gesenius, pl. xiii. No. 41; Lenormant, *loc. cit.*

³ "Essai," vol. i. pp. 129-131, pl. iii. A special plate (iii. *bis*) is added, giving the palæographical evidence of coins, from B.C. 522-145, similar to that communicated by the Duc de Luynes to Mr. Thomas for "Prinsep's Essays" (vol. ii. pp. 166-168; pl. xia).

⁴ "Essai," vol. i. p. 145; pl. iv. ⁵ v. 58.

⁶ "Trans. of Bibl. Arch." vol. v. p. 30; cf. "Contemp. Review," Dec. 1878, p. 63; "The Ethnology of the Bible—

(c) The Races of Syria," in Eyre and Spottiswoode's "Aids to the Student of the Bible."

⁷ "Hist. of Greece," ed. 1869, vol. ii. p. 116.

⁸ "The Moabite Stone," 2nd ed. 1871, p. 30.

⁹ Franz, "Elementa Epigraphicæ Græcæ," pp. 51-59; Kirchhoff, "Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Alphabets," p. 49; plate, col. viii. Berlin, 1877.

¹⁰ Prof. Rawlinson, "Contemporary Review," August, 1870, plate, lines 5 and 6; Kirchhoff, *op. cit.* plate.

¹¹ With the exception of one symbol (*Tsadhe*) as generally supposed, though Kirchhoff, who makes the form M in his early Greek alphabet the equivalent of *Tsadhe* [PLATE, col. 8], says (*op. cit.* pp. 157, 159; cf. p. 124), that the simple sibilant (s) was at first denoted by M, as on the alphabets of Thera, Melos, Crete, etc. (B.C. 620-460), but later, long before the Ionic alphabet was adopted, and to avoid confusion with *m*, there was a change from M to Ξ (or as the letter used to be written in its shorter form ζ), in consequence of which the superfluous M gradually disappeared altogether out of the alphabet.

Mr. Thomas in his theory (p. 30, PLATE, col. 5) has introduced the letter Ψ as the equivalent of the *Tsadhe*.

As to the Greek Υ or V, it has been considered (Rawlinson, *op. cit.* p. 110; Ginsburg, "The Moabite Stone," 2nd ed. p. 30) that this letter was evidently derived from the *Vau* of the Moabite stone, but this is doubtful, and Kirchhoff considers (*op. cit.* p. 159, *note*) the resemblance of form to be simply accidental.

B.C. 900 or B.C. 800¹ [PLATE, cols. 7, 8]. From the inscriptions at Abusimbel, generally assigned to the time of Psammetichus I.² (circ. B.C. 656), but by some attributed to that of Psammetichus II.³ (circ. B.C. 590), we know that the double letters Φ , χ and ψ were introduced; but the φ was rejected, and the alphabet was still deficient in the eventually incorporated letters Σ , Ξ and Ω , and it of course retained the Θ ⁴ [PLATE, col. 6].

But recently Mr. Edward Thomas has started the theory that the earliest Greek alphabets are more likely to have been taken from the Phrygian alphabet, as existing on the rock-cut inscriptions at Doganlu, and of the date B.C. 920, than from the Phœnician.⁵ Mr. Thomas writes:⁶ "Prior to the discovery of the Moabite stone, of its now admitted context, and of the positive impressions of the letters of the original *stèle*, no palæographer could have ventured to say that these archaic Græco-Latin records were expressed in, *pro tanto*, the same letters as the coincident Biblical text of the Aramæan stone; and yet it is so, letter for letter identities follow on, and there is no break in the continuity, even to the exclusion of the redundant $\beth = \Theta$, till we reach the inevitable Aryan γ , which, in this case, stands as the *concluding* (or twenty-second) letter of the alphabet, and, in this sense, recalls the traditional primitive Greek alphabet of sixteen letters, $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \iota, \kappa, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \omicron, \pi, \rho, \sigma, \tau$ and υ ." In calling attention to the supposed absence of the \beth on the Moabite stone, and the certain absence of the Θ in the Phrygian inscriptions, he says,⁷ "In these cases the final letter of the alphabet counts as 21 and not as 22. No. 21 in the ordinary course of Eastern letter notation is equivalent to 300, and as such the Greeks received the τ , out of its regular Phœnician order, and adopted it into their own system, which goes far to suggest that this Phrygian medium was the true channel of communication in opposition to the tentative numerals of the Egyptian, which the Phœnicians perhaps suggested to the Latins. So much avowedly depends upon the sequent order of the letters, that we find in Hebrew the \beth Tau=400, and where the current Hebrew adds a second \beth p (= $\beth f$) the \beth grows into 500.

"The missing Θ of the Aramæan writing regains its place in the accepted Greek scheme under the Phœnician influences, to which it was so largely indebted, and from whose alphabetical notation the letter had never been absent. So also the Hebrew γ *yod*=10 is constant in the Greek series of *letter* numbers. The Greek scheme of amalgamation evidently experienced a second jerk in the number of 90, where it had to supply a figure P as inconsecutive and inconsistent as the revised equivalent of the six, revived in order perchance to retain or bring back the η = R to its *proper* numerical position as 100, the fixed succeeding ξ to its ancient function as 200, and the τ to its coincident value of 300, from which, as the twenty-first letter of the *primitive* Moabite and Phrygian order of notation, it ought never to have been displaced."

¹ Rawlinson, *op. cit.* pp. 109, 112; Prof. Sayce, "Contemporary Review," Dec. 1878, p. 63.

² Rawlinson, *Herod.* vol. ii. p. 44, *note* 3; p. 274, *note*; p. 381; Kirchhoff, *op. cit.* pp. 40-42.

³ Alfred Wiedemann, "Geschichte Ägyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen nebst einer eingehenden

Kritik der Quellen zur Ägyptischen Geschichte," Leipzig, 1880; art. on the Psammetichus inscriptions in the "Philologus," vol. 39, 1880 (Prof. Sayce, MS. communication).

⁴ Thomas, "J.R.A.S." n.s. 1878, vol. x. p. 363; Kirchhoff, *op. cit.* p. 35.

⁵ "J.R.A.S." n.s. 1878, vol. x. pp. 361-372.

⁶ *op. cit.* p. 362. ⁷ "Indian Antiquary," Sept. 1878, p. 228.

The following is therefore Mr. Thomas's scheme of letter numbers:—

Phrygian Alphabet	.....	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	F	Z	H	[Θ]	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O	Π	Ψ	Φ	P	Ξ	T	Y
Numerical power	.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		9	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	200	300	

[“The normal (Phrygian) alphabet is deficient in the letters θ , χ and ω . The eccentricities of the original definitions of ζ , ξ and σ , have been studiously reproduced (in the tentative transliteration); the η is formed by the addition of a fourth limb to the E.”—Thomas, “J.R.A.S.” n.s. 1878, vol. x. p. 370.]

For the copy of this alphabet (PLATE, col. 5) I am indebted to Mr. Thomas, who informs me that he is preparing an Alphabetical Table, which with its commentary will doubtless set forth more fully the novelties suggested in his scheme.

It is a generally received opinion,¹ that the inscriptions on the Assyrian lion-weights should be placed among the earliest Aramæan monuments preserved to us [PLATE, col. 9],² contemporary with the cylinder seals of “Akadi, the son of Bereg-berud,”³ and of “Hudraqi’a, son of Hur-b’ad.”⁴ On all of these the idiom is stated to be incontestably Aramæan, notwithstanding that the forms of the letters are absolutely identical with those on the gems purely Phœnician, found in great number at Nineveh,⁵ and with those on the Moabite stone. About the seventh century B.C. there appears a special Aramæan alphabet [PLATE, col. 10]. The monuments on which this occurs are a series of tablets found in Nineveh and Chaldæa, published by Sir H. Rawlinson,⁶ to which M. Lenormant has added⁷ several other examples from bricks and gems, including the lion of Abydos, first published by M. de Vogüé.⁸ The Aramæan alphabet becomes further developed in the three following examples: 1. *The Inscription on a stone at Carpentras accompanied by Egyptian sculpture* [PLATE, col. 11]. This monument has been considered by Gesenius⁹ to have been executed by a Syrian of the Seleucid period. It may, however, be the production of a Jew inclining to the Egyptian worship.¹⁰ 2. *The papyri at Turin, and formerly in the possession of the Duc de Blacas, now in the British Museum, and others* [PLATE, col. 12].¹¹ In the Blacas papyri the first vestiges of final letters (*Caph* and *Nun*) appear; and on the papyrus of the Louvre the earliest final *Lamed*. The characters on all the papyri are similar to those on the Carpentras monument, but resemble more the Palmyrene and the square Hebrew. The age of the Carpentras stone

¹ De Vogüé, “Mél. de l’Arch. Orientale,” pp. 146, 194; Lenormant, “Essai,” vol. i. p. 202.

² The letters wanting, i.e. the *Vau*, *Pe*, *Tzade*, and *Tau*, are supplied from the bulls of Sargon (c. 648).

³ Sir H. Rawlinson, “J.R.A.S.” n.s. 1864, p. 232, pl. No. v.; cf. Levy, “Phœn. Stud.” ii. 24.

⁴ Rawlinson, *op. cit.* p. 240, pl. No. xv.; cf. Levy, *op. cit.* 30; De Vogüé, “Rev. Arch.” n.s. 1868, vol. xvii. pl. xv. No. 24.

⁵ Rawlinson, *op. cit.* p. 228, pl. Nos. ix, xii, xiii, xiv, xvi, xvii; cf. Levy, *op. cit.* pl. Nos. 2, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12.

⁶ *op. cit.* pp. 187-228.

⁷ “Essai,” vol. i. pp. 205-208; De Vogüé, “Rev. Arch.” n.s. 1868, vol. xvii. pl. xv.

⁸ “Rev. Arch.” n.s. 1862, vol. v. pp. 30-39. See CHAPTER I. p. 7, note 2. After these may be placed the coins struck in Asia Minor by the satraps of the Persian Empire (Duc de Luynes, “Essai sur la Num. des Satrapies, etc.” 1846; Waddington, “Rev. Num.” 1860, pp. 432-455; 1861, pp. 1-22; “Mél. de Num. et de Philologie,” pp. 59-102; Lenormant, “Essai,” vol. i. pp. 218-223), and the inscription found by M. Mariette in the excavation of the Serapeum at Memphis (Lenormant, “Essai,” vol. i. p. 223; Planche x). The *test* occurs on this monument.

⁹ “Mon. Phœn.” p. 232.

¹⁰ Dr. Lindsay Alexander in Kitto, “Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.” s.v. “Aramaic Language”; cf. Levy, “Zeitschrift d. D.M.G.” xi. p. 67; Madden, “Jew. Coinage,” p. 313.

¹¹ Madden, *loc. cit.*; Lenormant, “Essai,” vol. i. p. 229.

and of these papyri may be assigned to the reigns of the latest Ptolemies. 3. *The Palmyrene inscriptions* [PLATE, col. 13]. These are generally bilingual in Aramaic and Greek. M. Waddington, in his voyage to Syria, obtained copies of all the inscriptions of Palmyra (124 in number), which have been published by M. de Vogüé,¹ and which date from B.C. 9 to the third century A.D. On the Palmyrene inscriptions only the final *Nun* occurs.²

We now pass on to consider the most ancient alphabet in use among the Hebrews, which has been designated by French scholars the *Hébreu Archaique*.

The earliest example of this alphabet may be found on certain engraved stones, dating from the last half of the eighth century B.C. [PLATE, col. 14], which have been published by the late Dr. Levy³ and M. de Vogüé.⁴ These characters again occur on the ancient shekels (B.C. 141-135) [PLATE, cols. 15, 16], on the coins of the Asmonæan family (B.C. 135-37) [PLATE, col. 17], and were later adopted during the Revolts of the Jews (A.D. 66-70, and A.D. 132-135) [PLATE, col. 18], ceasing only with the death of Bar-cochab in A.D. 135.⁵ The researches of Lenormant,⁶ who objects to the conclusions of Gesenius and Winer as to the permanence of the Hebrew to the time of the Maccabees, tend to fix the extinction of "ancient Hebrew" as the general language of the Jews and its replacement by "Aramaean" to the period of the return from the Captivity, without attributing its introduction personally to Ezra. The old Hebrew on the coins proves that, for certain uses either monumental or in MS., this language was not altogether lost, but it by no means proves that it was the common

¹ "Syrie Centrale—Inscriptions Sémitiques," Paris, 1869.

² The inscriptions from the *Hauran* exhibit an alphabet degenerated from the Palmyrene, dating from the first half of the first century A.D. (De Vogüé, "Rev. Arch." n.s. 1864, vol. ix. p. 284; Lenormant, "Essai," vol. ii. pp. 98-103). The *Nabathæan* inscriptions and coins, the alphabet of which is a variety of the *Hauranitic*, date from B.C. 60 to A.D. 106 (Lenormant, "Essai," vol. ii. pp. 116-129, pl. xv; cf. De Vogüé, "Rev. Arch." n.s. 1865, vol. xi. planche i.). The *Sinaitic inscriptions*, supposed by Mr. Forster to have been written by the Israelites during their wanderings ("Israelitish authorship of the Sinaitic Inscript." 1856; "Sinai photographed," 1862), are, no doubt, as I have elsewhere stated ("Jew. Coinage," p. 314) of a Christian age, and extend, probably, from the second to the fifth century A.D. (Lenormant, "Essai," vol. ii. p. 106). The idiom of the inscription is Aramaean (Levy, "Zeitschrift d. D.M.G." xiv. pp. 363-484), and Prof. Palmer, who has made careful drawings and studied the inscriptions on the rocks themselves, has decided (Major Palmer, R.E., "Sinai, History from the Monuments," S.P.C.K.) that they are "in reality nothing but another phase of that Semitic alphabet whose forms appear alike in the Hebrew, Arabic and Greek. They seem to constitute an intermediate link between the ordinary Hebrew and the Cufic or old Arabic," and dissenting from Beer's view that they are the work of Nabathæan pilgrims, Prof. Palmer writes, "they must be attributed as a whole, not to pilgrims of any country, but rather to the commercial community who inhabited, or at least colonised, the peninsula during the first few centuries of the Christian era." The inscriptions are very commonplace, such as "— passed this way," "— son of — rested here," etc.

³ Zeitschrift d. D.M.G." vol. xi. p. 318; "Siegel und Gemmen mit aramaischen, phœnizischen, althebräischen, himjarischen, nabathäischen und altsyrischen Inschriften," Breslau, 1869. One of the seals published by Dr. Levy ("Zeitschrift d. D.M.G." vol. xi. p. 320), which is preserved in the British Museum, is said to bear the name of "Jonathan, son of Mathathias," and Levy has suggested that it may be the seal of one of the Maccabees. But this is very doubtful.

⁴ "Rev. Arch." n.s. 1868, vol. xvii. p. 445, planche xvi.; cf. Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. p. 179, *seq.* The second form of the *Samech* is added from the Larnaca gem, which is of rather later date (Lenormant, *op. cit.* pp. 180, 186).

⁵ This coin-character was undoubtedly the earliest alphabet of the Hebrews (Gesenius, "Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache," p. 145). Whilst the scholars of France, Germany, and England (see De Vogüé, "L'Alphabet Hébraïque et l'Alphabet Araméen," in "Rev. Arch." n.s. 1865, vol. xi. pp. 319-341; Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. p. 179; cf. p. 283), are unanimous on this point, M. de Saulcy stands alone in his exceptions, considering ("Rev. Arch." n.s. vol. xi. pp. 137-153, 398-485; 1872, p. 2) the *square Hebrew* to be as old as the times of the kings of Judah [see p. 33, note 10, and p. 34]. As M. de Vogüé rightly says (*op. cit.*), "Aujourd'hui il n'y a pas une grammaire où on le conteste, pas un cours d'hébreu où on ne l'enseigne," and De Wette concludes his chapter on Writing ("Manuel d'Arch. hébraïque," 4th ed. 1864, § 278) as follows, "Les opinions des savants du temps passé qui tenaient l'écriture carrée pour l'écriture primitive . . . n'ont plus aujourd'hui qu'un intérêt de curiosité historique."

⁶ "Essai," vol. i. pp. 281-296; cf. Renan, "Histoire des langues Sémitiques," 1st ed. pp. 134-149.

language of the time. The inscriptions on the coins of the Revolts are of course imitated from those of the Maccabees, for the old Hebrew language was at this time quite dead and Syro-Chaldaean was spoken by all.¹

The earliest specimen of the Samaritan alphabet (which is almost the same as the coin character) occurs on a stone found near Nablûs,² the ancient Sichem, in an inscription containing the ten commandments in an abbreviated form [PLATE, col. 19]. This monument is attributed to a period preceding the reign of Justinian I. (A.D. 527-565), and the forms of the letters show how the coin-character was further developed until it arrived at the more cursive writing found in the oldest of the Samaritan *codices*. The resemblance is so evident between the Samaritan and the coin-character, that it is not surprising that the latter was called "*Samaritan*," although it is beyond all doubt that the character was first acquired by the Samaritans *from* the Jews, but was modified after their separation.³

It will be seen that all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet occur on the coins excepting *Teth*, *Samech*, and *Pe*. The curious letters 𐤓 and 𐤔 on the coins of Eleazar, are probably a new form of *Vau*.⁴ The *Zain*, though it may be found in the table of Asaria de Rossi,⁵ who gives as his authority the work of an anonymous Christian author,⁶ was not known as a *coin-letter* till the coins of Eleazar were published by de Vogüé.⁷ It bears a great resemblance to the Samaritan form of the same letter found in MSS. It will also be noticed that *Zain* and *Samech* are wanting in the Samaritan alphabet from the Nablûs stone; and the *Teth* has been incorporated from another monument, the description of which is given by Rosen.⁸

Owing to the numerous discoveries made within the last few years of monuments, etc., bearing an alphabet that obviously answers to the character denominated *square Hebrew*, there is no necessity to enter into a long discussion of the various theories that have been advanced as to the time when this character was introduced. The monuments prove that the *square Hebrew*, which gradually developed itself undoubtedly from the Aramæan,⁹ did not come into general use till *the first century before the Christian era*.¹⁰

¹ Renan, *op. cit.* p. 211; Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. pp. 289-290.

² Dr. Georg Rosen, "Zeitschrift d. D.M.G." vol. xiv. pp. 605-634. There are also some remarks on this stone by Prof. E. Rödiger.

³ Levy, "Geschichte der Jüdischen Münzen," p. 141, Breslau, 1862; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 310. According to Wilson ("The lands of the Bible," vol. i. p. 76) the modern Samaritans still call their letters 'Ebrî or 'Ebreî.

⁴ See CHAPTER VIII. "Coins of Eleazar."

⁵ In his "Meor Enajim," c. 56.

⁶ It would be desirable to ascertain who this author was.

⁷ "Rev. Num." 1860, p. 280, *seq.* See CHAPTER VIII.

⁸ "Zeitschrift d. D.M.G." vol. xiv. *loc. cit.* plate, No. 2.

⁹ It has usually been considered that the *square Hebrew* was derived from the *Aramæan* modified by the *Palmyrene*, but M. Lenormant is of opinion ("Essai," vol. i. p. 278, planche xvii.) that the earliest alphabet of the *square Hebrew* proceeds directly from the *Aramæan* of the papyrus, and that the

Palmyrene and *square Hebrew* are not a daughter and a mother, but two sisters, "sorties d'une même souche, qui se sont développées simultanément, l'une à côté de l'autre."

¹⁰ Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. p. 298; cf. Aldis Wright, art. "Writing," in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. iii. p. 1795. "Renouvelant avec beaucoup d'esprit et de verve dans la polémique," writes Lenormant ("Essai," vol. i. p. 211), "une vieille opinion abandonnée depuis cinquante ans par la science, on a voulu faire remonter jusqu'au temps reculé des rois de Juda l'usage de l'alphabet hébraïque carré, que nous persistons à regarder, avec Kopp, Gesenius, De Wette, Hüpfeld, Ewald, et tous les hébraïsants de la France, de l'Allemagne et de l'Angleterre, comme n'étant que de peu antérieur à l'ère chrétienne. Mais cet alphabet carré dérive incontestablement de notre alphabet araméen primitif, après deux ou trois degrés intermédiaires de filiation . . . Si donc il devient prouvé que le plus ancien alphabet araméen doit son origine précisément au type mixte de l'écriture phénicienne qui était en usage dans la vallée de l'Euphrate pendant la première portion du septième

The monuments of the *square Hebrew* known to exist are as follows:¹

1. *The inscription on the so-called tomb of Saint Jacques at Jerusalem* [PLATE, col. 20].

This tomb was discovered by M. de Saulcy, first published by M. de Vogüé,² and then by M. de Saulcy,³ and gave rise to the discussion to which I have already alluded.⁴ It is an epitaph of eight persons of the family of Beni-Hezir, Eleazar, Haniah, Joazar, Simon, Jehouda and Johannan, sons of Joseph, son of Azer . . . , and Joseph and Eleazar sons of Haniah. De Vogüé, partly from the style of its architecture and partly from palæographic reasons, assigns its date to the *end of the first century B.C.*; De Saulcy, incorrectly reading the names of the father and grandfather as *Jaddua* and *Jonathan*, instead of *Joseph* and *Azer*, and identifying this family with that of the high priests, prefers to carry up its age to B.C. 255; and of these two opinions, though it is true that the monument is undated, there is no doubt that that of M. de Vogüé is the more correct.

*2. *Fragmental inscription of the Haram-esch-schérif.*

This fragment of monumental writing was discovered by M. de Saulcy at Jerusalem.⁵ He conjectures that it formed part of one of the stones, on which was inscribed a notice in three languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, placed in the Temple of Herod, forbidding any foreigner to enter under pain of death.⁶ Its date therefore coincides with that assigned to the tomb of Beni-Hezir, with the characters of which it well agrees.

*3. *Inscription above the door of a tomb situated to the north-east of Jerusalem on the road to the tomb of the Judges.*

This inscription, of which only the commencement of the first two lines exists, was discovered, and has been published by M. de Vogüé⁷ and M. de Saulcy.⁸ It is posterior to the inscription of Beni-Hezir, but probably dates from the commencement of the first century A.D.

*4. *Inscription from the so-called Tomb of the Kings at Jerusalem.*

This inscription occurs on a sarcophagus which was discovered by M. de Saulcy in the so-called Tomb of the Kings, and brought by him to the Louvre. It is in two lines, one in *estranghelo* Syriac, the other in square Hebrew *צרה מלכתה* or *צרה*, *Sadah* or *Sarah*, *queen* or *princess*.⁹ M. de Saulcy would assign it to the time of the kings of Judah,¹⁰

siècle avant Jésus-Christ, toutes les conjectures laborieusement accumulées par M. de Saulcy sont renversées, l'édifice s'écroule par la base, car on se trouve en présence d'un de ces faits matériels et irréfutables devant la force desquels les systèmes les plus ingénieusement combinés doivent céder, et qui, du moment qu'ils sont bien constatés, ne laissent pas, dans leur rigide brutalité, de place à la discussion." See p. 32, note 5.

¹ I am indebted to the work of M. Lenormant for the list of these monuments ("Essai," vol. i. pp. 260-277), and have marked with an asterisk (*) those not mentioned in my "Jewish Coinage," or discovered since its publication.

² "Rev. Arch." n.s. 1864, vol. ix. p. 200; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 318, note 6.

³ "Rev. Arch." n.s. 1865, vol. xi. pp. 137-153.

⁴ See p. 32, note 5; p. 33, note 10; cf. de Vogüé, "Rev. Arch." n.s. 1865, vol. xi. p. 320; "Le Temple de Jérusalem,"

p. 150; de Saulcy, "Rev. Arch." n.s. 1865, vol. xi. pp. 398-435; "Voyage en Terre Sainte," vol. ii. p. 169.

⁵ "Voyage en Terre Sainte," vol. ii. p. 12.

⁶ Joseph. "Antiq." xv. 11, 5. One of these stones with a Greek inscription has been recently published by M. Clermont-Ganneau ("Rev. Arch." n.s. vol. xxiii. pp. 214-234; 290-296, planche x.).

⁷ "Rev. Arch." n.s. 1864, vol. ix. p. 208, planche vii. No. 3; "Le Temple de Jérusalem," p. 151.

⁸ "Voyage en Terre Sainte," vol. ii. p. 207.

⁹ The *מלכתה* to be regular should be *מלכה* or *מלכת* (Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. p. 263). The Syriac inscription reads "the queen," or "the princess Sarah" or "Sadan" (Lenormant, "Essai," vol. ii. p. 8).

¹⁰ "Annales de philos. chrét." vol. xlviii. pp. 408-415; "Voyage en Terre Sainte," vol. i. p. 385.

whilst M. Renan and M. l'Abbé Bargès have suggested¹ that the inscription dates from the first century A.D., and relates to a lady of the family of Helena, queen of Adiabene. As this sarcophagus was inclosed in one of the caves which served as a charnel-house during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, it cannot be later than A.D. 70. The letters are thought to resemble the inscription on the catacombs of the *Via Portuensis* at Rome (No. 6). and in all probability its correct date may be assigned to the first half of the first century A.D.²

* 5. *Epitaphs of the Karaite Jews of the Crimea* [PLATE, col. 21].

These epitaphs, about 700 in number, and of the authenticity of which there is not the slightest doubt,³ were discovered by M. Abraham Firkowitz at Tschufutkale and other places in the Crimea. Copies of most of them were taken in paper and conveyed to St. Petersburg; and from these impressions, M. Chwolson has published eighteen of the oldest and the most remarkable.⁴ These are all dated and belong to the following years:—A.D. 6, 30, 89, 179, 197, 262, 305, 369, 625, 670, 678, 719, 807, 834, 898, 937, 958, 960. It will be noticed that the first three are of the *first century* A.D. In the first nine, as given by Chwolson, three eras are mentioned: 1. The *era after the exile*, i.e. the captivity of the ten Tribes, from whom the Jews of the Crimea pretend to have descended, is B.C. 696;⁵ 2. The *era after the creation* is B.C. 3911, to which 89 years are to be added to find the Christian year; and 3. The *era of the Matarchians* (i.e. the Jews of Tamatarka or Taman) *after the creation*, or the usual date among the Jews, B.C. 3760, to which 240

¹ "Journal Asiatique," Dec. 1865, pp. 550-560.

² An inscription on a small chest containing bones, which was discovered at Jerusalem, very similar in style of character to that of the sarcophagus, has been published by M. de Saulcy ("Bull. arch. du Musée Parent," p. 24), and explained by M. Renan ("Journal Asiatique," June, 1868, p. 539) *תארי' תארי' תארי' theca Jairi* (Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. p. 264).

³ Dr. Strack has maintained ("Firkowitsch und seine Entdeckungen: ein Grabstein den Hebr. Grabschriften der Krim," 1876) that none are genuine; but Ewald ("Hist. of Israel," vol. iv. "App." p. 299) writes, "I may remark that the attempts to reject these inscriptions as spurious, like that to cast suspicion on the Karaites and their ancient MSS. of the Bible, seem to me entirely groundless." There is, however, a doubt about some of the MSS. [see No. 15].

⁴ "Achtzen Hebräische Grabschriften aus der Krim," in the "Mém de l'Acad. Imper. des sciences de St. Petersburg," 1865. Neubauer has also published them, "Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek. Beiträge und Dokumente zur Geschichte des Karäerthums und der Karäischen Literatur," 1866.

⁵ Chwolson, *op. cit.*; Bosanquet, "Synchronous hist. of Assyria and Judaea," in "Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch." 1874, vol. iv. pp. 6, 27-30; Dr. Davidson, Supplement to Art. "MSS. Biblical," in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, vol. iii. pp. 1167-1169. Both Bosanquet and Davidson give representations of the first three inscriptions, i.e. those dated A.D. 6, 30, 89. De Vogüé ("Mél. d'Arch. Orient." vol. ii. pp. 172-178) rather inclines to think that the dates

given by Chwolson should be lowered 151 years. M. Derenbourg writes ("Essai sur l'hist. et la géog. de la Palestine," p. 448): "Les inscriptions magnifiques en caractères carrés qu'on a trouvées en Crimée et qui remontent aux premières années de l'ère chrétienne, font supposer une habitude déjà bien longue de cet alphabet. Comme il est certain que les individus pour lesquels ces monuments funèbres ont été élevés appartenaient aux dix tribus qui depuis leur captivité, fixée sur ces pierres à l'an 696, n'avaient plus jamais touché le sol de la Palestine et semblent être restés sans aucun rapport avec leur ancienne patrie, il s'ensuit que c'est des pays au delà de l'Euphrate que ce système graphique s'est acheminé vers la presqu'île bordée par la mer Noire. Le nom d'*Aschourit* (אשורית, Assyrienne) que le Talmud donne à cette écriture se justifie donc parfaitement lorsqu'on on pense que les dix tribus furent emmenées en captivité par le roi d'Assyrie; aussi les docteurs ajoutent-ils, comme explication du mot *a-chourit*: 'Parce que cette écriture est venue avec eux (les Israélites) de Babylone' (שעלה עמהם) (מבבל)." It is, however, more than likely that, in any case between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D., the Crimean Jews were in intercourse with the Jews of other lands, and consequently that their alphabet during this period underwent the same changes as observable on the Jewish monuments of other countries (Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. p. 271; Davidson, *op. cit.* p. 1169). The meaning of the word אשורית is disputed (Aldis Wright, art. "Writing," in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. iii. pp. 1791, 1792; Davidson, "Biblical Criticism," vol. i. p. 30).

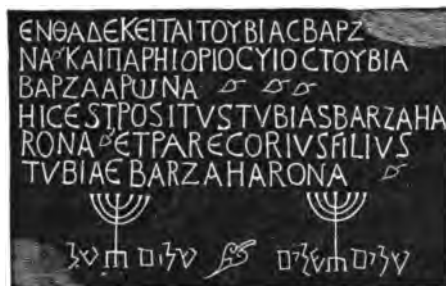
are to be added to correspond to the Christian year. Most of the inscriptions bear one date; some, however, have two.¹

The characters of the inscriptions are very similar to those found at Jerusalem of the same date. The alphabet figured is from the epitaphs of A.D. 6 and A.D. 30. The *yod* is nearly a simple dot. The *daleth* and *pe* are supplied from the epitaph of A.D. 89, the *teth* from that of A.D. 197, and the *samech* from that of A.D. 369.²

6. *The inscriptions from Jewish catacombs.*

A.—*At Rome and Naples.*

In the seventeenth century Bosio discovered a Jewish catacomb situate in the *Via Portuensis*.³ This cemetery, which has escaped all subsequent research, has been specially illustrated by the Abbé Greppo.⁴ The inscriptions from this catacomb are now divided between the Museums of Rome—the *Museum Kircherianum* or Museum of Antiquities preserved in the “Collegio Romano,” and that of the “Cloister of St. Paul”;—and of Naples—the “Musée Bourbon.” They are mostly written in Greek or Latin, but on some are Hebrew letters. Copies of these were taken by M. Lenormant when visiting Rome in 1860,⁵ and by the Rev. J. W. Burgon (now Dean of Chichester) in 1861,⁶ both of whom paid special attention to the Hebrew readings, which generally consist of the words שלום, or ישראל, or שלום על ישראל. One of the most interesting is an epitaph in Greek and Latin, and having the Hebrew word שלום “peace,” four times repeated. A representation of it is here given.⁷



Ἐνθάδε κείται Τουβιάς βαρζ[ααρῶ]να καὶ Παρηγόριος υἱὸς Τουβιά Βαρζααρῶνα.

Hic est positus Tubias Barzaharona et Parecorius filius Tubiae Barzaharona.

¹ Nos. 1 and 2,—702 of the exile=A.D. 6; 726 of the exile=A.D. 30; Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,—4000 of the creation, 785 of the exile=A.D. 89; 4090 of the creation=A.D. 179, etc.; No. 9,—4536 of the creation, 4385 of the era of Tamartarka=A.D. 625, etc. These dates are confirmed by the Karaite MSS. (see No. 15).

² M. Lenormant has given a special plate (planche xvi.) to these inscriptions, dating from A.D. 6 to A.D. 369, and also (pl. xv. cols. 13 and 15) the alphabets of some of the later Karaite epitaphs, dating A.D. 625 and A.D. 719, which are very valuable contributions to the history of square Hebrew. A Karaite tombstone brought from Djuffet Kalea, in the Crimea, now in the British Museum, has been published by Dr. Löewen (“Trans. of Bibl. Arch.” 1875, vol. iv. p. 32). The date is wanting.

³ “Roma Sotteranea,” 1632, p. 141; Aringhi, “Roma, Subterranea,” 1659, vol. i. p. 236. This catacomb did not contain a single Christian monument—in eo quippe haud ulla, ut in reliquis, Christianae religionis indicia et signa apparebant—Bosio, *op. cit.* p. 142.

⁴ “Notice sur des inscriptions antiques tirées de quelques tombeaux juifs à Rome,” 1835.

⁵ “Essai,” vol. i. 1873, pp. 264-267.

⁶ “Letters from Rome,” 1862, pp. 168-174; Madden, “Jew. Coinage,” pp. 319-320.

⁷ This woodcut is from the Rev. J. W. Burgon’s “Letters from Rome,” p. 166, and I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Murray for the use of it.

Lenormant supposes that "*Tubias Barzaharona* est le nom propre טוביה בר זרחן 'Tobie fils de Zaharon.' Ce dernier vient de la racine זרח, *splenduit*, et doit signifier *splendidus*." As to *Παρηγόριος*, he says, that it is "la traduction grecque d'un nom comme celui de נַחֲוִים" [*comfort, consolation*]. Burgon remarks on it, "Surely the title in *Greek* and *Latin* and *Hebrew* is a striking circumstance! Observe that this Jewish epitaph commemorates the interment of a son *with his father*. So another Jewish epitaph¹ commemorates the interment of two sons *with their father*. How are we thereby reminded of the desire of old Barzillai to be 'buried by the grave of his father and his mother' (2 Sam. xix. 37), a sentiment (sufficiently natural surely in people of any nation), which one is led to suspect was peculiarly prevalent among God's ancient people!"

Those at Naples are very similar, but do not appear to have any Hebrew legends.²

The names on these inscriptions (such as Faustina) indicate the second and third century A.D. as their date.

The symbols which accompany them are usually the seven-branched candlestick (sometimes repeated twice), the palm and the horn of oil; on one bearing the inscription *ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ* (*Blessing* or *Benediction*) there are six circles which Burgon has thought to be intended as "Passover loaves."³

The principal titles which occur are *πατήρ συναγωγῆς*, *father of the synagogue*; sometimes *μήτηρ*, *mother*; *γερονσιάρχης συναγωγῆς*, *gerousiarch*⁴ or *chief elder of the synagogue*; *ἀρχιγραμματεὺς*, *chief scribe*; and *ἄρχων*, *ruler*, curiously applied to a Nicodemus.⁵

B.—At Venosa, Lavello, etc.

In September, 1853,⁶ some Jewish catacombs were discovered at Venosa, upon some of the *loculi* or niches of which some inscriptions in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek are either roughly painted or scratched. Twenty-four of the inscriptions as yet found are in *Hebrew*. "They have the seven-branched candlestick, and a pigeon with an olive-branch to show that the buried were Jews; whilst four Hebrew inscriptions in the Cathedral at Venosa have the cross to indicate that the dead had become Christians. The Latin and Greek inscriptions are misspelt, but the *Hebrew* ones are more correct."

It has also been noticed⁷ that "at Lavello there were found some *Hebrew inscriptions* in the last century, and other *Hebrew catacombs* were discovered in 1854 at Oria." The existence of numerous Jews in Apulia and Calabria in the fourth century is proved by many contemporary records, and especially by a law of the Emperor Honorius of the year 398: "*Vacillare per Apuliam et Calabriam plurimos ordines civitatum comperimus, quia Judaicae superstitiones sunt.*"⁸

It is much to be regretted that none of these are published, at least as far as I am

¹ Burgon, *op. cit.* p. 164. ² Burgon, *op. cit.* pp. 167-170.

³ *op. cit.* pp. 169, 170.

⁴ This is a new word. Burgon translates it "chief-elder," and doubtless correctly. See CHAPTER V.

⁵ Cf. *Νικόδημος* . . . *ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, John iii. 1.

⁶ Murray's "Handbook for Southern Italy," p. 361.

⁷ Murray, *loc. cit.*

⁸ "Cod. Theod." xii. i. p. 158.

aware. I cannot therefore now, any more than in 1864, assign any exact date to them, but it is hardly possible that they can be later than the seventh century A.D.¹

In 1859 a Jewish catacomb, containing nearly 200 inscriptions, was discovered in the Vigna Randanini, on the *Via Appia*, about two miles from Rome, nearly opposite the church of St. Sebastian.² It has been described by the Padre Garrucci.³ The inscriptions are generally Greek, though sometimes Latin, and some have Hebrew words. The candlestick, dove and olive-branch are frequently represented. Part of the catacomb is said to be of the time of Augustus, and part of the time of Constantine.⁴

In 1866 another "extremely poverty-stricken" Jewish cemetery was excavated in the Vigna Cimarra, also on the *Via Appia*, but no details are given of it.⁵

*7. *Inscriptions on the synagogues of Kefr Bereim in Galilee*⁶ [PLATE, col. 22].

These are two in number. They have been published by M. Renan,⁷ who attributes them to the end of the second century A.D., or the commencement of the third.

*8. *The inscription from Byblos*.

This inscription was discovered by M. Renan in the midst of the ruins of Byblos (*Djebal*).⁸ Its mutilated state has prevented its decipherment, but its alphabet points to the commencement of the fourth century A.D. as its date.

*9. *Inscription on the column under El-Aksa* [PLATE, col. 23].

M. de Saulcy discovered an inscription of four lines, traced at the foot of a monolith column, in the vaults under the mosque of El-Aksa at Jerusalem. He states that it must have been engraved before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Emperor Hadrian, unless one would wish to assign it to the time of Julian the Apostate, when he designed to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem; but he concludes by considering it anterior to the siege of Jerusalem by Titus.⁹ Lenormant, however, prefers to attribute it to the time of Julian, and to consider it to be a monument of the middle of the fourth century A.D. Its alphabet is very like that on the bowls from Babylon [No. 10].

¹ Since this was written a paper has been published by Prof. G. Ascoli, entitled "Iscrizione inedite o mal note greche, latine, ebraiche di antichi sepolchri giudaici del Napoletano," being a reprint from the Transactions of the Fourth International Congress of Orientalists held in Florence in 1878. Prof. Ascoli examines first the Greco-Latin and the Hebrew sepulchral inscriptions, discovered in the Jewish cemetery at Rome, which date between the first and fourth centuries A.D., and, secondly, the Hebrew inscriptions of the eleventh or end of tenth centuries, and points out that *the inscriptions of the Jewish cemetery of Venosa belong precisely to the intermediate epoch*.

I have not been able to see a copy of this work, and am indebted for this information to the notice in "The Academy" (No. 423, 12 June, 1880, p. 445).

² Rev. W. H. Withrow, "The Catacombs of Rome," 1877, pp. 51, 188.

³ "Cimitero degli Antichi Ebrei Scoperto recentemente in Vigna Randanini," Roma, 1862.

⁴ J. Parker, C.B. "Photographs," Nos. 1160, 1161.

⁵ Rev. E. Venables, art. "Catacombs," in Smith's and Cheetham's "Dict. of Christ. Antiq." vol. i. p. 301.

⁶ This place is said to have been once celebrated as containing the tombs of Barak and Obadiah (Major Wilson, R.E., "Geography of the Bible," in the "Bible Educator," vol. iv. p. 75; cf. vol. iii. p. 184).

⁷ "Journal Asiatique," Dec. 1864, pp. 531-540; Dec. 1865, pp. 561-569; cf. de Saulcy, "Rev. Arch." n.s. vol. ii. pp. 69-73; Frankel, "Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums," April, 1865; Geiger, "Jüdische Zeitschrift," third year, p. 230. ⁸ "Mission de Phénicie," p. 193.

⁹ "Voyage en Terre Sainte," vol. ii. p. 325. This inscription must not be confounded with another one, which was also found by de Saulcy under the El-Aksa, and of which he has given a woodcut ("Voy. en Terre Sainte," vol. ii. p. 327), bearing a dilapidated text "tracé au pinceau sur le trumeau faisant face à la colonne monolithe," and "peint en rouge." The alphabet of this inscription is similar to that of the Blacas papyri, and its date may be fixed to the second or third century A.C. (cf. Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. pp. 285, 296).

10. *The inscriptions on the bowls from Babylon* [PLATE, cols. 24, 26].

These earthen bowls, five in number, were discovered by Sir Henry Layard, and are preserved in the British Museum.¹ They have inside them long inscriptions of a cabalistic nature, probably written by Jews at Babylon or in Chaldæa. As regards their date, Layard conjectures² No. 1 to be perhaps of the second or third century B.C. or later, and others to be of the fifth century A.D.; but according to Levy³ they are partly of the seventh century A.D. M. Renan has shown⁴ that the most ancient of these monuments cannot be earlier than the fourth or fifth century A.D. On the earliest of them there is no strict use of final letters, and no separation of words; whereas on No. 5, final letters as well as separation of words are constantly found.

*11. *The inscription at Arles.*

This fragment of a Hebrew inscription, the epitaph of a person named מַאִיר (*Mair*), is preserved in the Museum of Arles. It is considered by Lenormant to be of the fourth century A.D.⁵

*12. *The inscriptions from the countries of the Visigothic Kings* [PLATE, col. 25].

These consist of the trilingual inscription, Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, discovered at Tortosa in Spain;⁶ and the stone of Narbonne, which is in Latin, but in the ninth line has the words שְׁלוֹם עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל.⁷ The former dates from the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century A.D., the latter is dated in the reign of Egica (A.D. 687-700).⁸

Another monument, inedited, of the same epoch, is mentioned by Lenormant. It is the epitaph of a certain Samuel, found at Vienne, in Dauphiné, and preserved in the Museum of that town.

13. *The inscriptions on the sepulchral stones from Aden* [PLATE, cols. 27, 28].

These inscriptions, now in the British Museum,⁹ are four in number, of which two are dated, one A.D. 717-718,¹⁰ and the other A.D. 916-917. The forms of ל (ל), † (ל), ט (ל), and כ (ל) correspond closely with those on the bowls found at Babylon [No. 10]. The peculiar letter ׀ on the later of these monuments, for נ, seems to be of Himyaritic or Ethiopic origin.

*14. *Alphabet from the MS. of the Jesuits.*

This Hebrew alphabet was discovered by Montfaucon¹¹ in a Greek MS., containing the Lamentations of Jeremiah, preserved in the Library of the Jesuits, at the College of Louis-le-

¹ "Nineveh and Babylon," 1853, pp. 509-526; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 315.

² *op. cit.* p. 525.

³ "Jüd. Münzen," p. 142; "Zeitschrift d. D.M.G." 1855, vol. ix. pp. 465-491; cf. "Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums," 1861, vol. ii. pp. 267, 294, and plate.

⁴ "Hist. des langues sémitiques," 1st edition, p. 66.

⁵ "Essai," vol. i. p. 273.

⁶ Le Blant, "Rev. Arch." n.s. vol. ii. pp. 345-350; Renan,

"Journal Asiatique," Dec. 1865, p. 569; Derenbourg, "Journal Asiatique," Sept.-Oct. 1867, pp. 354-358.

⁷ Le Blant and Renan, *op. cit.* p. 348.

⁸ Heiss, "Monnaies des Wisigoths"; C. F. Keary, "The Coinages of Western Europe," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. 1878, vol. xviii. p. 250.

⁹ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 318.

¹⁰ This inscription has been published by Dr. Levy in the "Zeitschrift d. D.M.G." vol. xxi. p. 156.

¹¹ "Prolegom. ad Orig. Hexapla," vol. i. p. 22.

Grand, and for this reason has been designated by the name of *Alphabetum Jesuitarum*.¹ Its date may be assigned to the eighth century A.D.

15. *Early MSS. of the Karaite Jews.*

The earliest existing Hebrew MSS. are preserved in the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg,² which has recently acquired the collection of Herr Firkowitz, and in which Library are now also deposited the Hebrew MSS. described by Pinner³ as formerly preserved at Odessa. The greater part of the MSS. of this collection have dates, which are reckoned according to different epochs. The Biblical MSS. consist of fragments of the Pentateuch Rolls without vowel points, and of various portions of the Old Testament accompanied with vowel points. The earliest date is on a Roll containing Deuteronomy, which was found in a Karaite synagogue at Tschufutkalé in the Crimea. The inscription is as follows:

הוקדש פה | ק' ממטקא | לפנים ממירקא |
ש אשרת ליצה | אקפה לגלותנו

"Dedicated [by the Synagogue] here to the Congregation [ק' meaning קהל or קהילת] of Tamatarka [i.e. Phanagoria, the present *Taman* on the Peninsula of the same name] formerly Thmirake, in the year 4400 of the Creation, 1185 after our Exile."

From other inscriptions calculated at different epochs [see No. 5], it is apparent that the Jews in the Crimea made use of two eras calculated from the Creation, which differed from each other 151 years, so that we must add 89 years to the one, and 240 to the other, to obtain the corresponding Christian year. The year 4400 of the Creation is here that to which only 89 years are to be added, i.e. A.D. 489. The other era of the Exile is reckoned from B.C. 696, the date of the captivity of the Ten Tribes, and the year 1185 corresponds to A.D. 489.⁴

Other fragments of Rolls exist in which the date of purchase or dedication is mentioned; for example, 1335 of the Exile=A.D. 639; 1460 of the Exile=A.D. 764; 4541 of the Creation=A.D. 781; 1485 of the Exile and [4]700 of the Creation=A.D. 789; 1494 of the Exile=A.D. 798; 1501 of the Exile and 4565 of the Creation=A.D. 805, in which year this Roll was stolen by the Gothic tribe of the Tetraxians, and recovered by force from them by the newly-converted Chazars. This inscription is unquestionably genuine, and the Roll evidently very ancient.

¹ Gesenius, "Geschichte der hebr. Sprache," p. 177; Kopp, "Bilder und Schriften," vol. ii. p. 275.

² For the account of the Hebrew MSS. in this Library, as well as for the information relative to those noticed by Pinner, I was indebted in 1864 to Dr. W. Wright, who kindly permitted me to make an extract of a letter addressed to him, and dated Nov. 1863, from Prof. Chwolson of St. Petersburg ("Jewish Coinage," p. 316). Prof. Chwolson has since briefly alluded to them in his "Achtzehn Hebräische Grabschriften aus der Krim," in the "Mém. de l'Acad. Imper. des Sciences de St. Petersburg," 1865, as also Neubauer, "Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek. Beiträge und Dokumente zur Geschichte

des Karäerthums und der Karäischen Literatur," 1866. Cf. Dr. Davidson, "Supplement to art. 'Manuscripts Biblical,'" in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, vol. iii. p. 1167.

³ "Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft gehörenden ältesten Hebräischen und Rabbinischen Handschriften," Odessa, 1845.

⁴ Dr. W. Wright ("Journ. of Sacred Lit." Jan. 1864, p. 474) considers this inscription as suspicious, for Thmirake is a well-known town, situated out of the Crimea, a little westward of Perekop, but not in the peninsula of Taman. The earliest MS. noticed by Pinner (*op. cit.*) was written, according to the subscription (if it is genuine), previously to A.D. 580.

There are also others dated [4]726 of the Creation=A.D. 815; 4603 of the Creation=A.D. 843; [1]544 of the Exile=A.D. 848; [4]608 of the Creation=A.D. 848, etc.¹

Among the MSS. formerly at Odessa, described by Pinner, is one containing Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the later prophets, and bearing the date A.D. 916. Of this one, which corresponds in date to one of the sepulchral inscriptions from Aden [see No. 13], Pinner has given an excellent facsimile. It has this peculiarity, that the vowels and accents are written *above* instead of below the letters, a practice which has been assumed to indicate a Babylonish origin.²

The opinion of Dr. M. Heidenheim,³ that the MS. of the Prophets in the British Museum (*Add.* 4708) is a *codex* of the sixth or eighth century, does not merit serious attention. It is probably not earlier than the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

I conclude this section of my subject with Mr. Thomas's Comparative Table of cognate Alphabets, which appeared in his Article on "Sassanian Inscriptions" in 1868.

	A	B	G	D	H	W	Z	Kh	I	K	L	M	N	S	P	Ts	R	Sh	T	I
MODERN HEBREW.	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	פ	צ	ק	ש	ת	"
DUC DE LUYNES' NUMISMATIC PHENICIAN.	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓
OLD SYRIAC.	ܐ	ܒ	ܓ	ܕ	ܗ	ܘ	ܙ	ܠ	ܡ	ܢ	ܣ	ܦ	ܥ	ܩ	ܫ	ܬ	ܭ	ܬ	ܬ	ܬ
RABBINICAL HEBREW.	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	פ	צ	ק	ש	ת	"
CHALDEO-PEHLVI.	ܐ	ܒ	ܓ	ܕ	ܗ	ܘ	ܙ	ܠ	ܡ	ܢ	ܣ	ܦ	ܥ	ܩ	ܫ	ܬ	ܭ	ܬ	ܬ	ܬ
SASSANIAN PEHLVI.	𐭀	𐭁	𐭂	𐭃	𐭄	𐭅	𐭆	𐭇	𐭈	𐭉	𐭊	𐭋	𐭌	𐭍	𐭎	𐭏	𐭐	𐭑	𐭒	𐭓
MODERN PEHLVI TYPE.	𐭀	𐭁	𐭂	𐭃	𐭄	𐭅	𐭆	𐭇	𐭈	𐭉	𐭊	𐭋	𐭌	𐭍	𐭎	𐭏	𐭐	𐭑	𐭒	𐭓
PERSIAN NASKHI.	ا	ب	گ	د	ه	و	ز	ح	ط	ك	ل	م	ن	س	پ	چ	ر	ش	ت	ي

Hebrew Letters not used in the Pehlvi;—**ט** Teth = **𐭈**; **ע** Ayin = **𐭇**; **פ** Koph = **𐭏**; **צ** Tsade, and **ש** Sin.

¹ The authenticity of several of the dates on these rolls has, however, been called in question, and Herr Grätz is of opinion ("Geschichte der Juden," vol. v. p. 551) that the greater number are purely imaginary compositions written at a recent date by some Karaite Jew (cf. Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. p. 277). [See No. 5.]

² Pinsker, "Einleitung in das Babylonisch-hebräische Punctuationssystem," Wien, 1863. He also gives a facsimile of this

MS. Dr. Levy has published an alphabet ("Zeitschrift d. D.M.G." vol. ix. p. 478), and Dr. Ginsburg has written a paper ("Trans. of Bibl. Arch." 1876, vol. v. p. 129) on "The Babylonian codex of Hosea and Joel, dated A.D. 916, compared with the received Massoretic texts."

³ "Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift," vol. i. p. 259, edited by Dr. M. Heidenheim.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE.

Column 1.	EGYPTIAN	Hieratic, <i>circa</i> B.C. 2000; from Lenormant, "Essai," vol. i. pl. i.; and Euting, "Semitische Schrifttafel," 1877.
"	2. PHœNICIAN . . .	Moabite stone, B.C. 853-841; from Rawlinson, "Contemporary Review," August, 1870.
"	3. "	Engraved gems, 8th century B.C.; from De Vogüé's plate of gems, "Rev. Arch." N.S. 1868, vol. xvii. pl. xiv.; and Lenormant, pl. ii. col. 3.
"	4. "	Esmunazar, king of Sidon, B.C. 600; from Madden, "Jewish Coinage," 1864; Duc de Luynes, "Mém. sur le sarcophage et l'inscription funéraire d'Esmunazar," 1856; "Journ. Asiatique," May, 1856; also in Thomas's "Prinsep's Essays," vol. ii. p. 166, pl. xix. col. 3.
"	5. ANCIENT GREEK.	Phrygian, B.C. 920; from tracings by Mr. E. Thomas, from Steuart's and Texier's copies.
"	6. " "	Carian, <i>circa</i> B.C. 656, or B.C. 520; from copies of inscriptions by Mr. Thomas, after Boeckh and Lepsius; cf. Kirchhoff, "Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Alphabets," p. 35; cf. plate, col. vii.
"	7. " "	Various, <i>circa</i> B.C. 650-500; from Rawlinson, "Contemp. Review," August, 1870, after Boeckh and Rose, and inedited inscriptions in the British Museum; cf. Kirchhoff, plate.
"	8. " "	From Kirchhoff, p. 157.
"	9. ARAMÆAN	Lion weights, B.C. 745-681; from the weights; the letters wanting supplied from the bulls of Sargon, <i>circa</i> B.C. 648; Madden, "Jewish Coinage."
"	10. "	Assyrian contracts, 7th cent. B.C.; from Lenormant, pl. ix. col. 3.
"	11. "	Carpentras stone, ? 1st century B.C.; from Madden, "Jewish Coinage"; Gesenius, "Mon. Phœn." pl. xxviii.
"	12. "	Papyri, 1st century B.C.; from Madden, "Jewish Coinage"; Gesenius, "Mon. Phœn." pl. xxx (Turin), xxxi and 32 (Blacas).
"	13. PALMYRENE . . .	B.C. 9—A.D. 257; from Madden, "Jewish Coinage"; Gesenius, "Mon. Phœn." pl. v.
"	14. OLD HEBREW . .	Engraved gems, 8th and 7th cent. B.C.; from de Vogüé's plate of gems, "Rev. Arch." N.S. 1868, vol. xvii. pl. xvi.; and Lenormant, pl. vii. col. 2.
"	15. "	Shekels \mathcal{R} }
"	16. "	" \mathcal{A} } B.C. 141-135; from the coins.
"	17. "	Asmonæan family, B.C. 135-37; from the coins.
"	18. "	Two Revolts { A.D. 66-70 A.D. 132-135 } ; from the coins.
"	19. SAMARITAN. . . .	Nablûs stone, A.D. 527; from Madden, "Jewish Coinage"; Rosen, "Zeitschrift d. D.M.G." vol. xiv. p. 622.
"	20. SQUARE HEBREW.	Beni Hezir, 1st cent. B.C.; from Lenormant, pl. xv. col. 1.
"	21. " "	Crimea, 1st cent. A.D.; from Lenormant, pl. xv. col. 3.
"	22. " "	Kefr-Bereim, 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.; from Lenormant, pl. xv. col. 7.
"	23. " "	El-Aksa, 4th cent. A.D.; from Lenormant, pl. xv. col. 9.
"	24. " "	Bowls from Babylon, 4th and 5th cent. A.D.; from the bowls, Madden, "Jewish Coinage"; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 512-526, 1853.
"	25. " "	Tortosa, 6th cent. A.D.; from Lenormant, pl. xv. col. 11.
"	26. " "	Bowl from Babylon, 7th cent. A.D.; from the bowl, Madden, "Jewish Coinage"; Layard, <i>op. cit.</i>
"	27. " "	Stone from Aden, A.D. 717; from the stone, Madden, "Jewish Coinage."
"	28. " "	Stone from Aden, A.D. 916; from the stone, Madden, "Jewish Coinage."
"	29. " "	Modern.

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OLD HEBREW.								
ENGRAVED GEMS. 8th-7th CENT. B.C.	SHEKELS. B.C. 141 — 135. AR		TORTOSA. A.D.	BOWL FROM BABYLON. 7th CENT. A.D.	STONES FROM ADEN, 8th CENT. A.D., 10th CENT. A.D. A.D. 717. A.D. 916.		MODERN.	
✕✕	✕	✕	✕	✕✕✕	✕	✕	✕	1
✕✕	✕	✕	✕	✕✕	✕	✕	✕	2
✕✕	✕	✕					✕	3
✕	✕	✕	✕	✕✕✕	✕	✕	✕	4
✕✕	✕✕✕	✕	✕	✕✕✕	✕	✕	✕	5
✕✕✕	✕	✕	✕	✕✕	✕	✕	✕	6
✕✕✕	✕		✕	✕	✕	✕	✕	7
✕✕✕	✕	✕	✕	✕✕✕	✕	✕	✕	8
	✕			✕✕	✕	✕	✕	9
✕✕	✕	✕	✕	✕✕	✕	✕	✕	10
✕✕	✕		✕	✕✕	✕	✕	✕✕	11
✕	✕	✕	✕	✕✕✕	✕	✕	✕	12
✕	✕✕✕	✕	✕	✕✕✕ _{fin}	✕	✕ _{fin}	✕	13
✕✕	✕✕✕	✕	✕	✕✕✕ _{fin}	✕ _{fin}	✕ _{fin}	✕	14
✕✕	✕			✕✕	✕	✕	✕	15
✕	✕	✕	✕	✕	✕	✕	✕	16
✕	✕			✕✕✕	✕	✕ _{fin}	✕✕	17
✕	✕✕✕	✕	✕		✕		✕✕	18
✕	✕✕✕		✕	✕✕✕	✕	✕	✕	19
✕	✕	✕	✕	✕✕	✕	✕	✕	20
✕✕	✕	✕	✕	✕✕	✕	✕	✕	21
✕✕	✕	✕	✕	✕✕	✕	✕	✕	22
								23
								24
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EARL

B.O.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MONEY EMPLOYED BY THE JEWS AFTER THEIR RETURN FROM BABYLON UNTIL THE REVOLT UNDER THE MACCABEES.

IN the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia (B.C. 538),¹ an edict was issued authorising the return of the Jewish people to Jerusalem for the purpose of building the Temple (Ezra i.). Nearly fifty thousand persons responded to this decree, and on their arrival, "the chief of the fathers offered freely for the house of God to set it up in its place." It is recorded (Ezra ii. 69) that: "They gave after their ability unto the treasure of the work three score and one thousand *drans* of gold (דַּרְכֵּמוֹנִים, *Darkemonim*; LXX. *μναί*; Cod. Alex. *δραχμάς*; Vulg. *solidos*), and five thousand pound of silver." In the second year of Cyrus (B.C. 537) the foundation of the Temple was commenced, shortly to be stopped by the opposition of the Samaritans, who frustrated the Jews "all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius, king of Persia" (Ezra iv. 5). This was Darius, son of Hystaspes.² An accusation was written to Ahasuerus (אֲחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ, *Akhasverosh*), who has been identified with Cambyzes,³ the son and successor of Cyrus, who came to the throne in B.C. 529, and died after a reign of seven years and five months, but the result of the communication is not given (Ezra iv. 6). Another letter addressed to

¹ Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. Namely, his first year at Babylon. Prof. Rawlinson says ("Bible Educator," vol. iv. p. 42, note 9), "This date is determined by the canon of Ptolemy. There is no need to suppose that the Jews regarded 'the reign of the kingdom of Persia' as commencing two years later (B.C. 536), for the prophetic *round* number seventy years need not have been fulfilled exactly. The captivity commenced B.C. 605 (Dan. i. 1; 2 Kings xxiv. 13; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7). The decree of Cyrus was issued B.C. 538, in the sixty-eighth year after. The foundations of the Temple were laid B.C. 537 (Ezra iii. 8), in the sixty-ninth year after the commencement of the captivity." But if we accept the view that Astyages the Mede was the "Darius the Mede" of Daniel, and was left at Babylon (B.C. 538-536) as viceroy whilst Cyrus pursued his conquests, the Jews, being in constant intercourse with him, would naturally give him the title of king, and would reckon the year of his death B.C. 536, which was that of their restoration, as the *first* year of Cyrus (Vaux, "Hist. of Persia," S.P.C.K. pp. 80, 81). The late Dean Milman ("Hist. of the Jews," vol. i. p. 415), as many others, rather inclined to consider a Cyaxares the *uncle* of Cyrus to be Darius the Mede. But this second Cyaxares, son of Astyages, is only introduced in Xenophon's romance ("Cyrop." i. 5, 2), and his existence is apparently alluded to by Josephus

("Antiq." x. 11, 4), who says, "Darius was the son of Astyages, but known to the Greeks by a different name." Herodotus, however, distinctly states (i. 109) that Astyages had *no male issue*—*ἄνδρας ἔσχενος γένου*. See p. 46, note 8.

² Some (Dr. Mill, "Evangel. Acct. of the Birth and Parentage of our Saviour," pp. 153-165, 1842) have considered this Darius to be Darius Nothus (B.C. 424-405), but the arguments advanced for this view are by no means satisfactory. Moreover, if Darius Nothus be meant, Zerubbabel and Jeshua must have reached the age of a hundred and fifty or a hundred and thirty years at least, as they were still living in the second (Ezra iii. 8, v. 2) and even in the sixth year of Darius (Zech. iv. 9). See on this question Rev. H. Browne, in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bib. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s.v.* Darius, and Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 399; "Bible Educator," vol. iv. p. 42, note 10.

³ Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Dr. Cotton, Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s.v.* Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, J. Nicholson, Kitto, *s.v.* Ahasuerus. De Saulcy ("Esdra et Néhémie," p. 24, 1868) identifies Ahasuerus with Xerxes; so also Dr. Davidson (Kitto, "Cyc. of Bib. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s.v.* Ezra, Book of) and Lord A. Hervey (Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s.v.* Ezra, Book of).

Artaxerxes (אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׁתָּא, *Artakhshashta*), identified with the Magian impostor Smerdis,¹ who succeeded Cambyzes B.C. 522, and was killed by Darius Hystaspis after a short reign of seven months, met with an unfavourable reply, and the work of the house of God "ceased unto the second year (B.C. 520) of Darius, king of Persia" (Ezra iv. 7-24). Then the work was recommenced (Ezra v. 1-2), soon to be again opposed. Another letter was written to Darius, calling attention to the decree of Cyrus, and asking if the building was to be continued (Ezra v. 6-17). Darius immediately ordered search to be made in the "house of the rolls" for the decree of Cyrus, which was found at Achmetha (Ecbatana, Ezra vi. 1). Darius then issued a new decree for the advancement of the building, which was "finished according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the commandment of Cyrus and Darius and Artaxerxes, king of Persia."² And the house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year (B.C. 516-515) of the reign of Darius the king" (Ezra vi. 3-15).

About fifty-seven years later (B.C. 458), in the reign of Artaxerxes (Longimanus³), Ezra went up to Jerusalem with a special commission from the king, the decree including the following words: "And all the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of Babylon, with the free-will offering of the people and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of their God which is in Jerusalem; that thou mayest buy speedily with this money bullocks, rams, lambs, with their meat-offerings and their drink-offerings, and offer them upon the altar of the house of your God which is in Jerusalem; and whatsoever shall seem good to thee and to thy brethren to do with the rest of the silver and the gold, that do after the will of your God" (Ezra vii. 16, 17, 18).⁴

On Ezra's arrival at Jerusalem he committed the treasure to the care of the priests, "and

¹ Herod. iii. 61-78. Rawlinson and Cotton (*op. cit.*); J. Nicholson (Kitto, *s.v.* Artaxerxes). De Saulcy (*op. cit.* p. 27) thinks the name Artakhshashta *est faux*. Dr. Davidson (Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s.v.* Ezra, Book of) not Smerdis but Longimanus.

² "There is some difficulty," says Professor Rawlinson, ("Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 406, note 14), "in the conjunction of Artaxerxes with Cyrus and Darius here. It is impossible that the Artaxerxes of ch. iv. 7 [Smerdis] can be intended, since he opposed the building. The Artaxerxes of ch. vii. seems to be meant (*i.e.* Longimanus); but as the Temple was 'finished' in the sixth year of Darius (ver. 15), his grandfather, it is scarcely accurate to say that it was 'built and finished' by Artaxerxes' commandment. Still, as Artaxerxes contributed to the beautifying of the Temple (ch. vii. 20), and promoted the same by his edict (*ib.* 13-20), he might be thought to deserve mention, together with Cyrus and Darius, as one of those who helped forward the completion of the work." Cf. J. Nicholson (Kitto, *s.v.* Artaxerxes).

³ The Artaxerxes here mentioned is generally considered to be Longimanus. Three kings of the name of Artaxerxes ruled over Persia,—Longimanus (B.C. 465-425), Mnemon (B.C. 405-359), and Ochus (B.C. 359-338). The latter is at once put out of the field, as mention is made in Nehemiah (xiii. 6) of an Artaxerxes who reigned thirty-two years, and Ochus reigned

only twenty-one. Some, as Michaelis, Jahn, etc., advocate Xerxes. From the fact that Eliashib, grandson of the high-priest Jeshua, who accompanied the first colony under Zerubbabel (Nehem. xii. 1-10; cf. Ezra ii. 2, iii. 2), was the high-priest when Nehemiah arrived at Jerusalem (Nehem. iii. 1), it is more than probable that Artaxerxes Longimanus is the Artakhshashta of Ezra (vii. 1) and Nehemiah (ii.), and not Artaxerxes Mnemon, as De Saulcy (*op. cit.* p. 42) supposes. See Bertholdt ("Einleit." iii. 1014), J. Nicholson (Kitto, *s.v.* Artaxerxes), Rawlinson ("Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 408; "Bible Ed." vol. iv. p. 42, note 11).

⁴ Cf. 1 Esdras viii. 16. Πάντα τε ὅσα βούλη ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ κατασκευάσαι, ποιεῖν ἐξέστω σοι μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τὰ δεδομένα σοι ἱερὰ σκεύη ἀναθήσεις, καὶ ὅσων ἂν ἐπίνοιαν λάβῃς, καὶ ταῦτα προσεξεργάσῃ, τὴν εἰς ἑνὶ δαπάνῃ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ποιοῦμενος γαζοφυλακίου.—Joseph. "Antiq." xi. 5, 1. This seems to show that Josephus understood that full permission was given to the Jews to turn the metal in their hands to whatever use they chose. Josephus gives the name of the king who granted the commission as Xerxes, instead of Artaxerxes Longimanus.

This passage of Ezra was the one upon which M. de Saulcy founded his new theory, and ascribed the emission of the shekels and half-shekels, usually attributed to Simon Maccabæus, to Ezra ("Etude Chron. des livres d'Esdras et de Néhémie," 1868,

weighed unto them the silver and the gold and the vessels, even the offering of the house of our God, which the king, and his counsellors, and his lords, and all Israel there present, had offered; I even weighed unto their hand six hundred and fifty talents of silver, and silver vessels an hundred talents, and of gold an hundred talents; also twenty basons of gold of a thousand *drams* (אֲדַרְכֹנִים, *Adarkonim*; LXX. χρυσοὶ χίλιοι; Cod. Alex. δραχμῶν χίλιοι; Vulg. *solidos*); and two vessels of fine copper, precious as gold" (Ezra viii. 25, 26, 27).¹

In the twentieth year (B.C. 445-444) of Artaxerxes Longimanus² (Nehem. ii. 1), Nehemiah, hearing of the misery at Jerusalem, obtained permission from the king to visit it, and having secretly viewed the ruins of the walls and incited the Jews to build in spite of their enemies, the work was commenced at once, and notwithstanding frequent interruptions (Nehem. iii. iv. v.) completed in fifty-two days (Nehem. vi. 15). Nehemiah then found "a register of the genealogy of them which came up at the first" (Nehem. vii. 5), in which it is stated that "some of the chief of the fathers gave unto the work. The Tirshatha gave to the treasure a thousand *drams* of gold (דַּרְכֵּמוֹנִים, *Darkemonim*; LXX. χρυσοῦς χίλους; Vulg. *auri drachmas*), fifty basons, five hundred and thirty priests' garments. And some of the chief of the fathers gave to the treasure of the work twenty thousand *drams* of gold (דַּרְכֵּמוֹנִים, *Darkemonim*; LXX. χρυσοῦ νομισματος; Vulg. *auri drachmas*), and two thousand and two hundred pound of silver. And that which the rest of the people gave was twenty thousand *drams* of gold (דַּרְכֵּמוֹנִים, *Darkemonim*; LXX. χρυσῶν; Vulg. *auri drachmas*), and two thousand pound of silver, and three score and seven priests' garments" (Nehem. vii. 70, 71, 72).³

p. 43), a theory completely accepted and advocated by Lenormant ("Essai," vol. i. p. 186), and laid before English readers by myself with reserve ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1874, vol. xiv. pp. 282-290). But more recently Lenormant has restored these coins without any explanation to Simon Maccabæus ("La Mon. dans l'Antiq." 1878, vol. ii. pp. 28, 29, 155), and views of dissent as to their attribution to Ezra have been expressed by M. Six and Dr. Merzbacher (see Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1879, vol. xiv. pp. 13-15).

The former numismatist ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1877, vol. xvii. p. 238) urges the following reasons for the old attribution: 1. These coins have not the *carri creux*. 2. The name of the town is followed by an honorary title קִרְשָׁה, and these titles are not adopted at Sidon till about B.C. 120, at Tyre till about B.C. 140, and at Byblus till B.C. 176-164. 3. The date is expressed by a numeral preceded by the initial of the word שָׁנָה, and ciphers do not appear till B.C. 368; and the word שָׁנָה added to the date is not earlier than B.C. 238. 4. The shekels have the same weight as the staters of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes (B.C. 204-181), and of his son Ptolemy VI. Philometor (B.C. 164-146).

The latter has devoted to the question a special paper, in which he discusses "the age of the shekel" ("Zeitsch. für Num." 1877, vol. v. pp. 151-172), and many of the arguments are similar to those advanced by M. Six. Especial prominence is given to the study of the time when the Jews could have formed an independent commonwealth, and to the manner in which autonomous coinage in Asia developed itself; whilst the passage in Ezra is rejected (p. 158, after Grätz), as belonging to a record, the historical value of which is more than doubtful.

Without, however, attempting to discuss this last statement, I

am of opinion that the views set forth by M. Six and Dr. Merzbacher give as convincing proof of the correctness of the attribution of the shekels and half-shekels to Simon Maccabæus as can be expected without direct or positive evidence. See p. 50, note 1, and CHAPTER V. ¹ See CHAPTER I. p. 12.

² De Sauley ("Esdra et Néhémie," 1863, pp. 52, 55, 70) calls this king Mnemon, and assigns Nehemiah's visit to Jerusalem to B.C. 384.

³ For an explanation of the amount of gold, silver, and garments contributed, as stated by Ezra and Nehemiah, see Rawlinson ("Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 448); Lord A. Hervey (Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Nehemiah).

This register is similar to that in Ezra (ii. 1-70). The *Tirshatha* or "governor" (תִּרְשָׁתָה) always written with the article תִּרְשָׁתָהּ, mentioned in Nehemiah (vii. 65, 70), is Zerubbabel and not Nehemiah, as is evident from Ezra (ii. 63). Nehemiah though is called *Tirshatha* in Nehem. viii. 9; x. 1. Both Zerubbabel and Nehemiah are also named *Pechah* (פֶּחָח), A.V. "governor", the former in Ezra (v. 14; cf. Haggai i. 1, 14; ii. 2, 21), the latter in Nehemiah (xii. 26). *Tirsatha* is a Persian word from *tarsāta*, the past participle of *tars*, "to fear" (Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 424). Lord A. Hervey (Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Nehemiah) is of opinion that the *Tirsatha* in Ezra ii. 63, and Nehemiah vii. 65, 70, is Nehemiah, as we are expressly told in Nehemiah viii. 9, x. 1; and that it is certain that what is related in the two first-named passages happened in the time of Nehemiah, and not in that of Zerubbabel. But see Rawlinson's *note* ("Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 445).

To the above-quoted passages from Ezra and Nehemiah may be added the statement of the offerings given, at the time of David, by David and the chief of the fathers to the service of the house of God, among which the following are mentioned:—"And gave for the service of the house of God, of gold five thousand talents and ten thousand *drams* (אֲדַרְכֹנִים *Adarkonim*; LXX. χρυσίδες; Vulg. *solidos*), and of silver ten thousand talents, and of brass eighteen thousand talents, and one hundred thousand talents of iron" (1 Chron. xxix. 7).

Though there are several opinions concerning the origin of the words "Adarkon" and "Darkemon," it is in any case agreed that by these words a gold coin or *stater* is intended. The origin of the term has been sought in the name of Darius the Mede, or of Darius, son of Hystaspes (הַרְיֹאשׁ).¹ In consequence of the type of the coins, supposed to have been alluded to, being "an archer," the late Dr. Levy thought² that the word was derived from דָּרַךְ, "to bend the bow," from which was formed a noun דַּרְכֹן, or with the Aleph prefixed, אֲדַרְכֹן, "archer," and that the expanded form דַּרְכֶמֶן might have formed itself from the simple דַּרְכֶן, for the *Mem* is easily inserted. Gesenius suggested³ the Persian word *dara*, "king," which would be a likely derivation,⁴ as the figure represented is not any particular king, but "the king of Persia" in a general sense.

The name "Darkemon," occurring as it does as early as the first year of the reign of Cyrus (B.C. 538, Ezra ii. 69), may have been suggested by the name of Darius the Mede,⁵ who may perhaps be identified with Astyages, king of Media, defeated by Cyrus in B.C. 558, and who, if he was the grandfather of Cyrus, as stated by Herodotus,⁶ when the combined armies of Persia and Media captured Babylon, might well have appeared to the Jews as the actual king of Babylon, more especially if he was left there to exercise the kingly office, while Cyrus pursued his career of conquest.⁷ There are, however, serious objections to this theory,⁸ and

¹ Darius is in old Persian *Daryavush*, a form well represented by the Hebrew דַּרְיָוֶשׁ *Daryavesh* (Rawlinson, Herod. vol. iii. p. 544).

² "Jüd. Münzen," pp. 19, 20, *note*; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 19.

³ "Lex." ed. Tregelles, s.v. אֲדַרְכֹן.
⁴ With respect to Gesenius' derivation, Rawlinson says (Herod. vii. 28) that there is no evidence of the existence of any such root in ancient Persian, and that perhaps it is better to connect the term with Darius. Mr. E. Thomas ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1868, vol. viii. p. 286) writes, "The Persian origin of the word 'Darius' is clear in the verb داشت *Dastan*, 'to have, to hold, to possess,' imperative دار *dār*." One of the titles of God is دَار دَار *Dād-dār*, "possessor of justice." The remainder of the word is a mere appellative suffix elongated on euphonic grounds (Rawlinson, Herod. vol. iii. p. 544). See *note* 1.

⁵ Dan. v. 31, vi. 28, ix. 1, xi. 1. Δαρεικός οὐκ ἀπὸ Δαρείου, τοῦ ἑβραίου πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἑτέρου τινὸς παλαιότερου βασιλέως ἐνομασθήσαν.—Schol. on Aristoph. "Eccl." 602; Harpocration and Suidas, s.v. Δαρεικός. This passage is condemned by Mr. Head ("Int. Num. Orient." vol. i. part iii. p. 22) as "unworthy of credit," and the statement of Harpocration, as perhaps derived from the romance of Xenophon ("Cyrop." v. 2, 7),

who speaks of darics as in use in the time of Cyrus I. But others (Rev. J. M. Fuller, "Speaker's Com." vol. vi. p. 314; cf. p. 312) are of opinion that the notice in the scholium of Aristophanes is of "no small value," and the Lexicon of Harpocration is generally considered to be a work of the highest importance. It may be that "the scholiast mistook a statement purporting that the coin was older than the time of Darius Hystaspis, and took its name not from him but from *dara*, 'king'" (Rev. H. Browne, Kitto, "Cyc. Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Darius).

⁶ I. 75, 91, 107, *seq.*

⁷ Rawlinson, Herod. vol. i. p. 405.

⁸ The whole question of the identity of Darius the Mede is discussed by the Rev. J. M. Fuller, joint editor with the late Archdeacon Rose of the book of "Daniel" in the "Speaker's Com." (vol. vi. p. 310, *seq.*), and three identifications are more specially selected, (1) with Cyaxares II.; (2) with Astyages, and (3)—a theory expounded by M. Quatremère ("Mél. Hist." "Mém. sur Darius le Mède et Balthasar," p. 372)—with the general charged by Cyrus to lead the nocturnal expedition, who was rewarded with the satrapy of Babylon (cf. Des Vignoles, "Œuvres," ii. p. 510; Lenormant, "Man. of the Anc. Hist. of the East," i. p. 490). Mr. Fuller rather inclines to this latter view. See p. 43, *note* 1.

yet it is difficult to account for the names of these coins under Cyrus, unless from a king by name "Darius."¹

Though the passages in Ezra and Nehemiah would seem to show that coins of a similar name were current during the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspis, it is a question if the coin called "Daric" is intended by those mentioned during the reign of Cyrus. The Daric proper was probably not in circulation till the reign of Darius, son of Hystaspes, (B.C. 521-485), who issued a new coinage of pure gold,² though the actual name of *Daric stater* does not seem to have been in vogue till the reign of Xerxes³ (B.C. 485-465), under whom it is specially mentioned.⁴

It is probable that the staters of Cræsus⁵ may have continued in circulation from after the capture of Sardes in B.C. 554⁶ to the time when Darius reformed the coinage,⁷ and if so the Lydian staters would be those alluded to during the reign of Cyrus.⁸

There is, on the other hand, no difficulty in supposing that the *adarkonim* and *darkemonim* mentioned under the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ezra viii. 27; Nehem. vii. 72) are the coins called *Daric*, as we know, as I have above stated, that a "Daric stater" is specially mentioned under Xerxes, the father of Longimanus, and that they were at this period extensively circulated in Persia⁹ and Greece. The pay given at first by Cyrus the younger to his soldiers was a daric a month; and half-darics (*ἡμιδαρεικά*) appear to be mentioned by Xenophon.¹⁰

¹ The resemblance of the word *dram* to the Greek *δραχμή* may also be noticed, though it is a question if the Hebrew word is the equivalent of *δραχμή*, as Ewald has suggested (quoted by A. von Werlhof in preface to Cavedoni's "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. xvii), and as the late M. Charles Lenormant was inclined to think ("Rev. Num." 1860, p. 17, note 4). Hussey ("Weights and Money," p. 183) writes, "It remains, then, that we may consider the word *drachma* also, like other words in the Greek system of weights, to be derived from some one of the oriental tongues, and that the Hebrew *darkemon* and *adarkon* are forms of words from a common root with it."

² *Δαρείος μὲν γὰρ χρυσὸν καθάρτατον ἀπέψφας ἐς τὸ δυνατότατον νόμισμα ἐκόμισε*.—Herod. iv. 166. Grote ("Hist. of Greece," vol. iv. p. 166) does not think that there is any reason for believing either the name or the coin *Daric* to be older than Darius Hystaspis, and that (p. 166) Darius was the first Persian king who coined money. But Herodotus only states that Darius coined gold of superior quality to any which had been known before (Rawlinson, Herod. *ad loc.*). The staters given to Democedes by the wives of Darius for saving the king's life (Herod. iii. 130) were *Darics*.

³ Identified with the *Ahasuerus* of Esther (Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 475). Mr. Nicholson writes (Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. *Ahasuerus*), "Nor is it, perhaps, unimportant to add that Norberg asserts, on the authority of native Persian historians, that the mother of Bahman, i.e. Artaxerxes Longimanus, was a Jewess ('Opuscula Acad.' iii. 218)."

⁴ *Στατήρων Δαρεικῶν*.—Herod. vii. 28.

⁵ The staters of Cræsus were known in Greece as early as B.C. 557-556. Cræsus gave two staters (*δύο στατήρας χρυσοῦ*) apiece to the Delphians for the satisfactory answer he had obtained from the oracles (Herod. i. 54).

⁶ The taking of Sardes, according to common account, is assigned to B.C. 546. According to Volney ("Recherches sur l'Hist. Anc." vol. i. pp. 306-309) and Heeren ("Man. of Anc. Hist." 1840, p. 478) to B.C. 557. Rawlinson (Herod. vol. i. p. 336 *seq.*) gives good reasons for the date B.C. 554.

⁷ B. V. Head, "Metrolog. Notes on Anc. Electrum Coins" ("Num. Chron." N.S. 1875, vol. xv. p. 258).

⁸ See CHAPTER II. p. 20.

⁹ Pythius the Lydian (Herod. vii. 28) placed at the disposal of Xerxes on his way to Greece 2,000 talents of silver and 3,993,000 *daric staters*, which together would equal nearly five millions of our money. Grote ("Hist. of Greece," vol. iv. p. 374) has no confidence in the estimate of the wealth of Pythius, but other private individuals are recorded as possessing enormous riches. Haman offered Xerxes 10,000 talents of silver (2½ millions) to destroy the nation of the Jews (Esther iii. 9), and Tritantæchmes, satrap of Babylon, is said to have received as revenue an *artaba* of silver daily, which has been estimated (Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herod. i. 192) at about 1½ bushels.

¹⁰ *Προσαιοῦσι δὲ μισθὸν ὁ Κύρος ἐπισχνεῖται ἡμιδλίον πᾶσι δάσειν οὐ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαρεικά τοῦ μὴνδς τῷ στρατιώτῃ*.—"Anab." i. 3, 21. None of these so-called half-darics have come down to us. Mommsen considers ("Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 12)—if, indeed, Xenophon meant to indicate a coin by the term *ἡμιδαρεῖον*—that they must be the quarter-darics, weighing about 66 grains, struck by the satraps, and especially by those of Tyre. Mr. Head ("Int. Num. Orient." vol. i. part iii. p. 29) is inclined to take *τρία ἡμιδαρεικά* simply to mean a sum of money equivalent to a daric and a half, comparing *τριημι*—the ordinary way of expressing one and a half.

The Persian daric may be thus described:—



OBVERSE.

AV. Figure of a king, crowned, kneeling to the right, holding in *left* hand a bow, and in *right* a spear, or sometimes an arrow.¹

REVERSE.

An irregular incuse square.

The ordinary daric weighed about 130 grains, and was equivalent to 20 Persian drachmæ.² *Double darics*, weighing 257 grains, or thereabouts, are in existence, though they are rare;³ but there is no doubt that the Greeks gave the name of *στατήρ δαρεικός*, or *δαρεικός*, to the piece weighing 130 grains, which is more common.

With reference to the "darics" mentioned in the book of Chronicles, the writer, who in all probability was Ezra, must not be understood to say that darics were current in the time of David. "We must rather regard him as wishing to express, in language that

¹ The carrying the bow in the *left* hand and the javelin or arrow in the *right*, as represented on the Darics, may be illustrated by the passage in Ezekiel (xxxix. 3), "I will smite thy *bow* out of thy *left* hand, and will cause thine *arrows* to fall out of thy *right* hand," which alludes to the destruction of Gog, prince of Meshech (cf. מִשְׁכָּן אֲשֶׁר בְּיָמֵינוּ A.V. "them that draw the bow," Is. lxvi. 19), and Tubal, identified with the northern nations Moschi and Tibareni (Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 26; Rawlinson, Herod. vol. i. p. 676; vol. iv. p. 215). The term Gog or Magog (Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 3; Gen. x. 2; 1 Chron. i. 5) has been generally supposed to refer to the Scythians (cf. Joseph. "Antiq." i. 6, 1; Rev. L. Alexander, Kitto, "Cycl. of Bibl. Lit." s.v. Magog). In the cuneiform inscriptions we find side by side with "Birighudu, a chief of the Madai" (Media), "Sariti and Pariza, sons of Ga-a-gi, a chief of the Saka" (Scythians), whom Mr. G. Smith ("Hist. of Assurbanipal," p. 97) identifies with Gog. The Scythians were very skilful in the use of the bow (Herod. i. 73; iv. 132); mythically they were supposed to be its inventors (Plin. vii. 56; cf. Herod. vii. 64), and are said to have been specially famous as mounted bowmen (ἑκτοροβόται, Herod. iv. 46).

The Persian youth was instructed in three things, "to ride, to draw the bow (τοξείω), and to speak the truth" (Herod. i. 136). The bow they used appears to have been of a very large size (Herod. vii. 61; Xen. "Anab." iii. 4, 17). The darics themselves were known as τοξόται, at least so Agesilaus (B.C. 399-394) called them when he said that the Persian king had driven him away by means of thirty thousand "archers" (Xen. "Hellen." iv. 2; Plut. "Ages." 15; "Artax." 20). The Persian cavalry carried bows (τοξοδράμεις τ' ἢ ἑκτοροβόται Æsch. "Pers." 26; Herod. vii. 84).

The javelin or spear of the Persians is specially alluded to by Herodotus (vii. 41) as having golden pomegranates or apples at

the lower end (the "knob" is noticeable on the coins), and among the Mossynoeci (Xen. "Anab." v. 4, 12) the spears employed had a round knob formed from the wood of the shaft.

The dagger (ἄγχειδιον) or short sword used by the Persians was generally suspended from their girdles (Herod. vii. 61), and was usually called ἀκνίδης (vii. 54; cf. iii. 118, 128; iv. 62, ix. 80, 107; "Acinaces," Hor. "Odes," i. 27, 5). This ἀκνίδης Josephus ("Antiq." xx. 8, 10) compares, as to the length, with the small sword (ἐπιδίων) used by the robbers (Σικελιοί) in the time of Festus, which was somewhat curved, and in this respect differed from the Persian ἀκνίδης, which was straight (cf. Rawlinson, Herod. vii. 54).

² It has usually been considered that the Daric was equivalent to "20 Attic drachms," but the passage in Xenophon ("Anab." i. 7, 18) appears to show that it is the Persian drachm of 86.45 grains that is referred to (Queipo, "Essai sur les Syst. Mét." vol. i. p. 300; Head, "Int. Num. Orient." vol. i. part iii. p. 29; Lenormant, "La Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. i. pp. 147, 150).

³ Mommsen ("Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 9) quotes only three specimens. Mr. Borrell informed me of the existence of nine ("Jew. Coinage," p. 272). Mr. Head (*op. cit.*) publishes twelve. A double daric with a Phœnician [? Greek] inscription on the obverse, [Π]Ω and some figures, interpreted "year 22," is attributed by the late M. Ch. Lenormant ("Rev. Num." 1856, p. 16, pl. i. No. 3) to Artaxerxes Longimanus. A second has a monogram composed of the letters ΧΑΛ (pl. i. No. 4), supposed to indicate the town of Chalcedon. Mr. Head thinks it probable that the *double darics* were not royal Persian coins, but were struck in small quantities at some Greek city or cities, perhaps in the Western portion of Asia Minor, as is evident from the Greek letters and symbols which occur upon them, such as ΦΙ, Χ, Φ, Μ, etc.

would be intelligible to his readers, the value of the gold subscribed, and therefore as translating the terms employed in his documents, whatever they were, into terms that were in use in his own day."¹

Besides these gold Darics, there was a silver coin circulating in Persia, called the Σίγλος Μηδικός, or Σίγλος. Mention is perhaps made of this piece in the Old Testament in the passage, "But the former governors that had been before me were chargeable unto the people, and had taken of them bread and wine, besides forty shekels of silver" (כֶּסֶף שְׁקָלִים; LXX. ἀργύριον διδραχμα; Vulg. *scilus*; Nehem. v. 15; cf. x. 32). Of these silver pieces twenty went to one gold daric. In Xenophon there is mention of a coin of this name, said to be equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ Attic obols.² The obolus weighed about 11.25 grains— $11.25 \times 7.5 = 84.375$ —and 84.37 is about the weight of the silver darics.³ These coins are like the gold daric impressed with the figure of an archer.

After the death of Nehemiah (*circ.* B.C. 420) the administration of Jewish affairs was left in a great measure to the priests. This circumstance was far from keeping up the sacred office, the temporal power vested in them stirring up many aspirants, whose object was solely that of worldly aggrandizement, and who were entirely wanting in the higher qualifications necessary for the office. The negligence and wickedness of the priests are complained of by Malachi.⁴ In the reign of Darius II., first named Ochus and then Nothus, (B.C. 425–405), who had assumed the throne on the death of Sogdianus (one of the illegitimate sons of Artaxerxes), the Egyptians expelled the Persians from Egypt, and chose a king of their own, Amyrtæus (B.C. 414). To bring them again into subjection the Persians marched through Judæa: and though the Jews remained faithful to the Persian sway, it is impossible to suppose that they were not in some measure sufferers from this intrusion. Artaxerxes II. Mnemon, the son and successor of Darius Nothus, (B.C. 405–359), made vigorous efforts to restore the Persian power in Egypt, and the invading army on its way towards Egypt took its course along the coasts of Palestine, which caused considerable disquiet to the Jews. With perhaps this exception they enjoyed peace during the reign of this king. At the time of this invasion (*circ.* B.C. 373) John, son of Joiada and grandson of Eliashib, was high-priest at Jerusalem. He had, however, a rival in his brother Jesus, whose claims were favoured by the Persian governor Bagoses, who promised to procure for him the nomination to the priesthood. A quarrel ensued, and Jesus was slain by his brother. This atrocious crime was avenged by Bagoses, who came in great indignation to Jerusalem, and forced his way into the Temple. He then extorted from the Jews a fine of fifty drachms on every lamb offered in the daily sacrifice, and harassed the Jews for seven years.⁵

¹ Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 271.

² 'Ο δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἐπὶ ὀβολοῦς καὶ ἡμιστοβόλιον Ἀττικόν. —"Anab." i. 5, 6.

³ Plutarch ("Cim." 10) mentions silver darics, apparently in contradistinction to the gold. Σίγλοι Μηδικοὶ ἀργυροὶ Δ| occurs in the list of the offerings of the Parthenon (Böckh, "Corp. Ins." No. 150; Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom.")

ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 14). The "thousand pieces of gold" (σίγλοι χρύσειαι) given by the Ephesians to Timotheus for his dedicatory hymn to Artemis (Alex. *Ætol. ap. Macrob. "Saturn."* v. 22) were, most probably, darics, though they might have been staters of Philip II. of Macedon.

⁴ Malachi i. and ii. ⁵ Joseph. "Antiq." xi. 7, 1. These "fifty drachms" (δραχμαὶ πενήκοντα) must either be understood as "shekels,"

In the year B.C. 336, Alexander, the son of Philip of Macedon, ascended the throne. In the same year Darius III. Codomannus ascended the throne of Persia in the place of Arses (son of Artaxerxes III. Ochus), who had been murdered by Bagoas. These two kings, Alexander and Darius, were destined to be rivals, and the result of their wars effected the overthrow of one of the great Eastern kingdoms. The battle of Issus in B.C. 333 decided the fate of the Persian Empire; but Alexander, not waiting to pursue Darius, advanced into Phœnicia. With the exception of Tyre, all the cities tendered their submission. Angry with the obstinate resistance which this city made, Alexander laid siege to it, and took it in B.C. 332. After his success here he advanced towards Jerusalem, the high-priest of which city had refused to violate his oath of fealty to Darius in favour of the king of Macedon. At Sapha he was met by a solemn procession, headed by Jaddua the high-priest, in whom he recognized the likeness of a person who had appeared to him in a dream, and believing that the incident was due to Divine interposition, he is said to have saluted him with reverence, and afterwards to have sacrificed in the Temple. Whether this story is true or not, is open to doubt. It is certain, however, that Alexander, by some means or other, was led to abandon his intention of punishing the Jews, that the Jews were allowed the enjoyment of many considerable privileges during his reign,¹ and had much cause for regret when he died (B.C. 324).

At this period the coinage of Alexander was a very rich one. It consisted of gold, silver, and copper.² The usual gold coin was the *stater* called by Pollux *Ἀλεξάνδρειος*, and the silver coins were tetradrachms and drachms. These coins were struck after the Attic standard, introduced by Alexander the Great, instead of the Phœnician and Æginetan standards, which were largely used in Macedonia and Greece, except at Athens and Corinth. Of the tetradrachms of this period struck in Palestine two specimens are extant in the Paris and Gotha Museums, struck at Scythopolis and Sycamina. Scythopolis (*Beth-shan*) in Samaria was a town of considerable importance, at which three roads met, the first northward from Damascus, the second eastward from Bostra in Arabia, and the third westward from Jerusalem; and a fourth route placed it in communication with the towns of Ace,³ Sycamina, and Stratonis Turris (Cæsarea Palæstinæ). From this it may be inferred that Scythopolis had a considerable commerce with these maritime cities. At a later period (A.D. 64) the number of Jews in Scythopolis was very

or with greater probability as "silver darics." Kitto ("Hist. of Palestine," vol. i. p. 659) says that Ochus, the successor of Artaxerxes Mnemon, remitted this heavy tax, which has been estimated by Jahn at £50,000.

¹ He permitted the Jews to enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and to pay no tribute on the 7th year (Joseph. "Antiq." xi. 8, 5), and further to hold Samaria free from tribute (Joseph. "contra Apion," ii. 4), a privilege offered at a later time to Jonathan by Demetrius I.

The attribution by De Saulcy to the high-priest Jaddua of the shekels, etc., usually given to Simon Maccabeus, has been

contested by most numismatists (Madden, "Jewish Coinage," pp. v-ix; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 192); but De Saulcy afterwards abandoned this theory, and assigned their issue to Ezra. This view, though of more value than the former one, has not, however, commended itself to the present writer (see p. 44, note 4).

² For an account of the coinages of Alexander the Great, see "Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand," 8vo., with admirable plates and tables 4to., by L. Müller. Copenhagen, 1855.

³ *Accho*, now called *St. Jean d'Acre*. It was named *Ptolemais* after one of the Ptolemies, probably Soter.

considerable, and 13,000 are stated to have been murdered by the inhabitants.¹ Sycamina (*Hepha* or *Haiſa*) was situated between Acre and Cæsarea Palæstinæ. Of Joppa there are tetradrachms of Alexander in the collections of Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and Copenhagen, bearing the initials ΙΟΠ, and it no doubt supplied Jerusalem with money, being a town of importance and the seaport of that city. A considerable number of coins seem to have been struck also at Ace.

After the death of Alexander the Great, his large possessions were divided among his generals. The scope of this work will not permit of a full description of the dissensions amongst them. Until the Jews fell under the sway of Ptolemy I. Soter they had much cause of complaint in consequence of their country lying between the two great kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, and liable to be harassed by rival invaders. Under the first Seleucidæ the same system of coinage as under Alexander the Great, seems to have been continued. There are coins of Seleucus I. Nicator, with the initials ΔΙ, supposed to have been struck at Diospolis (Lydda).² This city was situated at no great distance from Joppa, on the grand road leading from this town to Jerusalem, and was probably a place of great commercial importance. The recovery of Babylon by Seleucus I. Nicator, took

place in B.C. 312, and it is from this date that the Seleucidan era was reckoned. It seems very probable that the coins of Tyre and Sidon, with names of the Seleucidæ, and bearing dates of the Seleucidan era, were in circulation in Palestine at



this period. So also under the Lagidæ we find the money of the Egyptian kings retained on the old Macedonian or Phœnician standard. Ptolemy I. struck coins towards the end of his reign at Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais?, and Paphos; and it was not till the Jews finally gained their independence that any national Jewish coinage was struck and adopted. It will be necessary to give a short epitome of the events which led to their autonomy.

About B.C. 320 Ptolemy I. Soter made an attack upon Jerusalem, and won the city by stratagem, having entered it on the Sabbath day, as if to offer sacrifice. Palestine was wrested from Ptolemy for a short time by Antigonus, king of Asia, with whom the former was continually at war, till, in the year B.C. 301, Antigonus was completely defeated at the decisive battle of Ipsus. Under the first two Ptolemies Palestine was in a tolerably prosperous condition, especially under Philadelphus, who not only made many costly gifts to the temple at Jerusalem, but treated the Jewish colonists settled in Alexandria with great toleration, and placed them in many respects on a level with his Greek

¹ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 18, 3.

² It may be noticed that in the "Catalogue of the Seleucid Kings of Syria in the British Museum," by Mr. Percy Gardner (1878, pp. xxix-xxxiii), the writer remonstrates against the tendency to discover the names of mints in many of the monograms occurring upon their coins, urging that the utmost caution

is required in interpreting them. Therefore, whether ΔΙ or ΔΙ is really Diospolis, is a matter of doubt. Mr. Gardner, whilst allowing that ΑΞ, in conjunction with the figure of a dove (the bird sacred to Derceto, the goddess of Ascalon), is Ascalon, questions if ΑΞΚ alone ought to be so interpreted, as has been done by Müller (*op. cit.* p. 308).

subjects.¹ Under the moderate government of Ptolemy Euergetes, the high-priest Onias II., a mean and money-loving man, refused to pay the annual tribute of twenty talents to the Egyptian king, who consequently threatened to seize Palestine and divide the land among his troops. This threat was evaded by the high-priest's nephew Joseph, who set out for Egypt to purchase the farming of the royal taxes, and he so pleased the king that he was appointed collector of the taxes and revenues from Judæa, Samaria, etc., an office which he discharged for the period of twenty-two years. A new rival now appeared. Antiochus III. the Great, king of Syria, on his return from the East, commenced war on Ptolemy IV. Philopator, but, though at first successful, he was defeated in a great battle at Raphia, near Gaza, in B.C. 217. It was after this campaign that Ptolemy visited Jerusalem, and against the advice of the high-priest is said to have advanced towards the inner sanctuary of the Temple, with the intention of entering it, but, either through some superstitious dread, or from some supernatural horror, he was overcome with fright, and before he could fulfil his unlawful purpose was carried out in a nearly senseless state. In revenge for this he instituted the most cruel persecutions on the Alexandrine Jews, but afterwards reinstated them in their former privileges. When Ptolemy IV. Philopator died in B.C. 205, leaving a son, a child of five years of age, Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, Antiochus III. the Great took advantage of this state of affairs, and entered into an arrangement with Philip V. king of Macedonia to divide the dominions of Ptolemy. Philip, however, was shortly after engaged in war with the Romans, but Antiochus obtained complete possession of Palestine and Cœle-Syria by his victory over the Egyptian general Scopas, at Paneas, B.C. 198, in consequence of which Jerusalem and the citadel, through the aid of the inhabitants, who drove out the Egyptian garrison, fell into the hands of Antiochus, and at the peace which was thereupon concluded, Antiochus gave his daughter Cleopatra in betrothal to Ptolemy, giving her the conquered province as a dowry. To requite the services of the Jews Antiochus remitted the taxes for a short time,² which was also continued under Seleucus IV. Philopator, who succeeded his father in B.C. 187. In B.C. 175, Antiochus IV. Epiphanes³ succeeded Seleucus, instead of the latter's son Demetrius. His first act was to sell the office of high-priest to the brother of the pious high-priest Onias III., Jesus, or as he was called by his Greek name Jason. He offered to the king 440 talents of yearly tribute, if he would invest him with the high-priesthood, and 150

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 2. This privilege had also been granted to the Jews by Ptolemy I. Soter (Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 1), and by Seleucus I. Nicator earlier ("Antiq." xii. 3, 1).

² He also allowed them to live according to the laws of their country, and issued a decree that no one should come within the limits of the Temple, excepting by permission (Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 3, 4).

³ Epiphanes signifies "illustrious" (*Nobilis* 1 Maccab. x. 1). Appian gives a curious reason for the adoption of this name. On the murder of his brother Seleucus by Heliodorus, who seized the kingdom, Antiochus, who was on his way to Rome, was assisted by Eumenes II. and Attalus II. kings of Pergamus, to

obtain back the throne of Syria. Heliodorus was killed and Antiochus mounted the throne in the same year. Ἐπιφανῆς ἦν Ἐπιφανῆς, ὅτι, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπαγομένης ὑπὸ ἄλλοτρίων, βασιλεὺς οἰκεῖος ὤφθη ("De Reb. Syr." 45). There is evidently a connexion here meant between the aorist passive ὤφθη and φαίνομαι (Ἐπιφανῆς). They both have the same signification, *to let oneself be seen, appear*, especially in aorist (see Liddell and Scott, s.v. ὀράω). He was also called Epimanes (madman) in parody of Epiphanes, on account of his wicked deeds. Καλεῖ αὐτὸν Ἐπιμανῆ, καὶ οὐκ Ἐπιφανῆ, διὰ τὰς πράξεις (Polyb. "Reliq." xxvi. 106, Athenæus, v. 4; x. 10).

more "if he might have a licence to set him up a place for exercise, and for the training up of youth in the fashion of the heathen, and to write them of Jerusalem by the name of Antiochians."¹ This offer was immediately accepted by Antiochus, and Jason set about Græcising the Jews. An attempt was made again to cause the Jews to 'become uncircumcised'; the service of the temple was neglected, and the very priests were partakers of the iniquities of their chief. Jason also sent his Jerusalemites, the newly-elected Antiochians, as special messengers to the sports celebrated in Tyre in honour of Hercules, bidding them carry *three hundred drachms* of silver² to the sacrifice of Hercules, which, though sent with that object by the high-priest Jason, was employed by the bearers in making galleys. In B.C. 172 Antiochus visited Jerusalem, and a great festival was given by Jason in his honour. The prosperity of Jason was not, however, of long standing. A yet more cunning kinsman removed him from his office in the same way as he had removed his brother Onias. A younger brother of Onias and Jason (or, as some say, brother of Simon the overseer of the Temple), by name Onias, which he changed for Menelaus, being sent by Jason to the king, knew how, through flattery, and by bidding more than Jason by three hundred talents of silver, to gain for himself the office, and Jason was compelled to fly. To get the money which he had promised to the king was a matter of some difficulty; and all other sources failing, Menelaus caused his brother Lysimachus to obtain possession of some of the sacred treasures in the Temple. This act of sacrilege was not kept from the knowledge of Onias, whose indignation at the act so roused the people that Menelaus grew apprehensive of his safety, and compassed the death of the ex-high-priest. This only served the more to heighten the indignation of the Jews, who demanded justice of Antiochus for the disgraceful act which had been perpetrated. Justice was promised, but for some time Menelaus continued to escape paying the penalty for his crime. On Lysimachus, however, his partner in guilt, the fury of the Jews was spent, who, outraged again and again by his continual exactions, slew him in the Temple, whither he had fled for protection. When the Jews sent three deputies to Antiochus to justify their act, and had almost succeeded in satisfying him, Menelaus, through the agency of Ptolemy Macron, the king's favourite, was enabled to invalidate their cause, to secure their execution, and finally to get himself reinstalled in his office at Jerusalem.

In B.C. 170 a second war broke out between Ptolemy VI. of Egypt and Antiochus, in which the latter was successful. About this time Jason, the deposed high-priest, encouraged by the false rumour of the death of Antiochus, advanced against Jerusalem, caused the expulsion of his brother Menelaus, and resumed his former dignity. The approach of

¹ 2 Maccab. iv. 9.

² Ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τριακοσίας; Vulg. *didrachmas*, 2 Maccab. iv. 19. (For the discussion on the number of and the identification of these drachms or didrachms, see De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pp. 26, 27; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. vii, 233; "Suppl." in "Num. Chron." N.S. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 126.) Drachms are also mentioned in 2 Maccab. x. 20, ἐπὶ τὰς δὲ μυριάδας δραχμὰς; Vulg. *didrachmis*; in 2 Maccab. xii. 43, εἰς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς

δισχίλιας; Vulg. *drachmas argenti*, and in Tobit v. 15 [see APPENDIX B. iv. v.]. The passages in 1 Maccab. x. 40, 42, where Demetrius I. (circa. B.C. 153) offers Jonathan 15,000 *shekels* (LXX. σίκλος ἀργυρίου; Vulg. *scelus argenti*) a year towards the work of the temple and a release of 5000 *shekels*, are repeated by Josephus ("Antiq." xiii. 2, 3), who substitutes for *shekels* the word *drachms* (150,000 and 10,000), and doubtless correctly.

Antiochus, however, with a large army, forced him to flee, and he afterwards perished miserably in Sparta. The wicked Menelaus contrived to persuade Antiochus that the invasion of Jason was made on a secret understanding with the Jews, and that they had made great rejoicings, when the rumour of his death reached the city. Upon this Antiochus took Jerusalem by assault, slaughtered great numbers, entered the sanctuary, removing from it the golden altar, seven-branched candlestick, table of shew-bread, and the sacred vessels, and plundered the Temple of 1800 talents. This was only the first step to greater deeds of violence. Two years later Antiochus sent Apollonius, his chief collector of tribute (*ἀρχὴν φορολογίας*), to Jerusalem, in the guise of peace; he entered the city, and attacking the people on the Sabbath day, slaughtered numbers of the Jews. Mount Zion was fortified, and those of the inhabitants of Jerusalem who were still true to their religion fled to the mountains. An edict was now passed by Antiochus, enjoining the inhabitants of the whole empire to profess but one religion. Many of the Jews, fearful of the penalty which disobedience to the edict would entail upon them, apostatised; the majority, however, refused to purchase any idemnity by forsaking their faith. The Temple of Jerusalem was dedicated to Jupiter Olympius,¹ the rite of circumcision was abolished, and the copies of the Law burnt; moreover, a great sow was sacrificed on the altar of burnt-offerings and the liquor sprinkled all over the Temple.

When this persecution had continued some months, a champion was found for the dishonoured religion and the afflicted people, in Mattathias, a priest of the family of Joarib. His five sons, Joannan, called Caddis; Simon, called Thassi; Judas, called Maccabæus;²

¹ 2 Maccab. vi. 2. Antiochus IV. especially venerated Zeus. In B.C. 174 he commenced the completion of the temple of Zeus Olympius at Athens (Polyb. "Reliq." xxvi. 10; Livy, xli. 20), and associated the worship of Zeus with that of Apollo at Daphne, erecting a statue of the former god resembling that by Pheidias at Olympia (Amm. Marcell. xlii. 13, 1); whilst at Antioch he built a magnificent temple for the worship of Jupiter Capitolinus (Livy, xli. 20).

The temple on Mount Gerizim was ordered to be dedicated to Jupiter, the defender of strangers (LXX. *Zeús Xénios*; Vulg. *Jupiter hospitalis*, 2 Maccab. vi. 2). Josephus ("Antiq." xii. 5, 5), however, says that the Samaritans requested permission of Antiochus "the god" (*θεός* on coins) to dedicate their temple, *hitherto without a name*, to *Jupiter Hellenius*. The *ἀνένυμον* *ἱερὸν* of Josephus furnishes a singular agreement with the words of Our Lord: "Ye worship ye know not what" (John iv. 22). A coin of Antoninus Pius, struck at Neapolis Syria, probably represents this temple (Akerman, "Num. Ill. of N. T." 1846, p. 29; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," 1874, p. 248, No. 3, pl. xiii. No. 1). As to the epithet *Xénios*, which was given to Zeus as the supporter of hospitality and the friend of strangers (Plut. "Amat." 20; Xen. "Anab." iii. 2, 4; Virg. "Æn." i. 735, etc.), it is explained in the A.V. of 2 Maccab. vi. 2, by the clause "as they did desire (*καθὼς ἐθύγγανον*, 'as they were'; Vulg. *prout erant hi*) who dwelt in the place." Ewald, after 2 Maccab., supposes ("Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 298, note 6) that the name was connected with the

fondness of the Samaritans for hospitality, whilst Jahn suggests ("Hebrew Commonwealth," vol. i. p. 319) that it was because the Samaritans in their letter to Antiochus Epiphanes said that they were strangers in the country.

² The surname of Maccabæus is supposed by some to have been adopted from the device upon his standard, which is said to have been composed of the four letters M, CH, B, I, the initial letters of a verse of Exodus (xv. 11): *יְהוָה בְּאֵלֵינוּ מִצְרַיִם* "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? (*mary*. 'mighty ones')." It seems, however, more probable to suppose that the name was derived from the Hebrew *מַכָּה* "a hammer," and adopted on account of his glorious victories, as in a similar manner in later times the name of *Martel* was given to Charles for his brilliant victories over the Arabs (733-737).—This family is usually called the "Maccabees"; but "*Asmoneans*" or "*Hasmoneans*" is the proper name of the family. The derivation of this latter name has been disputed, but the derivation from Chashmon (*חשמונאי*, *Ἀσμωναῖος*, cf. Gesen. "Thes." 534b.), great-grandfather of Mattathias, seems the most correct (Rev. B. F. Westcott, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Maccabees). Herzfeld ("Geschich. d. Jud." I.) derives the name from *מַסַּח* "to temper steel," so that, as Dr. Westcott remarks (*loc. cit.*), it becomes a synonym of "Maccabee"; but this explanation Dr. Leathes considers (Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Maccabees, vol. iii. p. 2) "fanciful and groundless." Dr. Curtiss (quoted by Dean Stanley, "Jewish Church," vol. iii. Appendix) sustains that "the original spelling of the word is

Eleazar, called Avaran (or Savaran); and Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus,¹ were also true to their religion. When Apelles, the officer appointed to induce Mattathias to sacrifice on an idolatrous altar (τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναγκάζοντα θύειν, Maccab.; τὸν στρατηγὸν βασιλέως, Joseph.), came to Modin, where he and his sons were living, and attempted to persuade him, Mattathias indignantly refused his advances, and not only struck down a Jew who was making preparations for the required sacrifice, but slew the king's commissioner himself. This was the commencement of the greater rebellion which followed. Mattathias and his sons fled to the mountains of Judæa, and the numbers of his followers rapidly increased. In due time these devotees, in their ardour to maintain their religion, at terrible risks emerged from their hiding-places, and headed by Mattathias marched through several of the Jewish cities. The obnoxious altars were destroyed, and the officers of Antiochus slain. For more than a year Mattathias led his victorious followers, when finding that his end was approaching, he called his sons together, and after having conjured them to continue valiant and to show themselves men in the behalf of the Law, he said: "Behold I know that your brother Simon

Machabæe, as in Jerome ("Prolog. Galeat." p. xxviii), and that, if so, it is derived from *chabab* 'to extinguish,' and that it was applied to Judas as 'the extinguisher' of the Pagan worship; whilst the Dean himself writes (*op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 306): "Judas . . . received the name of the 'Hammer,' *Maccab*—possibly connected with the name of the ancestor of the family *Asmon*—possibly also commemorated in the original Hebrew name of the book which described his fame—'The Avenging Rod of the Prince of the Sons of God' [*Sarbat sar Bene El*]" ; adding in a note, "this seems the most probable explanation."

Various interpretations have, however, been ventured of the words *Σαββήθ Σαβαβήλ* *El* (cf. Ginsburg, Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. *Maccabees*, Books of), the original title of the first book of Maccabees, as given by Origen (*ap. Euseb.* "H. E." vi. 25)—1. *אל בני אל* (or *אל*) *History of the Princes of the sons of God*, i.e. of Israel (Michaelis, "Orient. Biblioth." xii. 115); 2. *אל בני אל* *The Sovereignty* (lit. *the sceptre*) of the prince of the sons of God, i.e. of Simon, who is called "prince" (*στρατηγός*) in 1 Maccab. xiii. 42; xiv. 47 (Ewald, "Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 463, note 3); 3. *אל בני אל* *Prince of the temple, prince of the children of God, Princeps templi* (i.e. pontifex maximus), *Princeps filiorum Dei* (i.e. dux populi Judaici), after *Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου Ἰουδαίων*, 1 Maccab. xiii. 42, and *ἐπὶ Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως ἐν Σαβαβήλ*, 1 Maccab. xiv. 27, 28 (Wernsdorff, "Comm. de fide libr. Maccab." p. 173); 4. *אל בני אל* *The chastising rod of those who are opposed to God* (Herzfeld, "Geschichte des Volkes Israel," vol. i. p. 265); 5. *אל בני אל* *Stubbornness of those who have resisted God* (Geiger, "Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel," Breslau, 1874, p. 205).

As to the words *ἐν Σαβαβήλ* or *ἐν Ἀσσαβήλ* (*ἐπὶ Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως ἐν Σαβαβήλ ἐπὶ συναγωγῆς μεγάλης ἱερῶν* 1 Maccab. xiv. 27, 28), which have been interpreted "in the fore-court of the people of God"—*אל בני אל* by Ewald ("Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 336, note 5), and "in the solemn assembly of the people of God"—*אל בני אל* by Geiger ("Urschrift," p. 212), M. Deren-

bourg considers ("Essai sur l'hist. et la géog. de la Palestine," p. 461), "le mot *en*, comme interpolé à la suite de l'interprétation erronée du mot *σαβαβήλ*, et nous n'aurons dans *אל בני אל* *sar' am' el*, rien que le second titre de Siméon, qui était à la fois grand prêtre et chef de la nation; il répond au *sar bané el* dans le titre donné par Origène," adding that the word *שר* in the sense of *προσδότης* or *στρατηγός* was in vogue at this epoch (cf. *שר הברירה*, Nehem. ii. 8, a title given to R. Aha, a doctor of the third century, and to R. Jonathan, "Essai," p. 48, note), and the Maccabees would probably have applied it to themselves before laying claim to the dignity of *מלך* "king."

For *σαββήθ* M. Derenbourg proposes to read *σαβαβήθ* = *ספר בית ישראל בני אל*, and the title of the work would be *ספר בית ישראל בני אל* *Book of the family of the prince of the people of God*, which would resemble the name given to the first book of Maccabees by the *Halachôt gedolôt* (seventh century), i.e. *מגילת בית חשמונאים* *Scroll of the house of the Asmonæans* ("Essai," p. 57, note 1), also called (Ginsburg, *loc. cit.*) *ספר החשמונאים* *Book of the Asmonæans*; *ראשון לחשמונאי* *I. Asmonæans*; *מגילת חשמונאי* *Scroll of the Asmonæans*.

There is, however, no doubt that the original Hebrew title is very obscure, and Dr. Westcott is of opinion (Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. "Maccabees," vol. ii. p. 173, note b) that "*Σαββήθ Σαβαβήλ* is undoubtedly the true reading without the *p*. All the explanations start from the false reading *Σαβαβήλ*." He cannot, however, propose any satisfactory transcription of the true reading. Dr. Ginsburg (*loc. cit.*) inclines to the first explanation—*History of the princes of the sons of God*.

¹ Josephus ("Antiq." xii. 6, 1) gives the names of the five sons as "Gaddes, Matthes, Maccabæus, Auran, and Apphus." Dean Stanley ("Jewish Church," vol. iii. p. 305) interprets the names as given in 1 Maccabees (ii. 2-5) as follows, *Caddis*, "The Holy" or "The Lucky"; *Thassi* (after Grimm, ii. 266 on 1 Maccab. ii. 1-5), "The Burst of Spring" or "The Jewel"; *Avaran*, "The Beast-sticker," and *Apphus*, "The Cunning." Cf. Levy, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden," in "Jahrbuch für die Ges. der Juden," vol. ii. p. 292, Leipzig, 1861.

is a man of counsel, give ear unto him alway; he shall be a father unto you. As for Judas Maccabæus, he hath been mighty and strong even from his youth up; let him be your captain and fight the battle of the people."¹ Mattathias then blessed his sons and died, in the hundred and forty-sixth year of the Seleucidan era (B.C. 167), and was buried by his sons in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin.²

Judas immediately took the command,³ and pursuing the war, vanquished the large army of the Syrians under Apollonius, and a second under Seron, at Bethhoron. Antiochus had entrusted the management of the war to his general Lysias, with orders "to root out the strength of Israel and the remnant of Jerusalem, and to take away their memorial from that place, and to place strangers in all their quarters and divide their land by lot."⁴ But the forces of this general were completely defeated in two battles, the last time at Bethzur, and Judas, returning to Jerusalem, in B.C. 165, repaired the dishonoured and deserted Temple. He then waged war, in conjunction with his brothers Jonathan and Simon, against the Idumæans, Philistines and Ammonites, and transplanted from Galilee to Judæa those Jews who still had remained faithful. Antiochus, who had already been repulsed in Persia,⁵ heard of the defeat that his generals had suffered, and hastened back to attempt in person the capture of Judas and the insurgents. His threat, that he would make Jerusalem "a common burying-place⁶ of the Jews," was not of much avail, for on

¹ 1 Maccab. ii. 65 seq.; Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 6, 3, 4.

² The site of Modin has always been considered uncertain, but mediæval and modern tradition place it at *Soba*. Mr. Grove has suggested that it may be identified either with *Latrán* or *Kubdô*. The former is fifteen miles from Jerusalem, and the latter two miles further. For this question, and also that raised by the description of the tomb in 1 Maccab. (xiii. 27-30) and Josephus ("Antiq." xiii. 6, 6), see Mr. Grove's art. *Modin*, in Dr. Smith's "Dict. of the Bible." Dr. C. Sandreczki is of opinion that *El Médyeh* occupies the site of Modin, and that the rock-tombs near here called *Kubâr el Yahud*—"Tombs of the Jews"—are the remnants of the Maccabæan mausoleum ("Quarterly Statement of Palestine Exp. Fund," Jan.-March, 1870, p. 245). Mr. Neubauer also thinks ("La Géog. du Talmud," p. 99) that Modin may be recognized in the village of *El Médyeh*, as it stands on a height, and the tomb of the Maccabees was built *eis τὸ θεωρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πλεόντων τὴν θάλασσαν* (1 Maccab. xiii. 29).

³ Josephus ("Antiq." xii. 10, 6) calls Judas "high-priest of the nation," and says that he was elected by the people after the death of Alcimus. But in the Maccabees (1, ix. 52-57), an authority most to be depended on, we find that Alcimus did not die till after Judas Maccabæus, and that Alexander Balas conferred the high-priesthood on Jonathan, the brother of Judas (1 Maccab. x. 20); indeed Josephus elsewhere ("Vit." 1) says that "the first of the sons of Asmonæus, who was high-priest, was Jonathan."

⁴ 1 Maccab. iii. 35, 36. Antiochus, finding his exchequer low, had determined to hold a sale of the Jews when captured, so as to obtain 2000 talents due by him to the Romans, and Nicanor, one of his generals, undertook to obtain the sum by selling 90

captives at a talent (90 × 2000 = 180,000 captives). So sure was he of success that he publicly announced the sale (2 Maccab. viii. 10, 11), and many ("a 1000," 2 Maccab. viii. 34) "merchants of the country . . . took silver and gold very much, with servants (*παῖδας*, ? *πῆδας fetters*, as Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 7, 3), and came into the camp to buy the children of Israel for slaves" (1 Maccab. iii. 41).

⁵ At Elymais—*Ἐλυμαίς* [*Ἐλυμαίς Cod. Alex.*] *ἐν τῇ Περσίδι πόλει*, 1 Maccab. vi. 1, 2; Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 9, 1; at Persepolis, 2 Maccab. ix. 2. For the discrepancy, see Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Persepolis.

⁶ *Πολυάνδριον*, 2 Maccab. ix. 4, 14. This word was evidently used by Antiochus in an insulting sense. It is related by Ælian ("Var. Hist." xii. 21) that the Spartan women used to examine the bodies of their sons after a battle, and if the wounds were in front they were buried in their paternal sepulchre (*εἰς τὰς πατρῆας ἐφερον ταφάς*); but if the wounds were behind, showing that they must have been cowards, their bodies were cast into the common burying-place (*καταλιποῦσι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν τῷ πολυανδρίῳ θάψαι*). We find apparent mention of cemeteries for the people in the Old Testament (*τάφον τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ λαοῦ*, 2 Kings xxiii. 6; *μνήμα υἱῶν λαοῦ αὐτοῦ*, Jerem. xxvi. 23; LXX. xxxiii. 23). In Ezekiel also we read, "I will give unto Gog a place of graves (*μνημεῖον*) in Israel, the valley (*ἡ*; LXX. *πολυάνδριον*) of the passengers on the east of the sea; . . . and there shall they bury Gog and all his multitude" (xxxix. 11; cf. ver. 15). In the sixteenth verse of the same chapter, the name of the place is given where the slaughter is to take place. "They shall call the name of the city Hamonah" (*הַמֹּנָה*) [multitude]; LXX. *Πολυάνδριον*).

his way he was stricken with a sore disease,¹ and, before he could execute his purpose, died in the hundred and forty-ninth year of the Seleucidan era (B.C. 164).²

His confidant Philip was appointed guardian to his son Antiochus V. Eupator, who was only nine years of age. Lysias and Philip now contended for the regency, and Demetrius I. Soter, the son of Seleucus IV. Philopator, who had hitherto lived at Rome, also advanced pretensions to the Syrian crown. In a battle that took place between the Jews and Syrians, the former of whom were defeated, Eleazar, the brother of Judas Maccabæus, met his death by bravely creeping under the largest elephant, upon which he thought the king might be, and stabbing it, was crushed by the animal falling upon him. Lysias now persuaded Antiochus to make peace with the Jews, and accordingly he sent to Judas promising them peace, and giving them permission to live according to the laws of their fathers. Antiochus upon entering Jerusalem immediately broke his word, and ordered the wall round about it to be pulled down. He also took away the high-priest Menelaus, and returned to Antioch. By the persuasion of Lysias, Menelaus was put to death, as the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done to the king, and Alcimus, who was also named Jacimus,³ was made high-priest. Antiochus then made war against Philip, subdued him and killed him. Subsequently Lysias and his ward Antiochus Eupator fell into the hands of Demetrius I., who had arrived from Rome, and they were immediately put to death. To this new king, Alcimus and the renegade Jews came, and complained of Judas Maccabæus and his brethren. Demetrius sent an army under Nicanor to support the traitor party and to capture Judas; but it was defeated by the valiant Maccabee. After this victory, Judas, having heard of the fame of the Romans, sent an embassy to Rome, which was well received, the Roman Senate at once forming a league with the Jews⁴ and readily affecting to bestow what it was not in their power to give.⁵

¹ "Eaten of worms" (2 Maccab. ix. 9). In his agony he is said to have exclaimed: "It is meet to be subject unto God, and that a man that is mortal should not proudly think of himself, as if he were God" (ver. 12), further vowing to make "the Jews, whom he had judged not worthy so much as to be buried, but to be cast out with their children to be devoured of the fowls and wild beasts . . . all equals to the citizens of Athens" (ver. 15), even offering to "become a Jew himself" (ver. 17). Others are recorded as dying of this loathsome disease—Pheretima, Queen of Cyrene (Herod. iv. 205); Sulla (Plut. "Sull." 36; Plin. "Nat. Hist." vii. 43, etc.); Herod I. (Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 6, 5; "Bell. Jud." i. 33, 5); Agrippa I. (Acts xii. 23; Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 8, 2—see CHAPTER VI. Sect. F.); Galerius Maximian (Euseb. "H.E." viii. 16), and Maximin (Euseb. "H.E." ix. 10; Lactant. "De Mort. Pers." xxxiii.).

² The hatred of Tacitus for the Jews is shown in his remarks on Antiochus: "Rex Antiochus, demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quominus *terribilissimam gentem in melius mutaret*" ("Hist." v. 8).

³ Ἀλκιμος ὁ καὶ Ἰάκιμος (Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 9, 7). These

were the Greek forms of the Hebrew names Jachin, Jakim and Eliakim. ⁴ 1 Maccab. viii.; Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 10, 6.

⁵ "A Demetrio cum descivissent, amicitia Romanorum petita, primo omnium ex Orientalibus libertatem receperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus" (Justin, "Hist." xxxvi. 3). This passage is usually supposed to refer to Demetrius I. and to the embassy sent to Rome by Judas Maccabæus, but Dr. Merzbacher ("Zeitsch. f. Num." 1878, vol. v. p. 310)—referring to the writings of Ritschl ("Rh. Mus." 1873, p. 588), Mendelssohn (in Ritschl's "Acta Soc. phil. iii" Lips. vol. v. p. 287), and Grätz ("Gesch. d. Jud." vol. iii. p. 451)—dissents from this opinion, assigning the context to Demetrius II., and the embassy to Rome to that sent by Simon (circ. B.C. 141-139) [see page 62]. It is quite true, as Dr. Merzbacher says, that there is little or nothing said about Demetrius I. in the whole of this book, with the exception of the passage (xxxvi. 1) relating to Antiochus VII.: "Judæos quoque, qui in Macedonico imperio sub Demetrio patre armis se in libertatem vindicaverant, subigit"; and this passage Dr. Merzbacher proposes to make agree with his views by the substitution of *fratre* for *patre*. All editions that I have been able to consult give *patre*.

But in the mean time, by a second army under Bacchides, Judas was overthrown and killed, after a valiant resistance, in the year B.C. 161. His body, which his brothers Jonathan and Simon had recovered, was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin.

Jonathan was immediately chosen as the leader of the national party, while Alcimus was reinstated as high-priest. This latter did not live very long, being seized with an attack of paralysis, whilst pulling down the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary. The Jews then had a short respite. In the hundred and sixtieth year of the Seleucidan era (B.C. 152) Alexander Balas, who pretended to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, set himself up as king of Syria in opposition to Demetrius. Both of these rivals had written letters to Jonathan, asking his assistance, but Alexander Balas conferred upon him the high-priesthood, and sent him a purple mantle and crown of gold, calling him in the letter, "brother and friend."¹ Jonathan did not hesitate to accept the offers of Alexander and to reject those of Demetrius, who again made splendid promises, which were not regarded by Jonathan as sincere.² A battle soon after took place between Alexander and Demetrius, in which the latter was killed. On obtaining this victory, Alexander sent for Jonathan, and professing to esteem "him among his chief friends made him a duke and partaker of his dominion."³ The son of Demetrius, who was also called Demetrius (Nicator), took the field against the usurper. Jonathan then defeated Apollonius, the general of Demetrius II., and laid siege to Joppa and Azotus, there destroying the temple of Dagon.⁴ Alexander applied for assistance to Ptolemy VI. Philometer, who declared in favour of Demetrius. Alexander then attacked Ptolemy, who was killed in the battle, though the former was defeated, Alexander Balas being slain by an Arabian, with whom he had taken refuge. Jonathan proposed to take the citadel of Jerusalem, but Demetrius summoned him to Ptolemais, and the former, offering to pay yearly 300 talents, was confirmed in the high-priesthood and nearly all the liberties that had been granted by Demetrius I. The new king Demetrius was obliged again to seek assistance from Jonathan, to quell an insurrection that had broken out at Antioch. But when he thought he was sufficiently powerful on his throne, he sought to retract all the promises he had made, and threatened Jonathan with war if he did not immediately pay him the ordinary tributes. Jonathan now found an unexpected

¹ 1 Maccab. x. 18-20.

² Demetrius offered to release the Jews from all tributes, crown taxes, etc., in Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, and from the special payment of 5000 silver shekels; and to contribute 15,000 shekels of silver towards the work of the Temple. Josephus ("Antiq." xiii. 2, 3) gives different figures, and says "drachms" [see p. 53, note 2]. Jerusalem was to be "holy and free" (see CHAPTER V.), and many other immunities were to be granted to them (1 Maccab. x. 25-45). Alexander the Great had formerly granted the Jews the same privileges as regards Samaria (Joseph. "contra Apion," ii. 4).

³ Ἰστανηγὸν καὶ Μεριδάχην; *ducem et participem principatus* (1 Maccab. x. 65). The title of *Meridarch*, or governor of a province, only occurs in the LXX. and Josephus. Apollonius,

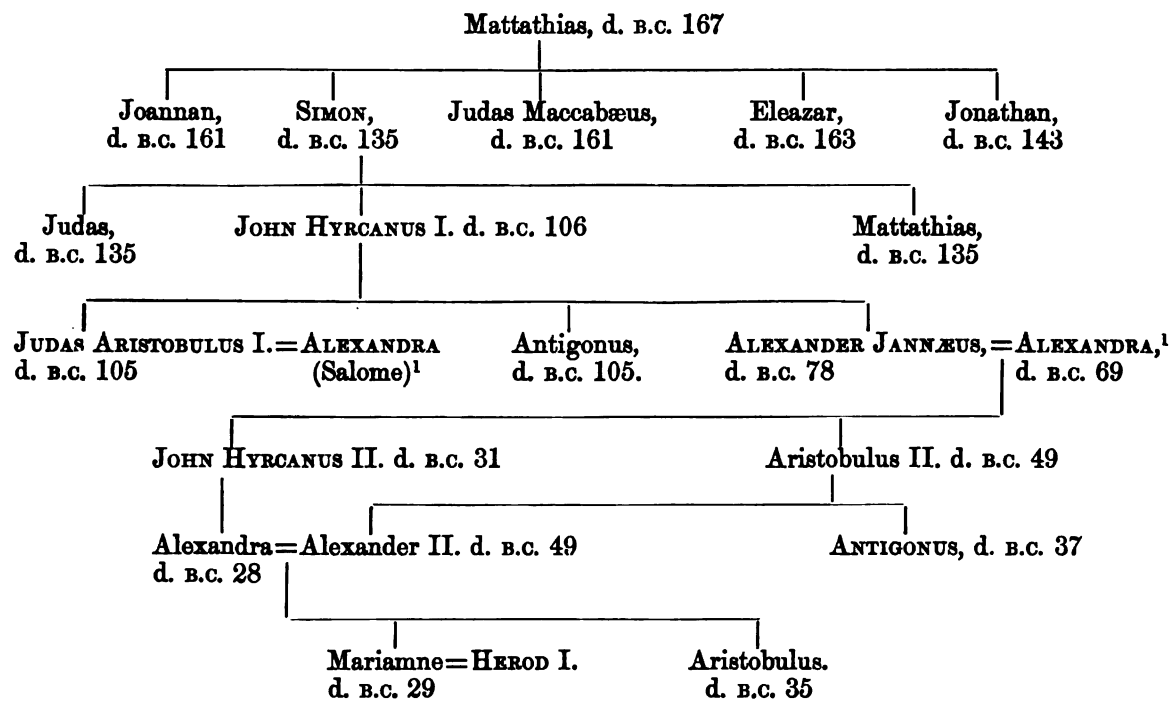
the governor of Samaria under Antiochus VII. Epiphanes, is twice so styled (Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 5, 5). The "office" (μεριδρχία) occurs in Joseph. "Antiq." xv. 7, 3, but this word is elsewhere used to express the "dignities" of the families who went up to Babylon under Ezra (1 Esdras i. 11; viii. 28).

⁴ As a recompense for this victory Alexander sent to Jonathan "a golden fibula" (κόρη χρυσή), "as was the custom to give to such as are of the kings' blood" (1 Maccab. x. 89; Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 4, 4). Antiochus VI. also conferred on Jonathan the same "order" (1 Maccab. xi. 58; Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 5, 4), and Demetrius II. made it unlawful for any but Simon to wear it (1 Maccab. xiv. 44). *Fibula aurea* were frequently given as military rewards (Vopisc. "Aurel." 46; cf. Treb. Poll. "Claud." 14).

friend. Diodotus (or Tryphon), a general of the former king Alexander Balas, made an attempt to obtain the throne of Syria for Antiochus, the son of the same, and found in Jonathan, to whom he conceded the same privileges as Demetrius had done, a powerful ally. Demetrius was compelled to fly, and Jonathan renewed the treaty with Rome.¹ Tryphon, now that his power was firmly established, found Jonathan an obstacle to his transferring the crown from Antiochus VI. to himself, as doubtless was always his intention. He determined in consequence to get rid of Jonathan. With this idea, he came to Bethsan with an army, and Jonathan came out to meet him with forty thousand men. Tryphon was afraid to lay hands upon him while he was at the head of so large a force, and by protestations of friendship invited him to Ptolemais, under the pretext that he was going to entrust this city to his protection. On entering the city, Jonathan was made prisoner, and all those who had accompanied him (1000 men) were put to death (B.C. 143). Tryphon promised to release Jonathan on payment of 100 talents of silver, and two of his children as hostages. The money and the hostages were sent by Simon, but Tryphon did not let his prisoner go free, and shortly after falsely murdered him at Bascama in Gilead. At a subsequent period the bones of Jonathan were recovered and buried by Simon in the family sepulchre at Modin.

¹ 1 Maccab. xii. 1, 3, 4; Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 5, 8. The ambassadors were also instructed to go to the Spartans, with whom an alliance is said to have been made (1 Maccab. xii. 2, 5-23; Joseph. *loc. cit.*). See p. 62, note 5.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE,
SHOWING THOSE MEMBERS OF THE ASMONÆAN FAMILY OF WHOM THERE ARE EXTANT COINS.



(See table of Herodian family for continuation.)

¹ See note under ALEXANDRA, Sect. E.

CHAPTER V.

SIMON THE MACCABEE FIRST STRIKES JEWISH COINS.

WHEN Simon, the last of the five brothers, heard that Tryphon had gathered together a great army to invade Judæa, he encouraged the people, who elected him leader (*ἡγεμόν*) in the place of his brother Jonathan,¹ and out of his private fortune he armed and paid the wages of a large army.² Tryphon being prevented, by a heavy fall of snow, from relieving the garrison at Jerusalem, and having, as we have seen, put Jonathan to death, returned to Syria, and on his arrival there "dealt deceitfully with the young king Antiochus and slew him."³ Disgusted with the cruelties of Tryphon, Simon espoused the cause of Demetrius II., and entering into negotiations with him, received the following reply:—"King Demetrius unto Simon the high-priest and friend of kings, as also unto the elders⁴ and nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: the golden crown and the scarlet robe⁵ which ye sent unto us

¹ 1 Maccab. xiii. 8. Simon had already been made by Antiochus VI. "captain (*στρατηγός*) from the place called the Ladder of Tyre (*Rds-en-Nakhurah*) unto the borders of Egypt" (1 Maccab. xi. 59; Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 5, 4; cf. "Antiq." xii. 10, 6).

² 1 Maccab. xiv. 32.

³ 1 Maccab. xiii. 31.

⁴ *Πρεσβύτεροι* (cf. *ἄρχοντες* καὶ *πρεσβύτεροι*, 1 Maccab. i. 26; vii. 33; xii. 35; xiv. 20; Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 4, 9). The *γερονσία*, or Jewish senate, which was composed of *πρεσβύτεροι* or *ἄρχοντες*, is mentioned in 1 Maccab. xii. 6; 2 Maccab. i. 10; iv. 44; and xi. 27. Antiochus the Great in his decrees calls the senate *γερονσία* (Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 3, 3), and Josephus himself applies the same name to the *elders* at Alexandria ("Bell. Jud." vii. 10, 1). A mention of the *γερονσία* or senate occurs in Acts v. 21—καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς, συνεκάλεσαν τὸ συνέδριον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γερονσίαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ (Vulg. *seniores filiorum Israel*), but as it were in contradistinction to the *συνέδριον*. The *γερονσία*, composed as it was of the *πρεσβύτεροι* and *ἄρχοντες*, may have included perhaps some who were not members of the Sanhedrin (Alford, *ad loc.*). The LXX. frequently use the same phrase *γερονσία τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ* for the Heb. *בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* or *זְקֵנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* (Vulg. *seniores*, Exod. iii. 16, 18; iv. 29; xii. 21; *majores*, Levit. ix. 1). Though the Sanhedrin probably existed at the time of Moses, the name *συνέδριον* originated under the Macedonian supremacy in Palestine ("quod ad statum Macedoniæ pertinebant, senatores, quos *Synedros* vocant," Livy, xlv. 32), and it occurs for the first time under Hyrcanus II. (B.C. 47), when

Herod, procurator of Galilee, was summoned before the Sanhedrin (*συνέδριον*) for his unjust conduct (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 9, 4). Derenbourg says ("Essai," p. 86), "le nom de *συνέδριον* n'est certes pas antérieur au temps des Asmonéens," and is of opinion (p. 83) that the senate at this time was designated (on the authority of coins of the time) "*heber hayyehoudim* (חֵבֶר הַיְּהוּדִים) 'sénat des Juifs'" [see on the word *חֵבֶר* under Sect. B. HYRCANUS I.]. The title of *γερονσιάρχης* occurs on a Jewish inscription (see CHAPTER III. p. 37).

⁵ *τὸν στέφανον τὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ τὴν βατῆν* (1 Maccab. xiii. 37). The *στέφανος* is the crown tax (see verse 39; cf. 1 Maccab. x. 29; xi. 35; 2 Maccab. xiv. 4) given by the Jews every year to the king. The same word occurs in the same sense in Polybius (xxii. 17, 4). Josephus calls one of the taxes remitted by Antiochus the Great *στεφανίτης φόρος* ("Antiq." xii. 3, 3). The *βατῆν* or *βᾶϊς*, translated in this passage of the Authorized Version "scarlet robe" (though the word *βατῆν* occurs in 1 Maccab. xiii. 51, and is there rendered correctly "branches of palm-trees"), is in all probability an Egyptian word. Porphyry ("De Abstinentiâ," iv. 7), speaking of the Egyptian priest, says, *Κοίτη δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν σταδίων τοῦ φοινίκος, ἃς καλοῦσι βᾶϊς, ἐπέλεκτο*. It was probably like the *palmata*, a splendid over-robe, embroidered with golden palm-twigs as symbols of victory (Ewald, "Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 334, note 5). The words *τὰ βᾶτα τῶν φοινίκων* (A. V. "branches of palm-trees") occur in John xii. 13. *Φοῖνιξ* is the usual word for "palm-branch" (cf. 2 Maccab. x. 7; xiv. 4; Rev. vii. 9).

we have received, and we are ready to make a steadfast peace with you, yea, and to write unto our officers to confirm the immunities which we have granted. And whatsoever covenants we have made with you shall stand; and the strongholds which ye have builded shall be your own. As for any oversight or fault committed unto us this day, we forgive it, and the crown tax also which ye owe us, and if there were any other tribute paid in Jerusalem, it shall no more be paid. And look who are meet among you to be in our court, let them be enrolled, and let there be peace betwixt us."¹ "Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel, in the hundred and seventieth year (B.C. 143-142),"² and "the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts, 'In the first year of Simon the great high-priest, the governor and leader of the Jews.'"³ Several cities of Judæa were also fortified by Simon, among them Bethsura, Joppa, and Gazara, and after a three years' siege the citadel (*ἄκρα*) of Jerusalem was taken, the garrison being obliged to capitulate from famine. At last, on the twenty-third day of the second month, in the hundred and seventy-first year of the Seleucidan era (B.C. 142), he "entered in with thanksgiving and branches of palm-trees, and with harps and cymbals and with viols and hymns and songs; because there was destroyed a great enemy out of Israel."⁴ About the year A.S. 172 (=B.C. 141) Simon sent Numenius to Rome with a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight.⁵ He was graciously welcomed, and the news of the favourable reception of the embassy was probably known in Judæa in B.C. 141, for on the 18th day of the month Elul (Aug.-Sept.) of the same year, being the third year of Simon the high-priest, the people published a decree of thanks, which was written in tables of brass, and set upon

¹ 1 Maccab. xiii. 36-40.

² Demetrius II. in one statement (1 Maccab. xiii. 41) issued his charter in A.S. 170 (=B.C. 143-142), before the conquest of the castle of Jerusalem by Simon, A.S. 171 (=B.C. 142-141; 1 Maccab. xiii. 51), and before the despatch of an embassy to Rome, A.S. 172 (=B.C. 141-140; 1 Maccab. xiv. 24); whilst in another statement (1 Maccab. xiv. 36, 40) the decree of Demetrius is said to have been issued *after* these events (see below, "On the date of the shekels").

³ 1 Maccab. xiii. 41-42. Καὶ ἤρξατο ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ γράφειν ἐν ταῖς συνγραφαῖς, καὶ συναλλάγμασιν, ἔτους πρώτου ἐπὶ Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου καὶ στρατηγού καὶ ἡγουμένου Ἰουδαίων. Josephus says, "In the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch (*ἠθναρχῆς*) of the Jews" ("Antiq." xiii. 6, 7). Simon is also called "ethnarch" in 1 Maccab. xiv. 47, and xv. 1, 2. M. Derenbourg considers ("Essai," p. 67, *note*) that the term *ἠθναρχῆς* as applied to Simon is the translation of *דנן* *נש*, or the abbreviation of *לנ דנ נש*, and so confirms his view respecting the interpretation of the word *σαραμέλ* (see CHAPTER IV. p. 54 *note* 2). He adds that the name of *Nasi* (*נשי*) at the time of the first Asmonæans rests on no historical authority. Hyrcanus II. was also high-priest and "ethnarch" (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 10, 2, 3, 5-7, 12; 12, 3, 4 [see under Sect. H. HYRCANUS II. re-established]), and Augustus bestowed this title upon Archelaus after his father's death, a fact confirmed by his coins (Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 11, 4; "Bell. Jud." ii. 6, 3) [see CHAPTER VI. Sect. B.]. This title was also used as the designation for the magistrate allowed

to the Jews in Alexandria and other cities (Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 5, 2), and according to Strabo (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 7, 2) he appears to have been an independent ruler. It is employed by Lucian as a title inferior to that of king (*Ἰστανδρος* . . . *ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀντὶ ἠθναρχοῦ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύθεις*, "Macrob." sect. 17; ed. Didot, p. 642). The "ethnarch" in Damascus, under Aretas, king of Damascus (2 Cor. xi. 32), in A.D. 38, was probably a Jewish officer; and Damascus at this time formed part of the kingdom of Petra, and not of the province of Syria, no coins having been found bearing the heads of Caligula or Claudius.

⁴ 1 Maccab. xiii. 49-51; xiv. 33, 34; cf. Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 6, 7.

⁵ 1 Maccab. xiv. 24 [see p. 57, *note* 5]. The embassy to Sparta (1 Maccab. xiv. 16-23), and the connexion of the Spartans with the Jews, is according to Grimm ("Exeget. Handb. z. d. Apok.") decidedly made up; Mendelssohn ("Rhén. Mus." 1875, vol. 30, p. 422) thinks the insertion of these verses a senseless improvisation (*ἀποσχεδιασμός*), and Dr. Merzbacher ("Zeitsch. für Num." 1878, vol. v. pp. 299, 300) is inclined to consider them a strange interpolation in the original text. An embassy had previously been sent to Sparta by Jonathan (1 Maccab. xii. 2, 5-23) [see p. 59, *note* 1]. Dr. Westcott, however (Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Sparta), is not disposed to reject the letters as spurious, "the very obscurity of Sparta at this time making it extremely unlikely that any forger would invent such an incident."

pillars in Mount Sion.¹ Numenius returned to Judæa in B.C. 139, with letters from Lucius, Consul of the Romans, to various kings and nations in favour of the Jews.²

Palestine thus, during the government of Simon, attained a degree of prosperity that it had not known for a long time: "Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase and the trees of the field their fruit. The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided victuals for the cities, and set in them all manner of munition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy, for every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree,³ and there was none to fray them. Neither was there any left in the land to fight against them: yea, the kings themselves were overthrown in those days. Moreover, he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low; the law he searched out; and every contemner of the law and wicked person he took away. He beautified the sanctuary and multiplied the vessels of the temple," and all the people said, "What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons?"⁴

In the year B.C. 140 Demetrius II. was taken prisoner by Arsaces VI. (Mithridates I.), king of Parthia, and Antiochus VII. Sidetes, the second son of Demetrius I., having expelled the usurper Tryphon, soon after sent letters to Simon the high-priest and prince of the Jews, granting to him still more favourable advantages. Not only were the former privileges renewed, but a considerable addition was made, inasmuch as he accorded to the Jews the right of coining money: "King Antiochus to Simon the high-priest and prince of his nation, and to the people of the Jews, greeting: Forasmuch as certain pestilent men have usurped the kingdom of our fathers, and my purpose is to challenge it again, that I may restore it to the old estate, and to that end have gathered a multitude of foreign soldiers together, and prepared ships of war, my meaning also being to go through the country that I may be avenged of them that have destroyed it, and made many cities in the kingdom desolate; now therefore I confirm unto thee all the oblations which the kings before me granted thee, and whatsoever gifts besides

¹ 1 Maccab. xiv. 25-28.

² 1 Maccab. xv. 15-24. The Lucius here mentioned as Roman Consul (*θναρος Ρομάλων*) has been identified with three persons. 1. L. [Lucius] Junius Philus, who was consul in B.C. 136. This date is too late. 2. Lucius Cæcilius Metellus Calvus, consul in B.C. 142. 3. Cn. or L. Calpurnius Piso, consul in B.C. 139, with M. Popillius Lænas. This last identification is probably correct, as the date corresponds. There is, however, a difficulty about the prænomen of Calpurnius Piso. Cassiodorus ("Chron.") as edited, gives Cn. Piso, whilst the "Fasti Capitolini" are defective. Valerius Maximus (lib. i. 3), or rather his epitomizer, as given in many of the printed texts, has also Cn., though Kempf (ed. 1864, p. 126, *note*), allowing that all MSS. read *Lucius*, supposes this to be an error. The present writer, from an examination of all the MSS. (22) of Valerius in the British Museum, found the portion inserted

containing the passage in question only in two (*Burn.* 209, fifteenth century; and *Harl.* 2759, fifteenth century). In the former the name is given as *L. Calpurnio* (*sic*), and in the latter as *Lucio Caburino* (*sic*). From a personal examination also of the earliest MS. of Valerius, preserved in the Public Library at Berne (end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century), the reading *L. Calpurnio* is distinctly given, and there is thus no authority for Cn. (Madden, "On a fragment of a MS. of Valerius Maximus in the Public Library at Berne, containing a portion of the text supplied from the Epitome of Julius Paris," in the "Trans. of the Roy. Soc. of Literature," vol. viii. n.s.; also in Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s.v.* Lucius). See under Sect. B. HYRCANUS I., and Sect. H. HYRCANUS II. re-established.

³ Cf. 1 Kings iv. 25; Micah iv. 4; Zechariah iii. 10; Isaiah xxxvi. 16.

⁴ 1 Maccab. xiv. 8-15, 25.

they granted. I give thee leave also to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp (*καὶ ἐπέτρεψά σοι¹ ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον νόμισμα τῇ χώρᾳ σου*), and as concerning Jerusalem and the sanctuary, let them be free; and all the armour that thou hast made, and fortresses that thou hast built, and keepest in thine hands, let them remain unto thee. And if anything be, or shall be, owing to the king, let it be forgiven thee from this time forth for evermore. Furthermore, when we have obtained our kingdom, we will honour thee, and thy nation and thy temple, with great honour, so that your honour shall be known throughout the world."²

Antiochus now besieged Dora, where Tryphon had taken refuge, and Simon sent to Antiochus two thousand men, and some large sums of money. Antiochus, however, forgot the assistance that Simon had afforded him, and "would not receive them, but brake all the covenants which he had made with him afore," and sent Athenobius with the following message:—"Ye withhold Joppe and Gazara, with the tower that is in Jerusalem, which are cities of my realm. . . . Now therefore deliver the cities which ye have taken, and the tributes of the places . . . or else give me for them five hundred talents of silver: and for the harm that ye have done and the tributes of the cities, other five hundred talents; if not, we will come and fight against you."³ Simon refused to agree to all these proposals, but sent one hundred talents for the cities of Joppa and Gazara. Antiochus immediately sent an army into Judæa under Cendebæus, and the aged Simon confided the management of the war to his two eldest sons, Judas and John. Cendebæus was put to flight, and 2000 Syrians were killed.

It was not, however, permitted to the aged Simon to end his days in peace. While taking a tour with his wife and two sons, Judas and Mattathias, he paid a visit to his son-in-law Ptolemy, governor of Jericho, at the fortress of Doch. There, in the middle of a feast, Ptolemy treacherously murdered him and his two sons (Feb. B.C. 135). He then wrote to inform Antiochus of what he had done, begging him to send an army to assist him in

¹ De Saulcy ("Rev. Arch." 1872, p. 5), while recording the Latin text (Vulgate) of this passage, which runs "*et permitto tibi facere percussuram proprii numismatis*," gives the Greek as *καὶ ἐπέτρεψάν σοι ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον νόμισμα*, which he translates into Latin, "*et permisit tibi facere percussuram proprium numisma*,"—"my predecessors have permitted thee,"—but he omits to give any authority for his statement. The text is, however, so quoted by the Count Esterhazy de Galantha in his "*Annales Regum et rerum Syriæ*" (p. 82, Vienna, 1744). Thanks to the kindness of Dr. Babington and Mr. Grueber, I am able to say a few words about the MS. readings. The Vatican MS. (fourth cent. ed. Mai, 1857) is said to read *καὶ ἐπέτρεψάν (cod. ἐπέστρ.) σοι ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἰουδαϊκόν νόμισμα*, but Cardinal Mai's edition is considered very faulty (Dr. Davidson, Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Greek Versions); moreover, Tischendorf, in his edition (2 vols. 8vo. 5th ed. 1875), reads *ἐπέτρεψα*, and knows nothing of *ἰουδαϊκόν* for the generally received *ἴδιον*. Certain cursive MSS. have *ἐπέτρεψάν σοι* (Holmes and Parsons, Oxf. 1798-1827, Nos. 106, 134), and this is also

the reading of the Complutensian edition (1522), and that of Grabe (Oxf. 1707). Other cursive MSS. have various readings, *καὶ ἐπέτρεψάν σοι* (Holmes and Parsons, Nos. 44, 62, 243), *καὶ ἐπέστρεψάν σοι* (No. 74). The number of cursive MSS. collated for this work was sixteen, so that it would seem that only six of these give the plural form, and none of the cursive MSS. can be earlier than the tenth century. On the other hand, the *Codex Alexandrinus* (middle of the fifth century) reads, *καὶ ἐπέτρεψά σοι*, and so is the text given in the edition of Bos (1709), and in the recent one of Field (Christ. Knowledge Soc. Oxf. 1859), and the latter does not think it worth while to notice any various readings, neither does Cotton in his notes to the English edition of the "Five Books of Maccabees" (Oxf. 1832). The majority of MS. authority thus favours the reading *καὶ ἐπέτρεψά σοι*, and, indeed, the plural form, as de Saulcy himself allows, seems to be "*singulièrement boiteuse*."

² 1 Maccab. xv. 2-9.

³ 1 Maccab. xv. 27, 28, 30, 31; Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 7, 2, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 2, 2.

taking the country. He also sent some men to Gazara to kill John, who, being forewarned, was enabled to frustrate the wicked designs of his brother-in-law, and to destroy those who had come to slay him.¹

ON THE DATE OF THE SILVER SHEKELS AND HALF-SHEKELS.

With respect to the years of issue of the dated shekels and half-shekels there has always been a difficulty, as Simon Maccabæus is said to have ruled eight years,² but did not obtain the right of coining till the fourth year of his government; and as Antiochus VII. broke "all the covenants which he had made with him" shortly after he had conceded the right.³

The shekels at present existing bear dates from years 1 to 5; the half-shekels from years 1 to 4. If then the "first year" of Simon's government was A.S. 170=B.C. 143-142,⁴ the "fifth year" would be A.S. 174=B.C. 139-138. But the right of coining was not granted by Antiochus VII. Sidetes till just before A.S. 174=B.C. 139-138,⁵ consequently the coining of the shekels would not only have been commenced unlawfully, but would have ceased shortly after the right had been conferred. Supposing, however, that they date from the grant of coinage in A.S. 173=B.C. 140-139, or A.S. 174=B.C. 139-138, then they would be in complete contradiction to the statement that Simon's *first year* was A.S. 170=B.C. 143-142, and his *third year* A.S. 172=B.C. 141-140.⁶

The whole question has been recently submitted to severe and critical examination by Dr. Eugen Merzbacher,⁷ who shows that the supposed sequent history of Simon Maccabæus in 1 Maccabees essentially represents: 1st, the principal account from chapter xiii. 1, to chapter xiv. 24; and 2nd, the shortened memorial of the acts of Simon, as given in chapter xiv. 27-40, and he suggests that though A.S. 170=B.C. 143-142 may be the first real year of the government of Simon, A.S. 172=B.C. 141-140 is the *first official one*, and was naturally so recorded by the people on tables of brass. Assuming this to be the case, and from an examination of other authorities—Eupolemus, Sulpicius Severus, etc.—in corroboration of his theory, Dr. Merzbacher proposes the following dates for the reign of Simon Maccabæus:—

¹ 1 Maccab. xvi. 14-22; cf. Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 7, 4; 8, 1; "Bell. Jud." i. 2, 3, 4.

² Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 7, 4.

³ 1 Maccab. xv. 27; Madden, "Jewish Coinage," p. 40, *note*; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, p. 60. It was at one time thought (Madden, *op. cit.*) that Simon commenced the issue of coins in B.C. 143, and that in B.C. 140-139 (his fourth year), on the

breaking of the treaties, he stopped the issue of silver and struck a copper coinage; but now that a shekel of the "year 5" has been discovered, this theory becomes invalid.

⁴ 1 Maccab. xiii. 41, 42.

⁵ 1 Maccab. xv. 6, 10.

⁶ 1 Maccab. xiv. 27.

⁷ "Die Zeitrechnung der Sekel," in the "Zeitschrift für Numismatik," 1878, vol. v. p. 292.

A.S.	B.C.	
170	142 (? Jan.-April).	<i>First real year of government of Simon.</i> Simon obtains, by resolution of a popular assembly, the offices and honours of his brother. Siege of Gazara.
171	142-141.	<i>Second real year of government of Simon.</i> Conquest of Gazara. Conquest and occupation of the tower of Jerusalem.
172	141.	<i>Third real year of government of Simon.</i> Demetrius II. begins his campaign to Parthia. Peaceful condition in Judæa. Burial of Jonathan by Simon in Modin. Death of Antiochus VI. Departure of Jewish Embassy to Rome, ¹ and one to Demetrius II. Upon favourable news of reception at Rome, the Charter of Demetrius II. is published. ² Popular resolution of the 18th of Elul (Aug.-Sept.). [From now to April, 140, the third real year = the first official year.]
From Elul (Sept.) 172	141 to Adar (March-April) 140.	<i>First official year of government of Simon.</i>
„ Nisan (April) 173	140 „	139. <i>Second official year.</i>
„ „ „ 174	139 „	138. <i>Third official year.</i>
„ „ „ 175	138 „	137. <i>Fourth official year.</i>
„ „ „ 176	137 „	136. <i>Fifth official year.</i>
„ „ „ 177	136 to Shebat ³ (Feb.)	135. <i>Sixth official year.</i>

If then the first official year of Simon commenced in B.C. 141, the dates on the shekels will range as follows:—

	B.C.
⌘ First year	= 141-140.
⌚ Second „	= 140-139.
⌛ Third „	= 139-138.
⌜ Fourth „	= 138-137.
⌝ Fifth „	= 137-136.

¹ See p. 62.

² The coins of Demetrius II., which bear dates between ZΞP (B.C. 146) and ΓOP (B.C. 140), show that it was in B.C. 140 that Demetrius II. was taken prisoner. The date ΔOP (Mionnet, v. p. 554), which is probably a wrong reading

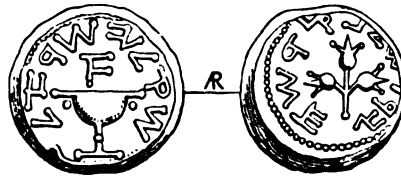
for AOP, cannot be admitted (De Saulcy, "Recherches sur les monnaies datées des Séleucides," pp. 34, 36, Paris, 1871).

³ The death of Simon occurred in A.S. 177, "in the eleventh month called Sabat" (1 Maccab. xvi. 14), or February, B.C. 135.

A shekel of the "sixth year" would, when discovered, give a complete series of shekels coined under Simon.

As to the "right of coinage" conferred by Antiochus VII. before A.S. 174=B.C. 139-138, Dr. Merzbacher shows that his letter was written "from the isles of the sea,"¹ and can, therefore, be fixed during the period when he stayed at Rhodes, and was urged by Cleopatra (the wife of Demetrius II. now in confinement) to marry her, *i.e.* about A.S. 173=B.C. 140-139, or the *second official year of Simon's government*. Simon would thus have coined without authority only the coins of his first year.

A. SIMON MACCABÆUS, B.C. 141-B.C. 135.



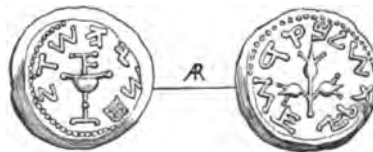
OBVERSE.

1. *AR.* 6. **שֶׁקֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל** *Shekel Ierâel*, "Shekel of Israel." A cup or chalice, on either side, a pellet;² above the cup, the letter Α, *i.e.* the numeral letter 1 (indicating the first year of Simon's mintages).

REVERSE.

יְרוּשָׁלַם קֹדֶשָׁה *Jerushalem kedoshah*, "Jerusalem the Holy." A central device (? Aaron's rod).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. i. No. 1; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 43, No. 1.)



OBVERSE.

2. *AR.* 4. **חֶצִי הַשֶּׁקֶל** *Chatzi ha-Shekel*, "Half-shekel." A cup or chalice; on either side, a pellet (omitted by error in woodcut); above the cup, the numeral letter Α, *i.e.* "year 1."

REVERSE.

יְרוּשָׁלַם קֹדֶשָׁה, "Jerusalem the Holy." A central device (? Aaron's rod).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. i. No. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 43, No. 2.)

¹ Ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων τῆς θαλάσσης. 1 Maccab. xv. 1.

² As regards the *pellets* on either side of the cup, on the shekels and half-shekels of the first year, Dr. J. Evans is disposed to think that they help to prove that several years probably intervened between the issue of the shekels of the first and of those of the succeeding years (Madden, "Suppl. to Jew. Coin." in "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 120); but if

the shekels were coined by Simon Maccabæus, this is impossible. The golden chalices of the Temple were adorned with precious stones (Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 2, 10; Ecclesiasticus i. 9). Perhaps these pellets, as well as those round the tops of the cups on the shekels of other years, are intended to represent, in a rough way, the jewels with which they were ornamented.



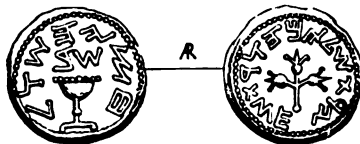
OBSERVE.

3. *AR.* 6. שקל ישראל, "Shekel of Israel." A cup or chalice, ornamented with jewels; above the cup, the letters שב (for שנת"ב *Shenath* 2) "year 2."

REVERSE.

ירושלים הקדושה *Jerushalaim ha-kedoshah*,
"Jerusalem the Holy." A central device (? Aaron's rod).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. i. No. 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 43, No. 3.)



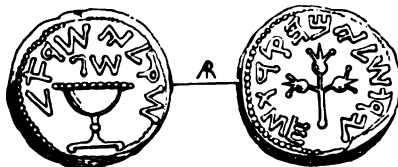
OBSERVE.

4. *AR.* 4. חצי השקל, "Half-shekel." A cup or chalice, ornamented with jewels; above the cup, the letters שב, i.e. "year 2."

REVERSE.

ירושלים הקדושה, "Jerusalem the Holy."
A central device (? Aaron's rod).

(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." pl. i. No. 4; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 44, No. 4.)



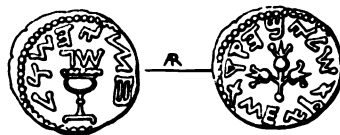
OBSERVE.

5. *AR.* 6. שקל ישראל, "Shekel of Israel." A cup or chalice, ornamented with jewels; above the cup, the letters שג (for שנת"ג *Shenath* 3) "year 3."

REVERSE.

ירושלים הקדושה, "Jerusalem the Holy."
A central device (? Aaron's rod.)

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 44, No. 5; cf. De Sauley, "Num. Jud." pl. i. No. 5.)



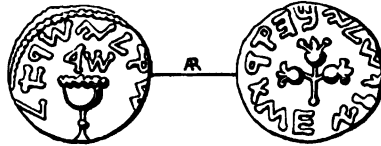
OBSERVE.

6. *AR.* 4. חצי השקל, "Half-shekel." A cup or chalice, ornamented with jewels; above the cup, the letters שג, i.e. "year 3."

REVERSE.

ירושלים הקדושה, "Jerusalem the Holy."
A central device (? Aaron's rod).

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt [two specimens], "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 268, pl. vi. No. 1; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 44, No. 6; Merzbacher, "Zeitschrift für Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 190, No. 6, pl. iv. No. 6, from "Hamburger in Frankfurt a. M.")



OBVERSE.

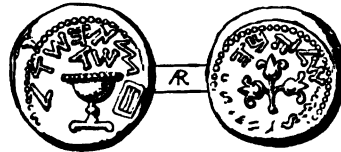
REVERSE.

7. *AR*. 6. שקל ישראל, "Shekel of Israel." A cup or chalice, ornamented with jewels; above the cup, the letters שד (for שנת"ד, *Shenath* 4) "year 4."

ירושלים הקדושה, "Jerusalem the Holy."
A central device (? Aaron's rod).¹

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 269, pl. vi. No. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 45, No. 7.)

Mr. Reichardt also possesses a *copper* shekel of the same size and same type as the above, but weighing considerably less (170·1 grains). It was obtained from a peasant living in the neighbourhood of a village called Beit-Sakarieh, about three and a half hours' ride S.W. of Jerusalem.²



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

- T. 8. *AR*. 4. חצי השקל, "Half-shekel." A cup or chalice, ornamented with jewels; above the cup, the letters שד (for שנת"ד, *Shenath* 4) "year 4."

ירושלים הקדושה, "Jerusalem the Holy."
A central device (? Aaron's rod).

(Coll. of Rev. S. S. Lewis, who kindly sent me an impression; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1879, vol. xix. p. 13. This coin is plated.)



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

- *9. *AR*. 6. שקל ישראל, "Shekel of Israel." A cup or chalice, ornamented with jewels; above the cup, the letters שה (for שנת"ה, *Shenath* 5) "year 5."

ירושלים הקדושה, "Jerusalem the Holy."
A central device (? Aaron's rod).

(Coll. of Rev. S. S. Lewis, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 322. The reverse is engraved in Farrar's "Life of Christ," 1 vol. illustrated, p. 591.)

¹ About January, 1874, a hoard of a hundred shekels were found near Jericho, some of which were purchased by the late Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake and forwarded to England, and the remainder by M. Ganneau. They had been deposited in an earthen pot, the cover of which had in some manner been secured with lead, and with them was found a gold seal with a gem on which wheat-ears are engraved, the whole circumstances being such as to afford no ground for suspicion, though hints had been expressed

that they were forgeries (see APPENDIX E. No. 56). They are twenty-four in number, dated 1, 2, 3, and 4, five of which bear the date 4. Half-shekels of the "year 3," and shekels of the "year 4" are not so uncommon as they were in 1864. Specimens have been recently sold by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge ("Cat. of Greek coins consigned from Constantinople," Nos. 225, 226 and 226*, April, 1880).

² Cavedoni considered ("Nuovi sopra le Ant. Mon. Giud.")

The mode of writing יְרוּשָׁלַיִם instead of יְרוּשָׁלַם, from the year two, has been supposed¹ to allude to the taking of Sion from the Syrians, and that the fortress constituted a second town, and therefore necessitated the employment of a *dual* name, but the supposition has been considered untenable.² In the Old Testament "Jerusalem" is usually written יְרוּשָׁלַם, but it may be found in five places as יְרוּשָׁלַיִם (1 Chron. iii. 5; 2 Chron. xxv. 1; xxxii. 9; Jer. xxvi. 18; Esth. ii. 6). The Chaldee form is יְרוּשָׁלַם and יְרוּשָׁלַיִם (Dan. v. 2, vi. 11; Ezra iv. 8). The Rev. T. E. Espin writes,³ "It seems evident that the original and proper pointing is יְרוּשָׁלַיִם. The pointing יְרוּשָׁלַם and the form יְרוּשָׁלַיִם belong to the silver age of the Hebrew language. Possibly this dual form was originally adopted only by way of honour; as out of the older שְׁמֶרֶן the later שְׁמֶרַיִן was formed (cf. Ewald, "Lehrb. der Heb. Spr." p. 470); and the explanation of the form as referring to the upper and lower city might suggest itself afterwards."

The title "Holy" appears to have been attached to Jerusalem at a very early time⁴ and in the decree of Demetrius Soter, it is expressly stated that it should be "holy and free."⁵ The right of *asylum* was also granted to it.⁶ In the Gospel of St. Matthew it is also called the "holy city,"⁷ and it retains this appellation in its present Arabic name, *El-Kuds*,—"the holy." The titles of holy (*ιερὰ*) and inviolable (*ἄσυλος*) were adopted by many Greek cities, especially the coast cities of the Mediterranean, which had been exempted from taxes, and these words are inscribed upon the coins.⁸ It is probable that the inscription on the shekels of Simon was employed in the same sense.

The type of the obverse of the silver shekels and half-shekels has been usually considered, and probably correctly, to represent the pot of manna. "And Moses said unto Aaron, take a pot, and put an omer full of manna therein and lay it up before the Lord, to be kept for your generations."⁹ In this passage the manna pot is called *Zinsenth* (צִנְצֶנֶת; LXX. *στάμνος χρυσῆς*; cf. Hebrews ix. 4, *στάμνος χρυσῆ*), a word most probably derived from צָנַן (= צָנַן) "to protect," which would imply that the vessel had a cover. Now the vase upon these coins has no cover.¹⁰ Perhaps it was a flat one, or else the vase only indicated the representation of something like the pot of manna, of which at this time there could be only a traditional recollection.¹¹ It has, however, been suggested

pp. 11, 12) this piece to be *l'anima di un Sielo d'argento suberato*. Merzbacher possesses one of the "year 3." Reichardt's coin is the same as the one spoken of by him as "plated" (*op. cit.*, Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 45, 46, 48), but it is said to be of "copper, partly covered with red oxide" (Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 175). A woodcut is given of it in the "Wien Numism. Monatsheften," ed. Dr. Egger, 1866.

¹ Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 23; vol. ii. p. 12.

² De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 18, *note*. Gesenius ("Thes." p. 629) concludes, "Ex quo apparet, duo illa scribendi genera eodem tempore usitata fuisse, et, utrum optatum sit, illis certe temporibus ex arbitrio fere pependisse."

³ "Speaker's Commentary," vol. ii. p. 54.

⁴ Isaiah xlviii. 2; lii. 1; Dan. ix. 24; Nehem. xi. 1, 18; Joel iii. 17.

⁵ Καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἦτο ἀγία καὶ ἀφειμένη, 1 Maccab. x. 31; cf. xv. 7; ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ ἐλευθέραν, Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 2, 3.

⁶ 1 Maccab. x. 43.

⁷ ἡ ἀγία πόλις, Matt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53; ἡ πόλις ἡ ἀγία, Rev. xi. 2.

⁸ On the coins of Tyre and Sidon, and also on those of Laodicea and Seleucia, etc. (Mionnet, "Description de Médailles," vol. v. pp. 65, 80, 93, 272).

⁹ Exod. xvi. 33.

¹⁰ A cup *with a cover* is represented on the coins of the "third year" of the First Revolt. See CHAPTER VIII.

¹¹ R. S. Poole, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Money.

that the vessel may represent some other piece of the furniture of the Temple, such as, perhaps, a chalice. Cavedoni¹ and Levy² are inclined to take this view, and the former states that there is a chalice similar to the one on these coins, which was on the golden table of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and which was carried to Rome, and represented on the arch of Titus, together with the golden candlestick.³

The reverse type is generally taken to represent Aaron's rod that budded. "And behold the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was budded, and brought forth buds and bloomed blossoms and yielded almonds."⁴ Cavedoni, however, prefers to consider it a hyacinth or lily, according to the words, "I will be as the dew unto Israel, he shall blossom as the lily."⁵

The following copper coins of the "fourth year" have been usually attributed to Simon Maccabæus:—



OBSERVE.

1. Æ. 7. שנת ארבע חצי *Shenath arba Chatzi*, "In the fourth year—one-half." Two bunches of thickly-leaved branches (*Lulab*), between which a citron (*Ethrog*).

REVERSE.

לגארת ציון *Ligullath Zion*, "The redemption of Zion." A palm-tree between two baskets filled with dates and other fruits.

(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." pl. i. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 47, No. 8.)



OBSERVE.

2. Æ. 6. שנת ארבע רביע *Shenath arba Rebia*, "In the fourth year—one quarter." Two bundles of branches (*Lulab*).

REVERSE.

לגארת ציון, "The redemption of Zion."
An *Ethrog*.

(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." pl. i. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 47, No. 9.)

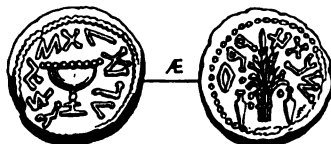
¹ "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 29.

² "Jüd. Münzen," p. 138.

³ De Rubeis, "Veteres Arcus August. Triumph." pl. iii.

⁴ Numbers xvii. 8; cf. Hebrews ix. 4.

⁵ Hosea xiv. 6; cf. Isaiah xxvii. 6; xxxv. 1. Cavedoni's views, either as regards the "chalice" or the "lily," are not, however, conclusive (cf. R. S. Poole, Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Ark of the Covenant).



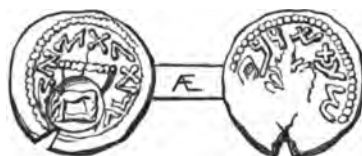
OBSERVE.

3. Æ. 5. לְגַאֲלַת צִיּוֹן, "The redemption of Zion." A cup or chalice, ornamented with jewels.

REVERSE.

שְׁנַת אַרְבַּע¹ *Shenath arba*, "In the fourth year." A bundle of branches (*Lulab*) between two *Ethrogs*.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. i. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 47, No. 10.)



OBSERVE.

- *4. Æ. 5. לְגַאֲלַת צִיּוֹן, "The redemption of Zion." A cup or chalice, ornamented with jewels, partially covered with the countermark of an elephant.

REVERSE.

שְׁנַת אַרְבַּע, "In the fourth year." Same type as No. 3, but mostly obliterated.

(British Museum.—Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 61.)

OBSERVE.

5. Æ. 5. לְגַאֲלַת צִיּוֹן, "The redemption of Zion." A cup or chalice.

REVERSE.

שְׁנַת אַרְבַּע, "In the fourth year." An *Ethrog* alone, as upon No. 2; but with the *stalk upwards*, like the *Ethrogs* on Nos. 1, 3 and 4.

(Grotefend, "Jahrbuch des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden ein Rheinlande," 1865, p. 290; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 343.)

As to the correctness of the attribution we are not on sure ground. Doubts as to these coins being of the same age as the shekels and half-shekels have been expressed by numismatists of authority,² and one numismatist has not hesitated to assign them to the fourth year of the First Revolt,³ an arrangement that has not been adopted by the present writer.⁴ The most recent student of Jewish numismatics has not felt able to classify them with certainty, but has preferred considering them as "early coins of an uncertain age."⁵

The discovery of a shekel of the "year five," and the possible existence of one of the "year six," has done away with the theory that in consequence of Antiochus "breaking all covenants" (1 Maccab. xv. 27), the silver coinage ceased in the fourth year, and was

¹ The *schin* on these coins is formed sometimes W , sometimes ω .

² J. Evans, "Num. Chron." o.s. 1857, vol. xx. p. 12; De Saulcy, "Rev. Num." 1864, p. 377; cf. Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 51; 1875, vol. xv. p. 305.

³ Garrucci, "Diss. Arch. di vario Argomento," vol. ii. p. 31, Rome, 1865. See CHAPTER VIII.

⁴ "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.*

⁵ Dr. Merzbacher, "Zeitschrift für Num." 1877, vol. iv. p. 364.

replaced by a copper one; but it may be observed, that, though we cannot explain why a special copper coinage should have been introduced in the fourth year of Simon, yet it is curious that *copper specimens of shekels of the fourth year* are, as above shown, in existence.

But whether these copper coins of the "year four" can be attributed to Simon Maccabæus or not, their assignment to the Seleucidan period seems to some extent confirmed by the copper piece (No. 4), which is countermarked with an *elephant*. Now the elephant was a special type of the Syrian kings. It was adopted as a coin-type by Seleucus I. Nicator, who, marrying the daughter of Sandrocottus (Chandra-Gupta), an Indian king, with whom he had been at war for some time, received from him a present of five hundred elephants.¹ He was in consequence called in derision, by Demetrius I. Poliorcetes, king of Macedonia, "a ruler of elephants."² The type of the elephant also occurs on the coins of Seleucus II. Callinicus, Antiochus III. the Great, Alexander I. Bala, Antiochus VI. Dionysus, etc., and on those of Apameia in Syria, at which place Seleucus had his commissariat, keeping there 500 elephants, 30,000 mares and 300 stallions.³

The selection of the palm-tree on the copper coins was peculiarly appropriate, as it was famous as a product of Palestine,⁴ and it may be found on other coins of Judæa.⁵ The palm-branch, in conjunction with the myrtle, the willow, and the *Ethrog* (citron), represented the Festal branch which every Israelite was to carry at the feast of Tabernacles. "And ye shall take you on the first day the boughs (*Heb.* fruit) of goodly trees, branches of palm-trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days."⁶ According to tradition the myrtle (עֵץ עֵבֶר) and willow, with the palm-branch, tied together in a bunch,⁷ were to be carried in the *right* hand, and the *Ethrog* (פֵּרִי עֵץ הָדָר = אֶתְרוֹג) in the *left*.⁸ Such a bunch may be seen on Nos. 1-4, and close by it the *Ethrog*, excepting on No. 2, where the bunches are on the obverse, and the *Ethrog* on the reverse; the *Ethrog* is also on the reverse of No. 5. This fruit is only found alone on these copper coins. The palm-branch was employed upon all festive occasions, as, for instance, the taking of the citadel by Simon,⁹ and on the purification of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus.¹⁰ The baskets with dates and other fruits on No. 1 no doubt bear reference to the offerings of the First-fruits (בְּכֹרִים),¹¹ which, on ascending the mount of the Temple, each person was compelled to take upon his shoulder, and proceed to the court of the Temple, where he was met by the Levites singing.¹² Should these types not be

¹ Strabo, p. 724.

² Ἐλεφαντοδότης. Plut. "In Demetr." 25.

³ Strabo, p. 752.

⁴ "Judæa vero inclyta est vel magis palmis." Plin. N. H. xiii. 4. "Exuberant fruges nostrum ad morem; præterque eas, balsamum et palmæ." Tac. "Hist." v. 6; cf. Joseph. "Antiq." ix. 1, 2; xiv. 4, 1.

⁵ See coins of the Asmonæan and Herodian families, of the Procurators, of the Revolts, and those commemorative of the capture of Jerusalem.

⁶ Levit. xxiii. 40; cf. Nehem. viii. 15.

⁷ This bunch was called *lulab* (לוּלָב), which strictly means only a palm-branch (Buxtorf, "Lex. Talm." c. 1143).

⁸ Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," pp. 134, 135.

⁹ 1 Maccab. xiii. 51; cf. John xii. 13. See p. 62.

¹⁰ 2 Maccab. x. 6 *seq.*

¹¹ Deut. xvi. 2; Jeremiah vi. 9.

¹² For an account of these offerings, see Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. First-fruits.

intended to have reference to the festivals, they at any rate ideally indicate the peace and prosperity of the land in the terms of the ancient text:—"Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit."¹

B. JOHN HYRCANUS I. B.C. 135—B.C. 106.

Immediately on the murder of Simon, John Hyrcanus² assumed the dignity of high-priest, and made an expedition against Ptolemy, his father's and brother's murderer, who had fled to Zeno Cotylas, the tyrant of the city of Philadelphia. It seems excessively probable that Ptolemy and Antiochus Sidetes had arranged this assassination between them, for immediately after the flight of Ptolemy, Antiochus undertook an expedition against the Jews. As he came with a very large army, Hyrcanus did not venture to oppose him, and was consequently closely besieged in Jerusalem. Famine would soon have compelled him to surrender, had not an opportunity offered of making peace with the king Antiochus. The feast of Tabernacles being near at hand, John sent to Antiochus, and desired a truce for seven days, which Antiochus not only granted, but supplied animals to be used for the sacrifices.³ Pleased with this friendly behaviour, John again sought to make terms of permanent peace, to which Antiochus, contrary to the wishes of his generals, agreed on the conditions, that they should deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa and the other cities which bordered upon Judæa, and give him hostages and five hundred talents of silver. Three hundred talents and the hostages were immediately sent,⁴ for Hyrcanus preferred this latter condition to allowing a Syrian garrison to be placed inside Jerusalem. This took place in B.C. 135. However, a league of friendship was made between them, and Hyrcanus admitted Antiochus within the city, and furnished his army with whatever they required. Four years afterwards, John Hyrcanus accompanied Antiochus in his expedition against the Parthians, and Antiochus, though at first successful against Phraates II., was eventually slain by the enemy in B.C. 129. Immediately on hearing of the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus was enabled to recover

¹ 1 Maccab. xiv. 8 *seq.*

² The reason for the adoption of the name of *Hyrcanus* by John is uncertain. In the Arabic book of Maccabees (xx. 1-3) it is said that he received it on account of his slaying a certain man who was called Hyrcanus. Eusebius ("Chron." lib. ii. ed. Mai, 1818, p. 359) and Sulpicius Severus ("Hist. Sacr." lib. ii. 26) say that he adopted it in consequence of a victory gained over the Hyrcanians. John had accompanied Antiochus VII. Sidetes into Parthia, and a trophy was erected at the river Lycus (in Assyria) to commemorate the victory over the Parthian general (Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 8, 4). The Hyrcanians were a nation whose territory was bounded on the north by the Caspian Sea, and would thus be at no great distance from Parthia. Josephus, however, gives no explanation of the name ("Antiq." xiii. 7, 4; "Bell. Jud." i. 2, 3), and John is nowhere called Hyrcanus in 1 Maccabees. There is

another Hyrcanus (LXX. Ἰρκανός; Vulg. *Hircanus*), a son (?) of Tobias, mentioned in 2 Maccabees (iii. 11) and in Josephus ("Antiq." xii. 4, 2). See Westcott, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," and Madden, Kitto's "Cyclop. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. *Hircanus*.

³ For these concessions he is said to have been favourably compared with Antiochus Epiphanes, and called *Εὐσεβής*, "the pious" (Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 8, 2). Josephus also gives him ("Antiq." xiii. 10, 1) the title of *Σωτήρ*.

⁴ Josephus records ("Antiq." vii. 15, 3; xiii. 8, 4; "Bell. Jud." i. 2, 5) that Hyrcanus, in order to pay this money, opened the tomb of David, and took therefrom 3000 talents of silver. Herod also opened the tomb, but probably found only ornaments (Joseph. "Antiq." vii. 15, 3; xvi. 7, 1). The story, however, is rather improbable.

his independence, and reduced several neighbouring cities. Sichem was stormed, and the hated temple on Mount Gerizim was destroyed. Idumæa was subdued, and the people compelled to become Jews. Hyrcanus was now desirous of making a league of friendship with the Romans, and sent an embassy to them, which was favourably received by the Senate, and the alliance that had been concluded with Simon was again renewed.¹ In the mean time, in the Syrian kingdom there were continual dissensions, consequent on the escape of Demetrius II. from his captivity in Parthia, and his re-establishment on the throne about B.C. 130; and Hyrcanus not only concluded an alliance with the victorious pretender Alexander Zebina, B.C. 128, but extended his power in every direction. Several years elapsed, till at length he laid siege to Samaria, which city he destroyed entirely in B.C. 109.

His rule towards the close of his life was not so successful at home as abroad, for there were constant disturbances between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and Hyrcanus, who had been at first attached to the former party, quarrelled with them and inclined towards the opposite faction. He did not experience the results of his proceedings, dying after thirty years' reign in B.C. 106.² Josephus says that he was esteemed by God worthy of three privileges—the government of his nation, the high-priesthood, and prophecy.³

Of the reign of John Hyrcanus there are a large number of coins, but they were only issued in copper.⁴

It seems excessively probable, as has been shown by De Saulcy,⁵ that Hyrcanus did not commence striking coins immediately on his accession. The siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus had prevented this; and moreover, Antiochus himself, after friendship had been established, when visiting Jerusalem in B.C. 132 and 131, struck coins there in his own name, of which the following is a description:—

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 9, 2. Other documents given to the time of Hyrcanus II. by Josephus ("Antiq." xiv. 10, 22-25) appear to refer to that of Hyrcanus I. (Ewald, "Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 364, notes 1 and 2), and so too may the decree of the people of Athens to Hyrcanus, "high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews" (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 8, 5; cf. Ewald, *op. cit.* p. 405, note 3; p. 496, note 6).

The decree of the Roman Senate given by Josephus ("Antiq." xiv. 8, 5) to Hyrcanus II., and thought by Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 34) to belong to Hyrcanus I., would really seem to be the same as the letter written by the Consul Lucius to Simon Maccabæus [Sect. A. p. 63, note 2; Sect. H. HYRCANUS II. re-established], inserted by Josephus in a wrong place in his history.

² Eusebius ("Chron.") and Sulpicius Severus ("Chron." ii. 26, 2) assign to John Hyrcanus a reign of only twenty-six years; the *Chronicon Paschale* only twenty-seven years. Josephus, on the contrary, gives to him *thirty* (τριακοντα δ' ἐν ἔτει τῆς τιμῆς ἀπολαύσας, "Antiq." xx. 10), *thirty-one* (τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικησάμενος τὸν ἕριστον τρόπον ἔτεσιν ἐνὶ καὶ τριακοντα, "Antiq." xiii. 10, 7), and *thirty-three* years of reign (καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν κάλλιστα διοικήσας ἐν τρισὶν καὶ τριακοντα ἔτεσιν, "Bell. Jud." i. 2, 8). We have two certain dates to calculate from. We know that the first year of Hyrcanus I. was contemporary with the fourth year of Antiochus VII.

Sidetes (Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 8, 2; the date following this passage is corrupt, Clinton, F. H. vol. iii. p. 330, note 2), and that Simon died in Feb. B.C. 135, consequently the first year of Hyrcanus I. ended in Feb. B.C. 134. We also know that Hyrcanus II. succeeded Alexandra in Ol. 177, 3, *Hortensio et Metello consulibus*, B.C. 69 (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 1, 2). Allowing then one year to Judas Aristobulus (Βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτόν, Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 11, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 3, 6), twenty-seven years to Alexander Jannæus, B.C. 105 to 78 (Βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι, Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 15, 5; "Bell. Jud." i. 4, 8), and nine years to Alexandra, B.C. 78 to 69 (Βασιλεύσασα ἔτη ἑννέα, Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 16, 6; "Bell. Jud." i. 5, 4), we obtain a term of thirty years (Feb. B.C. 135 to end of B.C. 106) for the reign of Hyrcanus I.

³ "Antiq." xiii. 10, 7; "Bell. Jud." i. 2, 8.

⁴ The sudden cessation of the striking of *silver* by the Asmonean family is remarkable. It may be that the striking of *copper* was considered less of a prerogative. Such was the case in India. Bābur and Humāyūn would not put their mark on their *copper* coins (Thomas, "Pathān kings of Dehli," p. 383), and Akbar's mints define the limited mints of gold and silver and the large range of *copper* (Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 428).

⁵ "Rev. Arch." N.S. 1872, p. 9.



OBVERSE.

Æ. Lily.

REVERSE.

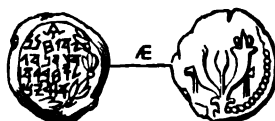
ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] ANTIOX[ΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ].

Anchor; below, ΑΠΡ (A.S. 181 = B.C. 132) and

ΒΠΡ (A.S. 182 = B.C. 131.)¹

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. iii. Nos. 13, 14; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 67.)

After the death of Antiochus, in B.C. 129, and on the conclusion of the treaty with Rome, and the alliance with Alexander Zebina, Hyrcanus struck money in his own name.



OBVERSE.

1. Æ. 3.

Λ

יהוחנן

הכהן הגדול

דל וחבריה

יהודים

i.e. יהוחנן הכהן הגדול וחבריה יהודים

Jehochanan Hakkohen Haggadol Vecheber Hajehudim.

"Johanan the high-priest and the Senate of the Jews," within a wreath of laurel or olive.

REVERSE.

Two cornua-copiae, between which a poppy-head.

(Formerly in the Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 57, No. 3; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, p. 237, No. 16; "Num. Jud." pl. xx. No. 3; Merzbacher, "Zeitschrift für Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 195, No. 26.)

The following varieties occur:—

(2)

Λ

יהוחנן

הכהן הגדול

דל וחבריה

יהודים

ם

(De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, p. 237, No. 19.)

(3)

Λ

יהוחנן

הכהן הגדול

ל וחבריה

יהודים

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 18.)

(4)

Λ

יהוחנן

כהן גדול

ל וחבריה

יהודים

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 17.)

¹ A specimen of this coin in the British Museum appears to be undated ("Cat. of the coins of the Seleucids," p. 75, pl. xx. No. 14).

(5)	<p>Α</p> <p>יהוח</p> <p>נן הכ . .</p> <p>גדל . .</p> <p>• • • •</p>	(6)	<p>Α</p> <p>יהוכנן</p> <p>הכהן הגדל</p> <p>וחבר הי</p> <p>הודים</p>
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(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." pl. iii. No. 12.)

(Merzbacher, *op. cit.* No. 30; cf. De Sauley, "Num. Jud." pl. iii. No. 11.)

The Greek Α, which is the initial letter of the name of Alexander, relates to the alliance between John Hyrcanus and Alexander II. Zebina in B.C. 128.¹ This coinage was probably in circulation till about B.C. 124; Alexander Zebina died in B.C. 122.

With respect to the word **חבר** [خبر] Nuntius, خبر Nuntiorum gnarus, خبر "Is qui Deum cognoscit," Freytag—from root خبر] various interpretations have been given. Reichardt explains it² as "doctor" or "learned man," in contradistinction to so many high-priests who were "illiterate men"; whilst De Sauley originally preferred to interpret it as "*l'ami des Juifs*."³ Cavedoni, however, cannot understand⁴ why a king of Jewish descent and of the lineage of Aaron should have adopted the title "friend of the Jews." He says, "It would have been better to have had ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΞ, as was the case with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and other Greeks (Eckhel, vol. iv. p. 462). Judas Aristobulus, son of this John, called himself Φιλέλλην (Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 11, 3), but I do not think that any prince of Jewish origin called himself Φιλοϊουδαῖος. Therefore, I consider that instead of *Vecheber*, we must read *Vecheber*, i.e. *societas, natio, gens, populus*, and that these coins were struck with the name of the Jewish nation and its king John. In a similar manner are found in the records of the time of the Maccabees (1 Maccab. viii. 20), *Judas Machabæus et fratres ejus et populus* (τὸ πλῆθος) *Judæorum*, and in 1 Maccab. xii. 3, *Jonathas summus sacerdos et gens Judæorum* (καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων)." Levy,⁵ however, though agreeing with this interpretation, suggests "that *cheber* means a *limited association*, and that if the *whole people of the Jews* were meant, the form would be *Wehajejudim*, and not *Wecheber hajehudim*. Also among the Phœnicians (viz. the inscription of Marseilles), the *étaipelei* (Societies) are denoted by **חברנים** *Chebronim* (the plural of חברן). . . . In this inscription the *Suffetes*, mentioned in the beginning of the decree, are the representatives of the *Senate*, and by their side stand the *Chebronim*, as with the Greeks the *Φατρίαι*, and with the Romans the *Curia*. As the *Suffetes* and *Confederation* together issue a decree to the Carthaginians, this is accordingly equivalent to *Suffetes* and *Elders* (γέροντες) or *Senators*. . . . So now among the Jews is there a combination of authority for the issue of edicts, 'The high-priest and the Confederation of the

¹ De Sauley, "Num. Jud." pp. 99, 102; "Rev. Arch." N.S. 1872, p. 13. Cavedoni's suggestion ("Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 17) that this letter has a connexion with the wreath, and that it denotes a *corona aurea*, cannot be accepted (Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 57).

² "Num. Chron." N.S. 1862, vol. ii. p. 269; 1864, vol. iv. p. 178.

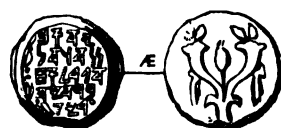
³ "Num. Jud." p. 84; "Rev. Num." N.S. 1864, vol. ix. p. 382. He has recently adopted ("Mél. de Numismatique," 1877, p. 86) the reading "l'assemblée (le Sénat)." See page 78.

⁴ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 14.

⁵ "Jüd. Münzen," p. 50, note 3.

Jews.'"¹ Cavedoni² further suggests that it might be translated by the phrase *πολίτευμα Ἰουδαίων*, which occurs in a well-known decree of the Jews of Berenice in the Cyrenaica,³ but he does not like altogether to resign its connexion with the Greek *ἔθνος Ἰουδαίων*, especially as the title *ἐθνάρχης* was given by Augustus to one of the sons of Herod the Great.⁴

Dr. Geiger, however, is of opinion⁵ "that the priestly Senate was called *חֲבֵר*, and that thus we find on the coins, besides the high-priest, the governing body—the Senate *חֲבֵר הַיְּהוּדִים*" . . . "the priestly Patriciat, that is the *συναγωγή μεγάλη ἱερέων* (1 Maccab. xiv. 28), or merely the *συναγωγή* (1 Maccab. iii. 44)," a view that is unreservedly accepted by M. Derenbourg,⁶ and which appears to be the most reasonable interpretation.⁷



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

7. *Æ*. 3.

יהוה
ננהכה
הגדלו
בריה
ים

i.e. יהוכנן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהודים

Jehokanan Hakkohen Haggadol Vochaber Hajehudim,
"Johanan the high-priest and the Senate of the
Jews," within a wreath of olive or laurel.

(Formerly in the Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 54, No. 1.)

Two cornua-copiae, between which a poppy-head.

The following variations in the legend may be found:—

(8) יהוחנן
הכהן הגדל
ל וחבר הי
הדים

(Merzbacher, "Zeitschrift f. Num." 1876,
vol. iii. p. 193, No. 14; cf. De Sauley,
"Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi.
p. 237, No. 12.)

(9) יהוחנן
הכהן הגדל
ל וחבר ה
יהדי

(Merzbacher, *op. cit.* No. 14 bis; De
Sauley, *op. cit.* No. 11.)

(10) יהוחנן
הכהן חג
ל וחבר
היהד

(De Sauley, *op. cit.* No. 10; cf. "Num.
Jud." pl. iii. No. 1—(sic) ויהבר; pl. iii.
No. 6, and xx. No. 1—(sic) ויהבר; Levy,
"Jüd. Münzen," p. 50, note 2; Madden,
"Jew. Coinage," p. 54, note 2.)

¹ See the proclamation of Demetrius II. to the Jews, in which mention is made of the *ἄρχοντες* or *πρεσβύτεροι* of whom the *γερονσία* was composed (see p. 61, note 4).

² "Nuovi studi sopra le antiche monete Giudaiche," pp. 13, 14.

³ "Corpus Inscr. Græc." No. 5361; cf. 2 Maccab. xii. 7.

⁴ See CHAPTER VI. Sect. B. Archelaus. Ewald ("Gött. gel. Anz." 1855, p. 643, quoted by Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 15) says that the latter part of the inscription (חבר) would be more correctly rendered by "General of the Jews" as חבר is used in its warlike meaning of gathering together the leader with his troops (Gen. xiv. 3), therefore חבר may denote "the leader or commander." This agrees with the words of 1 Maccab.

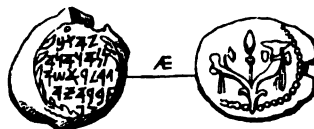
xiii. 42, "The governor and leader of the Jews." This interpretation, however, has not met with the support of either Dr. Geiger ("Urschrift," p. 122) or Dr. Levy ("Jüd. Münzen," p. 50, note 3).

⁵ "Urschrift," pp. 121, 124.

⁶ "Essai," p. 83.

⁷ I must here note in justice to Mr. Reichardt, whose interpretation of the word חבר as "doctor" or "learned man" has been above given, that this writer, though not having seen the works of either Geiger or Derenbourg, still doubts if the rendering of חבר by "Senate" will become the accepted version of this word (MS. communication).

- (11) יהוחנן
הכהן הגדל
דל וחבר ה
יהדי[ם]
(Merzbacher, *op. cit.* No. 15 bis.)
- (12) יהוחנ[ג]
ן הכהן ה
גדל וחבר[ג]
היהדי[ם]
ם
(Merzbacher, *op. cit.* No. 16.)
- (13) יהוחנ[ג]
ן הכהן ה
גדל וכבר (sic)
יהדי
(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 9.)
- (14) יהוח
ן הכהן[ג]
הגדל וח
ר היהדי (sic)
(Merzbacher, *op. cit.* No. 17 bis.)
- (15) יהוחנ[ג]
ן הכהן
הגל ???
??
(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 6; cf. No. 8, which in the third line reads וחב.)
- (16) יהוח
[נן] הכהן הג
ל חתתה (sic)
היהדי
(Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 270, No. 4; cf. Reichardt, in Egger's "Wien. Num. Monatsch." 1867, p. 107, and De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. iii. No. 7.)
- (17) יהוח
ן הכה
ן הגדל (sic)
(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 7; cf. "Num. Jud." pl. iii. Nos. 4 and 5, giving the name as יהונן *Jehonan*, and reading in third line (sic) גלה and (sic) גדלו.)
- (18) יהו
חנן הכה
ן הגדל ו
חבר ה
ידי (sic)
(Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 194, No. 20; De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 3.)
- (19) יהו
חנן הכ
ן גר . .
... וחב . .
...
(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 5; cf. "Num. Jud." pl. iii. No. 2, reading in third line הגדל.)
- (20) יהו
חנן הכ
ן הגר
חב (sic)
(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 2.)
- (21) יהו
חנן הכה
ן הגדל ו
חבר ה
יה
(Merzbacher, *op. cit.* No. 22.)
- (22) י[ה]
וחנן [ה]
כהן הגדל
וחבר ה
יה ?
(Merzbacher, *op. cit.* No. 23.)
- (23) . .
וחנן ה
כהן הגר
ל וחבר
הידי
(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 4.)
- (24) חנן כה (sic)
הגדל
(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 1.)



OVERSE.

25. Æ. 3.

יהוה
ננהכהנה
גדל ראש¹
חברהיה
[ור]ים

יהוכנן הכהן הגדל ראש חבר היה[ור]ים
Jehokanan Hakhohen Haggadol Rosh Chober Hajehudim, "Johanan the high-priest and Prince of the Senate of the Jews," within a wreath of laurel or olive.

REVERSE.

Two cornua-copiae, between which a poppy-head.

(Formerly in the Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 58, No. 4; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. iii. No. 3.)

The following varieties occur:—

(26)

יהוה
נן הכהן ה
גדל ראש
חבר הי
הדי
ם

(De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 237, No. 15.)

(27)

יהו
חנן הכה
ן הגדל ר
אש חבר
היהו

(Merzbacher, "Zeitschrift f. Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 191, No. 10; cf. De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 14.)

(28)

יהו
חנן הכהן
הגדל רא
ש חבר ה
יהר

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 13.)

(29)

יהו
חנן הכהן
הגדל רא
ש החבר
הי

(Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 269, No. 3.)

(30)

יהו
חנן הכ
הן הגדל
ראש החב
ר יהיה (sic)
הדי

(Reichardt, in Egger's "Wien Num. Monatsh." 1867, p. 106; cf. Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 192, No. 13.)

The reading and interpretation of the word ראש [رأس], "Caput fuit, præfuit, rexit gentem." ראש "Princeps gentis," etc.—Freytag.] as "head or prince" receives thus full confirmation.

¹ It will be noticed that in the woodcut there is a 1 in this line. Dr. Merzbacher suggests ("Zeitschrift für Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 191) that this letter is really only a portion of the wreath surrounding the legend, which is perhaps likely.

The type of the two cornua-copiæ first occurs on the Egyptian coins,¹ and was probably adopted on the coins of the Seleucidæ on the occasion of a marriage with an Egyptian princess.² The type on these Jewish coins seems to be an imitation of some of the coins of the kings of Syria. The two cornua-copiæ are first met with on coins of Alexander II. Zebina³ (B.C. 128-122). They also occur on a unique tetradrachm of Cleopatra, and the type may have been adopted on her marriage with Alexander I. Balas, B.C. 150.⁴ The wreath which encircles the inscription on the above-described coins of Hyrcanus probably takes its origin from the coins of Antiochus VI., the son of Alexander I.⁵ If the coins with the two cornua-copiæ originated with Alexander II. Zebina, then John Hyrcanus made this type a sign of his alliance with Zebina,⁶ and it helps to prove that the Greek Α on some of his coins refers to this king, unless indeed it denotes the "year 1." The type of the double cornu-copiæ is itself perhaps emblematical of the prosperity of the reign of John Hyrcanus.⁷

The small coin with a Hebrew inscription within a wreath and with two cornua-copiæ and poppy-head, and over the cornua-copiæ the Greek letters Λ. Α., was first assigned by its possessor, the late Abbé Cavedoni,⁸ to king Alexander, and then by the same numismatist⁹ to his father John Hyrcanus, the date being read Λ. Α (year 30), and not Λ. Α (year 1). The supposed date has probably been confounded with a portion of the cornua-copiæ.¹⁰

C. JUDAS ARISTOBULUS, B.C. 106—B.C. 105.

Immediately after the death of John Hyrcanus, Judas Aristobulus¹¹ succeeded, and in addition to the priest-hood, took the title of king, this being the first instance of the assumption of that designation since the Captivity.¹² His mother, to whom Hyrcanus had left the government by will, wished to reign, but Aristobulus put her in prison, and caused her to be starved to death. He also imprisoned three of his brothers, but the fourth, Antigonus, was his favourite, and with him he shared his kingdom. Soon after his accession he subdued the Ituræans, and compelled them to embrace the Jewish religion. During the progress of this expedition,

¹ On the golden octodrachms of Arsinoë, wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 279).

² R. S. Poole, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Money.

³ Mionnet, vol. v. p. 83, Nos. 730, 731; Gardner, "Cat. of Coins of the Seleucids in British Museum," p. 82.

⁴ R. S. Poole, *loc. cit.* The coin referred to, which is in the British Museum, was struck at Sycamina in A.S. 187 = B.C. 125.

⁵ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 233; Gardner, "Cat. of Coins of the Seleucids," p. 67.

⁶ Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 9, 3.

⁷ Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 10, 1.

⁸ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 21, note 13; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 60, note 1; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 60.

⁹ "Nuovi Studi sopra le antiche Monete Giudaiche," p. 13.

¹⁰ Cf. Merzbacher, "Zeits. f. Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 195.

¹¹ Josephus gives him the Hebrew name, *Judas*, as well as the Greek one, *Aristobulus* ("Antiq." xx. 10, 1).

¹² Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 11, 1; xx. 10, 1; "Bell. Jud." i. 3, 1. Also Eusebius, *Ἀριστόβουλος υἱὸς Ἰωάννου πρὸς τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ διδῆμα περὶ τοῦ βασιλικῆν πρώτος* ("Chron." ii. ed. Mai, 1818, p. 360). The Arabic version of the Maccabees (chap. xxii. ed. Cotton), however, contains a decree of the Roman Senate in which John Hyrcanus is styled king, whilst Strabo (lib. xvi. 2, 40, ed. Didot, p. 649) asserts that Alexander Jannæus first assumed the regal title.

illness forced him to return to Jerusalem, and he resigned the command to Antigonos, who, being calumniated by the intrigues of the Queen and others, was assassinated the day after he returned to Jerusalem. Not long after, Judas Aristobulus also died, as it is said, in remorse for his misdeeds, having reigned only one year.¹ He received the name of Φιλέλλην² (lover of the Greeks). His coins show us that he did not place upon them the title of king, though, as above observed, he had usurped that title.

From the shortness of the reign of Judas Aristobulus his coins are of great rarity, and they prove that he contented himself with the title of "high-priest" only.



OBSERVE.

1. Æ 3. יהוד הכהנא
(sic) ולוחבר
הי
- 1a. יהוד הכהנא
לולוחבר (sic)
היה
- i.e. יהודה כהן גלול וחבר הייחודים *Jehudah Kohen Galul (? Gadol) Vocheber Hajehudim*, "Judas, the high-priest, and the Senate of the Jews," within a laurel or an olive wreath.

REVERSE.

Two cornua-copias, in the middle a poppy-head.

(Formerly Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 62; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. ii. Nos. 1, 2.)

The following various readings occur:—

(2)	יהוד	(3)	יהוד	(4)	יהוד
	הן כהן גדל		הן כהן הגר		הן כהן גר
	חבר הי		ול וחבר		ול וחבר
	היחודים		יהו		היהוד
					ים

(Merzbacher, "Z. f. Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 196, No. 31.)

(Reichardt, in Egger's "Wien Num. Monatsch." 1867, p. 108; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 238, No. 25.)

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 24; cf. Merzbacher, *op. cit.* No. 32, pl. iv. No. 32; Reichardt, *op. cit.* p. 109.)

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 11, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 3, 6.

² Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 11, 3.

<p>(5) יהוד ה כהן ... דול ח בר הי ה (De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 23.)</p>	<p>(6) יהוד ה כהן ג דל וחבר הירי ם (Merzbacher, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 36.)</p>	<p>(7) יהוד ה כהן ג דל וחבר יהדי (De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 22; cf. No. 21.)</p>
<p>(8) יהוד ה כהן גר וחבר ה (De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 20.)</p>	<p>(9) יהוד ה כהן דל ? חבר (De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 26.)</p>	<p>(10) יהוד (sic) ה כהן הגל וחבר ה (Grotefend, "Jahrb. d. Vereins f. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinlande," 1865, p. 291; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 343.)</p>

With respect to the reading כהן גלול *Kohen Galul*, which occurs on Nos. 1, 1a and 10, and about which so much has been written,¹ there is little doubt that the correct rendering should be כהן גדול *Kohen Gadol*, and that the גלול is an error of the engraver, for from the *daleth* a *lamed* might easily be substituted by an ignorant die-cutter.²

D. ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, B.C. 105—B.C. 78.

Alexander Jannæus,³ the eldest of the three surviving brothers of Aristobulus, when released from prison by Salome (called by the Greeks Alexandra), wife of Aristobulus, whom he soon after married,⁴ was made king by her, and immediately put to death one of his brothers, who disputed his right to the throne, leaving the other to lead a private life. His first act was to lay siege to the cities of Ptolemaïs (Acre), Dora, Stratonis Turrus and Gaza. The inhabitants of Ptolemaïs applied to Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Cyprus, who entered Palestine at the head of thirty thousand men. A great battle was fought near the river Jordan, and

¹ De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 84; "Rev. Num." 1857, p. 290; Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 19, *note* 11; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 55; Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 270; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 62; Grotefend, *op. cit.* p. 291; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 343; 1874, vol. xiv. p. 305.

² Mr. Poole suggested to me in 1864 ("Jew. Coinage," p. 63) that the word גלול may be compared with the Arabic root جَلَل "he or it was illustrious."

³ *Iavvæus* (Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 12, 1; "Bell. Jud." i. 4; cf.

Luke iii. 24, *Iavvæ*, *Iavvæf*). Josephus also calls him Alexander (*loc. cit.*). He is known in the Talmud under the name of Jannai (ינאי), and his coins give us the names of "Jonathan," or "Jehonathan." The proper form is ינאי, as the *Aleph* is only a *mater lectionis*, as for instance the biblical name שמואל (1 Chron. ii. 28, 44; iv. 17) is written later שמואל. But ינאי or ינאי is only an abbreviation of ינאית. The name ינאי means a "Teacher" in the Talmud (*Gittin*, 60a; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 115, *note* 1).

⁴ See *note* under Sect. E. ALEXANDRA.

Alexander was totally defeated. Ptolemy then overran all the country, which experienced the barbarous cruelty of the conqueror. Alexander would soon have lost his throne, had not Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt, who was alarmed lest her son should attempt to enter her kingdom, sent to the aid of Alexander an army under Chelcias and Ananias, two Jewish generals. Ptolemy was therefore obliged to return to Cyprus (B.C. 101). Soon afterwards Alexander invaded Coele-Syria, and took several cities above Jordan, but being taken by surprise by Theodorus, son of Zeno, he was defeated before Amathus, losing ten thousand men and all his baggage. In these and other struggles passed a third of his reign, whilst at home the old dissension between the Pharisees and Sadducees continued to rage with violence. The former, who were jealous of the increasing power of Alexander, attacked him while he was officiating as high-priest, rushing at him with their palm-branches, and pelting him with the *Ethrogs* (citrons). This outbreak was soon quelled, and six thousand of the insurgents were killed. After several years of civil war, he gained two decided victories, and having taken a great number of prisoners, he massacred during a banquet eight hundred, with their wives and children, in the presence of his concubines. In consequence of his cruelties the Jews surnamed him "the Thracian." His conquests included "cities that had belonged to the Syrians, Idumæans, and Phœnicians;" and whilst engaged in his attack on the fortress of Ragaba, in Peraea,¹ he took to excessive drinking, which soon caused his death. He left the government of the kingdom to his Queen Alexandra.

Of the reign of Alexander Jannæus there is a large number of coins, but their chronological arrangement is somewhat difficult.² There are pontifical coins bearing the names of יהונתן *Jehonathan*, and ינתן *Jonathan*, and regal coins, of two distinct types, bearing the name only of יהונתן *Jehonathan*.³ Many re-struck coins occur, and from examination it is proved that the pontifical coinage was struck *over* the regal coins with the flower, but as far as the present evidence is available it is *only* the pontifical coinage with the name of ינתן *Jonathan* that has been employed for the purpose of re-striking.⁴ Are then the pontifical coins with the name יהונתן *Jehonathan* co-temporary? Dr. Merzbacher has assigned⁵ these re-struck coins, as well as all those with the name ינתן *Jonathan*, to John Hyrcanus II.⁶ (B.C. 78-40), who immediately on the death of Alexander Jannæus was made high-priest by his mother Alexandra,⁷ and who with his mother left the management of affairs pretty much in the hands of the Pharisees. The difficulty of this arrangement is the fact that the coins of Alexandra herself (for it is now certain that some exist) bear the type of the *star*, and *not* that of the flower; so that had Hyrcanus II. issued these coins, he should have re-struck them on those

¹ Neubauer, "Geog. du Talmud," p. 247.

² Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 57; Poole, art. "Money," in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible"; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 66; "Num. Chron." N.S. 1865, vol. v. p. 205; 1874, vol. xiv. p. 306; De Saulcy, "Rev. Num." 1864, vol. ix. p. 384; "Rev. Arch." N.S. 1872, p. 17.

³ De Saulcy ("Rev. Arch." N.S. 1872, p. 16) is mistaken in stating that coins of these types have the name written ינתן; it is always יהונתן.

⁴ See p. 86, No. 1. De Saulcy ("Num. Chron." N.S. 1871, vol. xi. p. 239) quotes two examples of these re-struck coins with the name יהונתן. Is this correct?

⁵ "Zeits. für Num." 1876, vol. iii. pp. 201-206.

⁶ Hyrcanus II. is called *Jannai* (ינאי) in the Talmud (Derenbourg, "Essai," pp. 146-148).

⁷ Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 16, 2; "Bell. Jud." i. 5, 1.

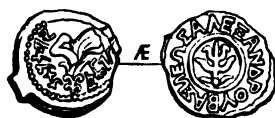
bearing the type of the *star* [Third Coinage]. Moreover, he is described as a man whom Alexandra made high-priest, "because he did not care to meddle with politics,"¹ and "on account of his inactive temper was in no way disposed to disturb the public."² At the same time it might be urged that they were struck by order of the Pharisees, who were "permitted to do everything,"³ and who "became the real administrators of public affairs, and had all the enjoyment of the royal authority."⁴ But the law of succession of types seems to forbid such an arrangement, and the coins that Hyrcanus II. did strike, after his mother's death, bear the type of a *star*.

The coins of Alexander Jannæus appear, therefore, to be capable of the following arrangement:—

1. Regal coins with bilingual inscriptions and with the type of a flower.
2. Pontifical coins, re-struck on No. 1, with the name ינתן; and pontifical coins, not showing signs of re-striking, with the names ינתן and יהונתן.
3. Regal coins with bilingual inscriptions, and with the type of a star.

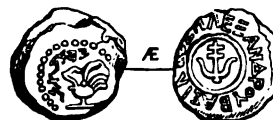
First Coinage.

REGAL COINS WITH THE FLOWER.



OBVERSE.

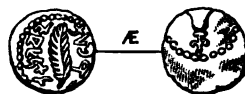
1. Æ. 3. יהונתן המלך *Jehonathan Hammelek.*
"The King Jehonathan." A half-opened flower.



REVERSE.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (of the king Alexander), round a circle, within which is an anchor with two cross-timbers.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. ii. Nos. 8 and 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 66, Nos. 1 and 2.)



OBVERSE.

2. Æ. 2. יהונתן המלך "The king Jehonathan,"
round a palm ?-branch.

A flower.

REVERSE.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. pl. vi. No. 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 66, No. 3.)

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 16, 2.

² Joseph. "Bell. Jud." i. 5, 1.

³ Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 16, 2.

⁴ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." i. 5, 2.

The title of "king," occurring in Hebrew and Greek, which had been bestowed upon him by Salome Alexandra,¹ shows that these coins were struck before his quarrel with the Pharisees, and its adoption on his coins, coupled with the Greek characters and type, was probably one of the causes of the feud.²

The flower on these coins (especially No. 1) is very similar to that on the reverse of a small brass coin of Antiochus VIII. Epiphanes, surnamed Grypus (or Hook-nosed), and may allude to an alliance between Alexander and this king.³ The type of the anchor is probably borrowed from the coins of the Seleucidæ, and may perhaps allude to the possession of the sea-ports, which Alexander had gained and joined to his kingdom.⁴ Generally the types seem to have been copied from the coins of Antiochus VII. Sidetes, struck at Jerusalem in B.C. 132-131, of which a description has been previously given.⁵

Second Coinage.

α. RE-STRUCK PONTIFICAL COINS.

OBSERVE.	REVERSE.
1. Æ. ΒΑΣΙΛΑ . . . Portion of wreath and of the circle surrounding the anchor; according to the engraving the letters ϩ'ϩ, but according to the text ϩ'ϩ.	Two cornua-copias, between which a poppy-head.
2. Æ. ינתן הנה וח? Within a laurel wreath.	REVERSE. ΞΑΝΔ. Two cornua-copias. ⁶

(De Saulcy, "Rev. Num." 1864, p. 384, pl. xvi. No. 1.)

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* pl. xvi. No. 2.)

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 12, 1; "Bell. Jud." i. 4, 1. The Talmud frequently names this king as ינאי המלך, *Jannai Hammelek* "the king Jannæus" (Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 69, note 2). See p. 81, note 12, under Sect. C. JUDAS ARISTOBULUS.

² The small Æ coin, with head on obverse, and star on the reverse, published and engraved by me ("Jew. Coinage," p. 68, note 5) as a coin of Alexander Jannæus, perhaps issued by him during his quarrel with the Pharisees, is omitted, as I now believe it to be either Syrian or Egyptian. A similar piece, with a cornu-copia on the reverse, is published by Dr. Merzbacher ("Zeits. für Num." 1877, vol. iv. p. 386, pl. iv. B.), who is also of this opinion.

³ Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 22; "Trésor de Num. et de Glyp." pl. lii. No. 10.

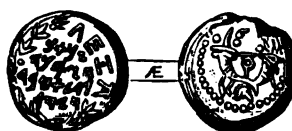
⁴ Joppa, Jamma, Gaza, Raphia, Anthedon, etc. (Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 15, 4).

⁵ See p. 76.

⁶ The coin with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (or portions of it) on the same side as the cornu-copia, preserved at Marseilles (Barthélemy, "Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Bell. Lettres," vol. xxiv. p. 61; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 87; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 69, note 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 68, note 5), is probably one of this re-struck series.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
3. \mathfrak{A} . \mathfrak{EIAE} . . לוח היהד Traces of a laurel wreath.	יה above the two cornua-copiae.

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* pl. xvi. No. 3.)



OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
T. 4. \mathfrak{A} . \mathfrak{AEZA} . . ינתן הכחן גדל וחבר היהד Within a laurel wreath.	Two cornua-copiae.

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* pl. xvi. No. 4.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
5. \mathfrak{A} . \mathfrak{AAE} . . . תן הן גדל וח ר יה Within a laurel wreath.	One of the two cornua-copiae.

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* pl. xvi. No. 5.)

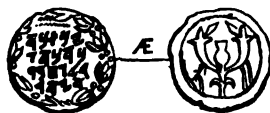
OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
6. \mathfrak{A} . ינתן הכחן . גדל וח (<i>sic</i>) בי הד (<i>sic</i>) ם	Two cornua-copiae ; above, the letters AN.

(De Saulcy, "Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 86.)

The complete legend of the pontifical type is as follows:—

ינתן הכחן הגדל וחבר היהדים

β. COINS—NOT RE-STRUCK—WITH THE NAME ינתן.



OBSERVE.

1. Æ. 3.

ינתנה
כהנהג
דלוחבר
היהד

i.e. [ינתן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהודים] *Jonathan Hakkohen Haggadol Vecheber Hajehudim.* "Jonathan the high-priest and the Senate of the Jews," within a wreath of laurel or olive.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. ii. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage." p. 69, No. 1.)

REVERSE.

Two cornua-copiae, between which a poppy-head.

The following varieties occur:—

(2)

ינתן (sic)
הכהן ה
גדל וח
ב הי

(De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 238, No. 39.)

(3)

ינתן .
כהן ה
גדל וח
בר ה

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 40.)

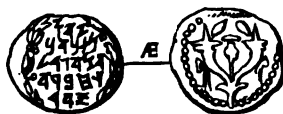
(4)

ינתן. הכ
הן הגדל
וחבר ה
ידי

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 41.)

Other pieces bear more or less incorrect legends,¹ and some may perhaps be classed among the re-struck series.

γ. COINS WITH THE NAME יהונתן.



OBSERVE.

1. Æ. 3.

יהו
נתנהכ
הנהגדל
וחברה
יהד

i.e. [יהונתן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהודים] *Jehonathan Hakkohen Haggadol Vecheber Hajehudim.* "Jehonathan the high-priest and the Senate of the Jews," within a laurel or olive wreath.

(Formerly Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 69, No. 2; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. ii. No. 11; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xvi. p. 238, No. 31.)

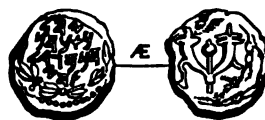
REVERSE.

Two cornua-copiae, between which a poppy-head.

¹ De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. ii. Nos. 3, 4, 6; cf. Merzbacher, "Zeits. f. Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 206, Nos. 59-61.

The following varieties occur:—

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>(2) יהו
נתן הכ
הן הגרל
וחבר הי
הדי
(De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871,
vol. xvi. p. 238, No. 27.)</p> | <p>(3) . . .
נתן הכ
הן הגרל
וחבר . .
ים
(De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 28.)</p> | <p>(4) יהו
נתן הכ
הן הגרל
וחבר הי
דים
(Merzbacher, "Zeits. f. Num." 1876, vol. iii.
p. 198, No. 44; cf. De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i>
No. 29; "Num. Jud." pl. ii. No. 13.)</p> |
| <p>(5) . . .
נתן הכ
הן גרל ו
חבר י
הדים
(De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 30.)</p> | <p>(6) יהונת
ן כהן גרל
וחבר ה
יהדי
ם
(De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 32.)</p> | <p>(7) יהונת
ן כהן גר
ל וחב
ר יהדי
(De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 33.)</p> |
| <p>(8) יהונת
כהן גר
ול וחב
יהדי
(De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 34.)</p> | <p>(9) נתן הכ
הן גר
ל וחב
(De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 35.)</p> | <p>(10) יהו .
תן כה . .
דול וחב
יהד
(De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 36; cf. Merzbacher,
<i>op. cit.</i> No. 40.)</p> |
| <p>(11) . . .
תן כהן
גר וחב (<i>sic</i>)
יהו
(De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 37.)</p> | <p>(12) יהו .
תן הכה
דול חב
יה ? ם
(De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 38.)</p> | <p>(13) יהונ
תן הכהן
הגרל ו
בריד?
(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. ii. No. 14.)</p> |
| <p>(14) יהונ
תן הכהן
.. דול וח
. ר היה
(Merzbacher, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 41 <i>bis.</i>)</p> | <p>(15) יהו
נתן הכ
הן הגר
ל וחבר
י
(Merzbacher, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 43.)</p> | <p>(16)
תן הכ
הן הגרל
וחר הי (<i>sic</i>)
הדי
(Merzbacher, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 45; cf. De Saulcy,
"Num. Jud." pl. ii. No. 12.)</p> |



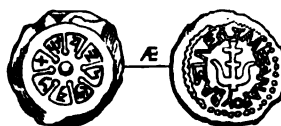
(17)

יהו
נתן הכ
הן הגדל
והי

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. ii. No. 10; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 70, No. 3.)

The legend on No. 9 is said by De Saulcy to be complete; that of No. 17 leaves out the word *והי*, and reads, if correctly engraved by De Saulcy, "Jehonathan the high-priest and the Jews."

This second coinage was evidently struck after the reconciliation of the king with the Pharisees.

*Third Coinage.*REGAL COINS WITH THE STAR.¹

OBSERVE.

Æ. 3. יהונתן המלך *Jehonathan Hammelek*,
"The King Jehonathan." Within the inter-
mediate spaces of the sun with eight rays.

REVERSE.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ round an anchor.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. ii. No. 9; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 67, No. 4.)

This type was probably adopted after the wholesale massacre of his subjects, and it was continued after his death by his widow Alexandra.²

¹ The object on the obverse of these coins has been described by some numismatists as a "wheel" (De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 89; Poole, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Money), and by Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." p. 477) as "a star," an opinion adopted by Levy ("Jüd. Münzen," p. 58) and Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 22; cf. Madden, "Jewish Coinage," p. 68), who suggests that Alexander may have prided himself that he was fulfilling the prophecy of Balaam—"there shall come a *star* out of Jacob" (Numb. xxiv. 17). But it has been recently demonstrated by Mr. Thomas in his paper "On the Indian Swastika and its Western counterparts" ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1880, vol. xx. p. 29, pl. ii. No. 4; cf. Rawlinson, "Anc. Monarchies," vol. i. pp. 161, 163), that the figure so largely employed by the Greeks,

which numismatists have hitherto hesitated to designate as anything more definite than "a star," is in reality the leading type of "the sun." This novel view of the import of the device has been freely adopted by Mr. Gardner in his article on "Ares as a sun-god, and solar symbols on the coins of Macedon and Thrace" ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1880, vol. xx. p. 59; cf. pl. Nos. 16, 17). In this case the supposed "star" on the coins of the Jewish kings, who so readily embraced Greek types, may be preferentially designated as "the sun." See p. 109, note 2.

² The date L. S. (year 6) has been read by some (Neumann, P. ii. pl. iii. fig. 6, p. 87; Sestini, "Mus. Hed." P. iii. p. 118, No. 2; cf. Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 21, note 13; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 70, note 8) on the reverse of these coins, but cannot be accepted without further proof.

E. ALEXANDRA, B.C. 78—B.C. 69.

Alexander Jannæus, upon his death-bed, counselled his wife Alexandra¹ to place a share of her authority in the hands of the Pharisees. Acting upon this suggestion, she spoke to the Pharisees, and succeeded so well, that the same men, who during the whole life of the defunct king had pursued him with an implacable hatred, honoured his memory with the highest veneration, and decreed to him a funeral more splendid than that of any of the kings before him. Her first act was to make her eldest and weakest son, Hyrcanus II., high-priest; but the younger, Aristobulus II., who was an active and a bold man, she kept back from public affairs. She consistently left the management of the government to the Pharisees, who, abusing the power bestowed upon them, put to death or threw into prison many of their former enemies.

In B.C. 70 Alexandra fell ill, and Aristobulus II. resolved to attempt to seize the government. Having escaped from Jerusalem, he made himself king, and in a short time obtained possession of several important towns. The Pharisees, frightened, told the dying queen what had taken place; but Alexandra, who had no energy left to continue the government, named Hyrcanus II. her heir, leaving the Pharisees to carry into effect whatever they thought proper. She died in B.C. 69, after having reigned nine years.

There is no longer any reason to doubt the existence of genuine coins of Queen Alexandra, as Mr. Reichardt has in his possession a specimen, on which he says the letters ΑΙΞ of the word ΒΑΣΙΛΙΞ are quite clear.² Another example, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΙΞ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΑC (P), was discovered by De Saulcy some years ago,³ and the third is the piece here engraved, already known in 1854.

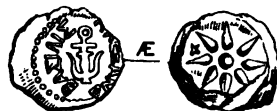
¹ It has been conjectured (Smith, "Dict. of Biog." s.v. Salome; cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 71, note) that Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannæus (Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 16, 1, 5, 6), must not be confounded with Salome (also called Alexandra), the wife of Judas Aristobulus (Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 12, 1; "Bell. Jud." i. 4, 1), and principally from the fact that Hyrcanus II., the son of Alexander Jannæus and Alexandra, was past eighty years of age (τότε δὲ πλείω μὲν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἐπύχωνεν ἐτη.—Joseph. "Antiq." xv. 6, 3) when he was put to death by Herod, in B.C. 31, and consequently must have been born in B.C. 111, before the death of Judas Aristobulus in B.C. 105.

M. de Saulcy, however, who believes that Alexander Jannæus married his brother's widow, though she was fifteen years his senior, proposed ("Rev. Arch." n.s. 1872, p. 16) to alter the text of Josephus, and to read seventy years instead of eighty (ὀγδοήκοντα instead of ὀγδοήκοντα), thus making the birth of Hyrcanus II. to have taken place in B.C. 101, four years after the accession of Alexander Jannæus in B.C. 105. This seems

very probable, more especially as the wife of Alexander Jannæus is called Salome in the Talmuds (שלמיה, שלמינון, שלמיה; cf. *Shalammish*, a daughter of Herod, Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 5, 4—Derenbourg, "Essai," p. 102, note 2); and as the Talmuds pass over in silence the reign of Judas Aristobulus, they would have probably stated if the Salome mentioned under Alexander Jannæus had been a different person. Salome Alexandra was the sister of Simeon ben Schatah, who filled the office of *Ab-bet-din* (בית דין, Vice-President) under the *Nasi* (נשיא, President) Joshua ben Perahia, whom he eventually succeeded (Derenbourg, "Essai," p. 96).

² "Wiener Num. Monatsch. von Dr. Egger," 1867, vol. iii. p. 111; pl. iv. No. 20; cf. Merzbacher, "Zeits. f. Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 201, pl. iv. No. 54.

³ Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 204, note; 1874, vol. xiv. p. 308. It is doubtful if the piece described by Mr. Conder ("Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 100) as one of Alexandra, is not a piece of Alexander Jannæus (Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1874, vol. xiv. pp. 309-310).



OBSERVE.

Æ. 3. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ. round an anchor.

REVERSE.

The sun with eight rays. In the intermediate spaces are the traces of a Hebrew legend, of which only a τ (*Tau*) is discernible.

(Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 72; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. iv. No. 13.)

In the engraving given by De Saulcy these traces are not visible, but on examining the coin there appears to have been some legend, and the suggestion of De Saulcy may not be far wrong. The τ (*Tau*) may perhaps belong to a word מלכת (*Meleketh*) Queen,¹ or to the Chaldæan form of this title, מלכתא.²

F. JOHN HYRCANUS II. B.C. 69.

On the death of Alexandra, in B.C. 69, John Hyrcanus II., who had held the high-priesthood during her reign of nine years,³ assumed the government in accordance with the wishes of his mother; but his brother, Aristobulus II., raised an army, and attacking him near Jericho, defeated him and compelled him to flee for refuge to the citadel of Jerusalem. There Hyrcanus was obliged to sue for peace, and after a short reign of three months⁴ he resigned the kingdom in favour of his brother Aristobulus and retired into private life.⁵

¹ Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 61.

² Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 23.

³ Joseph. "Antiq." xv. 6, 4; xx. 10, 1. I have already pointed out (p. 84) that Dr. Merzbacher has assigned to John Hyrcanus II. (B.C. 78—dating from the accession of his mother, Alexandra—to B.C. 40) all the coins both re-struck and not re-struck bearing the name and title of יהושפט המלך , which, for reasons stated, I have attributed to Alexander Jannæus, his father.

⁴ Joseph. "Antiq." xv. 6, 4. The statement that Hyrcanus only reigned "three months" is contradicted by another, which makes Aristobulus, in B.C. 63, to have reigned "three years and as many months" ($\text{ἔτει δὲ τριῖν τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ πρὸς μῆσι τοῖς ἴσοις}$, Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 10), and consequently would bring the commencement of his reign to B.C. 66. Another passage gives "three years and six months" ("Antiq." xiv. 6, 1). There is probably a corruption in the text, and as it is stated

that he reigned "as many months" as years, and "six months" is given in the second passage, the whole reign may have been "six years and six months." This agrees well, as Aristobulus was sent prisoner to Rome by Pompey in B.C. 63, and six years and six months back from this date would bring us to B.C. 69, as the date of the accession of Aristobulus, and would thus be in accordance with the statement that Hyrcanus II. held the government only three months (Lewin, "Fasti Sacri," p. 10). It may be that Josephus has confounded "Aristobulus" with "Antigonos," who reigned just "three years and three months" ("Antiq." xx. 10), for Dion Cassius (xlviii. 26) calls "Antigonos" by mistake "Aristobulus" (Lewin, *op. cit.*). A statement of Josephus, of the time of the reign of Hyrcanus II., tends to show that he could have governed only for a short time after the death of Alexandra. See under sect. G. ARISTOBULUS II., etc., p. 84, note 2.

⁵ Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 1, 2; "Bell. Jud." i. 6, 1.

The following coin may be attributed to this short reign:—

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
Æ. . ΑΞΙΑΕΝΞ Anchor within a circle.	. . . יהוחנן המלך (=) נן המ . . . In the field the sun.

(De Sauley, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 242, No. 47; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1872, vol. xii. p. 2; 1874, p. 310; Merzbacher, "Zeits. f. Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 207, No. 62.)

G. ARISTOBULUS II. B.C. 69—B.C. 63.

JOHN HYRCANUS II. RE-ESTABLISHED, B.C. 63—B.C. 57.

ALEXANDER II. B.C. 63—B.C. 57.

The peace that had been effected between the two brothers was only too soon destroyed. The Idumæan Antipater, father of Herod I., wishing to acquire the friendship of the weak-minded Hyrcanus II., persuaded him that his brother intended to put him to death, and ultimately induced him to fly from Jerusalem, and take refuge with Aretas, king of Nabathæa. Aretas in consequence invaded Judæa. Aristobulus was defeated and besieged in Jerusalem, and the city would doubtless have been taken had not Scaurus, Pompey's lieutenant, whose assistance Aristobulus had purchased for 400 talents, in spite of the similar offers of his brother, arrived at the scene of action and compelled Aretas to raise the siege.¹ In B.C. 63 Pompey himself arrived in Judæa, and the rival brothers laid their claims before him.² Pompey declared in favour of Hyrcanus, for he saw, in this weak prince, the surest means of sooner or later getting possession of Judæa for the Romans. Aristobulus refused to abide by this decision, and fled to Jerusalem. Hearing of the advance of Pompey, he came out to meet him, and offered him a large sum of money. Gabinius was sent on to Jerusalem; but meeting with resistance, Pompey threw Aristobulus into prison and advanced in person against Jerusalem, which was taken after a short siege.³ Aristobulus and his two sons, Alexander II. and

¹ In B.C. 64 Aretas submitted to Pompey for a time, but after Pompey's departure from Asia, Scaurus invaded Arabia Petrea, but withdrew on Aretas paying three hundred talents (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 5, 1; "Bell. Jud." i. 8, 1). This event is commemorated on a silver coin (Cohen, "Méd. Cons." pl. i. *Æmilie*, No. 1), struck in the curule ædileship of Scaurus and his colleague, Publius Hypsæus, in B.C. 68. On the obverse is the legend M. SCAVR. AED. CVR. (*Marcus Scaurus, ædilis curulis*); in the exergue REX ARETAS, and in the field EX S.C.; the type representing Aretas kneeling, holding a camel by the bridle, and presenting a branch of olive. The reverse refers to the capture of Privernum, in B.C. 341, by an ancestor of Publius Hypsæus. It is the most ancient coin bearing a contemporary important fact (Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas, vol. ii. p. 489, note 2). The name of Aretas was inscribed upon the tablet of kings conquered by Pompey (Appian, "Bell. Mith." 117).

² Aristobulus had sent him a present of a golden vine of the value of 500 talents. It was so beautiful that it was called *τρυφή* "The Delight"; and Strabo, according to Josephus ("Antiq." xiv. 3, 1), had seen it in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome. It is said to have borne the inscription, "the gift of Alexander, the king of the Jews," but how this could be has not been satisfactorily explained (see Joseph. *loc. cit.* ed. Havercamp). Ewald supposes ("Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 398, note 5) that it "was certainly originally presented at a ceremony of doing homage by the subjects of Alexander Jannæus as a symbol of Palestine;" and that "according to the passing observation in Pliny ('Nat. Hist.' xii. 25) it was carried through Rome in Pompey's great triumph." Herod I., when he rebuilt the Temple, hung in the porch a large golden vine of splendid workmanship (Joseph. "Antiq." xv. 11, 3; "Bell. Jud." v. 5, 4; Tac. "Hist." v. 5, 5). See CHAPTER X.

³ Pompey entered the "Holy of Holies," and was much

Antigonus, were sent to Rome,¹ but Alexander escaping on the way returned to Judæa. After this victory Hyrcanus II. was reinstated by Pompey in the high-priesthood, and made governor of the nation, but was forbidden to wear a diadem.² But Alexander II. fortified several strong towns and made war upon Hyrcanus. Gabinius coming to the assistance of Hyrcanus defeated him (B.C. 57) with great loss near Jerusalem, and it was only through the intercession of his mother that he obtained a pardon. Gabinius then divided Judæa into five parts and appointed five councils, one at Jerusalem, one at Gadara, one at Amathus, one at Jericho and one at Sepphoris, and deprived Hyrcanus of all regal authority, assigning to him only the care of the Temple. The monarchic authority was thus abolished, and the Jews were governed by an aristocracy. Another attempt of Alexander, in B.C. 55, during the absence of Gabinius, was again frustrated by Gabinius on his return. About the same time Aristobulus II. and his son Antigonus made their escape from Rome. Both were recaptured by Gabinius and sent back, but Antigonus was set at liberty. In B.C. 54 Crassus³ arrived in Syria, and Gabinius

surprised to find "nothing" (*ἔκερτο δ' οὐδὲν ὄλεος ἐν αὐτῷ*, Joseph. "Bell. Jud." v. 5, 5; "inde volgatum nulla intus deum effigie vacuum sedem et inania arcana," Tac. "Hist." v. 9; cf. Dion Cass. xxxvii. 16); but in the Temple he saw the golden table, the candlestick, etc., and 2000 talents of sacred money (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 4, 4; "Bell. Jud." i. 7, 6; cf. Tac. "Hist." v. 9; Livy, "Epit." 102); but he took nothing from it out of his regard to religion (*οὐδὲν δὲ ἑβραϊστίαν*, Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 4, 4; "at Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit," Cic. "Orat. pro Flacco," 28), contenting himself with laying a tribute on Jerusalem. It does not appear that Pompey took any title connected with this victory, but that of *Hierosolymarius* seems to have been bestowed upon him contemptuously by Cicero—"si vero, quæ de me pacta sunt, ea non servantur; in coelo sum: ut sciat hic noster Hierosolymarius traductor ad plebem, quam bonam meis putissimis orationibus gratiam retulerit: quarum exspecta divinam *παλινφθίαν*," "Epist. ad Atticum," lib. ii. Ep. ix. The late Dean Milman ("Hist. of the Jews," vol. ii. p. 47, note, ed. 1866), however, states that Cicero in so calling Pompey seems to have attached "great importance to the occupation of Jerusalem, even among the splendid services of Pompey." His reference to the oration "Pro Flacco" is incorrect.

¹ The Duc de Luynes has suggested ("Rev. Num." 1858, p. 384) that Aristobulus, who was brought to Rome and compelled by Pompey to follow his triumphal car (Appian, "Bell. Mith." 117), is no other than the *Bacchius Judæus* represented on a coin of the Plautian family (Cohen, "Méd. Cons." pl. xxxiii. *Plautia*, 6). Upon the obverse he wishes to recognize the head of the town of Jerusalem personified, and not that of Cybele, and on the reverse the conquered Aristobulus delivering himself up to Pompey. Besides *Bacchius the Jew* on this coin wears the pointed tiara of a Jewish high-priest, and his name in Hebrew could not but be *בִּנְיָמִין בִּנְיָמִין* (*Bacchi* (*Βαχχί*, *Βακκί*, Numb. xxxiv. 22; cf. 1 Chron. v. 31; vi. 36 [A.V. vi. 5, 51]) or *בִּנְיָמִין בִּנְיָמִין* (*Bacchiah* (*Βακχίας*, *Αλεξ. Βακκίας*, 1 Chron. xxv. 4, 13), of which the Romans would have made *Bacchius*. This opinion, however, is not likely, and in any case we ought to find

the title REX (as on the coins of Aretas, of which this is an imitation); moreover, Aristobulus made submission, not to Plautius, but to Pompey himself (Mommson, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas, vol. ii. p. 495). *Bacchius* is totally unknown, but may have been some Arabian chief of the Jewish persuasion to whom Aulus Plautius dictated laws (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. v. p. 278). Cavedoni thought ("Ragguaglio de Precipui Ripostigle Ant. di Medaglie Cons. e di Fam." p. 115, note 96, Modena, 1854) that *Bacchius* was the name of Silas, tyrant of Lysias, which was a small town taken by Pompey in his victorious march from Damascus to Jerusalem (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 3, 2), but he later gave up this opinion, and says, "it is clear that it is the Greek name *Βακχίος*, and this name is not connected with any Hebrew form of the period" ("Rev. Num." 1863, p. 205).

² *Τῇ δὲ Ἑρκανῇ πάλιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀποδοὺς, τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους προσηλαίαν ἐπέτρεψε, διδῆμα δὲ φορεῖν ἐκέλευσεν*, Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 10; cf. xiv. 4, 4; "Bell. Jud." i. 7, 6. The reign of Hyrcanus, which lasted twenty-four years (B.C. 63—B.C. 40), is dated from this period (*ἡρξεν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα τοῖς πρώτοις δὲ Ἑρκανὸς τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι*, "Antiq." xx. 10). The forty years (*τεσσαράκοντα*) in another passage ("Antiq." xv. 6, 4) should be read *τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι* (Lewin, "Fasti Sacri," pp. 9, 52). The nine years referred to are those in which he held the high-priesthood during the reign of his mother Alexandra, and the whole passage tends to prove that he could only have governed for "three months" after her death. See under Sect. F. HYRCANUS II. p. 92, note 4.

³ Again was the Temple entered and this time remorselessly plundered of all its treasures, consisting of the 2000 talents of sacred money, which Pompey had not touched [see p. 93, note 3], and 8000 talents of gold, besides a huge gold ingot of the weight of 300 minæ, each weighing two and a half [Roman] pounds (worth *πολλῶν δυνεῖ μυριάδων*—say 15,000 gold shekels = £30,000—See APPENDIX A. s.vv. Pound and Talent), which had been given to Crassus by the high-priest on condition that he would touch nothing else (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 7, 1; "Bell. Jud." i. 8, 8). That there was so much wealth accumulated is not surprising, considering that all Jews contributed (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv.

returned to Rome. Julius Cæsar, in B.C. 49, set Aristobulus and Alexander at liberty; but Aristobulus was poisoned by some of Pompey's friends, and Alexander was seized by order of Pompey and beheaded at Antioch.

H. JOHN HYRCANUS II. RE-ESTABLISHED A SECOND TIME, B.C. 47—B.C. 40.

Hyrcanus II. on his restoration by Julius Cæsar, in B.C. 47, was made high-priest and ethnarch.¹ Antipater, however, who was made procurator of Judæa, possessed the real authority, and gave to his two sons, Phasael and Herod,² the governments of Jerusalem and Galilee. On account of some severities committed by Herod in his government, he was summoned by the feeble Hyrcanus before the Sanhedrin, but he appeared before them armed, and bearing in his hand a letter from Sextus Cæsar for his acquittal. In B.C. 43 Malichus, a rich Jew, who had received much kindness from Antipater, caused him to be poisoned, and Herod in revenge, and with the consent of Cassius, the governor of Syria, murdered Malichus. In B.C. 41 Herod and Phasael were appointed by Antony "tetrarchs" of Judæa under Hyrcanus. In B.C. 40, on the invasion of Syria by Antigonus, aided by Pacorus, the king of Parthia, Hyrcanus and Phasael fell into the hands of Antigonus, but Herod escaped. Phasael killed himself, and Hyrcanus had his ears cut off,³ in order to incapacitate him for ever from holding the high-priesthood,⁴ and was then sent to prison at Seleucia in Babylon, where he remained till released, in B.C. 36, by the Parthian King Phraates IV. (Arsaces XIII.). He was at first treated by Herod with honour and respect, but in B.C. 31 was by him put to death, when upwards of seventy or eighty years of age,⁵ on the pretext of having held treasonable correspondence with Malchus, king of Arabia.

The following coins have been attributed by M. de Sauley to John Hyrcanus, and

7, 2). Indeed, the amount of gold annually carried out of Italy and the provinces in the name of the Jews led to the interference of Flaccus, who prohibited its exportation from Asia ("aurum, Judæorum nomine, quotannis ex Italiâ, et ex omnibus provinciis, Hierosolyma exportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asiâ exportari liceret." Cic. "In Flacc." 28), thereby showing that these religious offerings actually affected the markets of the world (Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," vol. ii. p. 60; Middleton, "Life of Cicero," p. 83. Cf. Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 10, 8; xvi. 6, 2-7; xviii. 9, 1; Tac. "Hist." v. 5).

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 10, 2-7, 9-12, 20; cf. 12, 2-4; "Bell. Jud." i. 10, 3. The decree of the Senate, made on the motion of a *Lucius Valerius*, in which an Hyrcanus is also called "high-priest and ethnarch," is inserted in Josephus ("Antiq." xiv. 8, 5) under the reign of Hyrcanus II., but the decree is very inconsistent in its dates, and is so similar in its contents to the Roman letter written by the Consul Lucius to Simon, that it is evident Josephus, who omits to give the decree under Simon, must have inserted it in the wrong place [see p. 63, note 2], though Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 34) attributes the decree to

Hyrcanus I. See Sect. B. HYRCANUS I. p. 75, note 1. Other decrees relate to Hyrcanus II. (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 8, 13-19, 21; 12, 5, 6). These concessions were most frequently purchased from the Romans with money, cf. the statement of Claudius Lysias, the chief captain of the Roman guard at Jerusalem, to St. Paul—"with a great sum obtained I this freedom," i.e. the citizenship of Rome (Acts xxii. 28; cf. Dion Cass. lx. 17).

² The mother of Phasael and Herod was named Cypros [see *Genealogical Table*—CHAPTER VI.]. Four other members of the Herodian family bore this name (Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 5, 4): (1), d. of Herod I. by Mariamne, m. Antipater; (2), wife of Agrippa I. and grandd. of Phasael; (3), d. of No. 1, m. Alexas; (4), d. of No. 3. Derenbourg ("Essai," p. 210, note 1) says, "ce nom, tire probablement son origine de כפר, Syr. ܟܦܪ, κύπρος (ή), nom du henné, qui, comme 'la fleur de lis' (Susanne, חשנה), a été employée comme nom de femme."

³ Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 13, 10. In another passage ("Bell. Jud." i. 13, 9) it is said that Antigonus "bit them off with his own teeth."

⁴ Levit. xxi. 16-24.

⁵ See under Sect. E. ALEXANDRA, p. 91, note 1.

were probably struck in B.C. 41, as the type was exactly imitated by Antigonus on his accession in B.C. 40 (see Antigonus, Coin No. 1).

OBSERVE.

1. Æ. A large flower, of which the stem holds to right a bud and to left a leaf.

REVERSE.

A large palm; above, in two parallel lines, יהוחן היהד — גרלהחב הכהן ה; below forming the complete legend— יהוחנן הכהן הגרל החבר היהד

OBSERVE.

2. Æ. Same type.

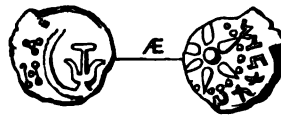
REVERSE.

Same type, but the legend as follows:— הוד . . וחבריה הכהן הגרל — יהוחנן ?

(De Sauley, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 240, Nos. 44, 45; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1872, vol. xii. p. 4; 1874, vol. xiv. p. 313; Merzbacher, "Zeits. f. Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 207, Nos. 63, 64.)

It is impossible to attribute with any certainty a large number of coins that were issued in imitation of the coinage of Alexander Jannæus, probably during this period, some of which have been previously attributed to Alexander II. But Alexander II. was never king, and the only possible time during which he could have struck money was either when (in B.C. 57) he prevailed against Hyrcanus II., and capturing a portion of Jerusalem began rebuilding the walls that had been thrown down by Pompey, and failing in this, garrisoned Alexandrium, Hyrcanium, and Machærus, but was defeated by Gabinius with great loss near Jerusalem;¹ or during the short time, in B.C. 55, when he succeeded in inducing the Jews to revolt again and was a second time defeated by Gabinius.²

I have therefore decided to classify these small pieces under the head of "Uncertain coins struck between the period after the death of Alexander Jannæus, in B.C. 78, and the accession of Antigonus in B.C. 40."



OBSERVE.

- *1. Æ. 2. ÆA round a circle, within which an anchor.

REVERSE.

. . . . יונתן כ (= יונתן כהן). The sun with six rays, inside a beaded circle.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 176; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1872, vol. xii. p. 2; 1874, vol. xiv. p. 312; Merzbacher, "Zeits. f. Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 208, No. 67.)

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 5, 2; "Bell. Jud." i. 8, 2.

² Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 6, 2, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 8, 7.

REVERSE.

..... (?) [על צדקש ג] [A]lexadras G[adol]. The
sun with seven rays, within a beaded circle.

The image shows two circular coin designs. The left coin (obverse) features a central monogram, possibly 'AT', surrounded by a circular border with text. The right coin (reverse) shows a sunburst or floral design in the center, also surrounded by a circular border with text. A horizontal line connects the two coins, with the letter 'Æ' centered above it.

REVERSE.

... עלכרד. *Alekradr.as.* The sun with eight rays, within a beaded circle.

REVERSE.

The sun. Traces of legend, but undecipherable.

De Saulcy states² that many of these small coins have passed through his hands on which may be seen traces of Hebrew letters impossible to determine; but on one he thought he could recognize מלכת, on another חומלן, and on a third הַגִּדֵּל... These readings are, however, to be received with reserve.

REVERSE

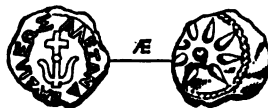
Traces of Hebrew legend in three lines in the field,
גדולו — חברה

REVERSE.

... $\angle A (= \angle 1)$ within a circle.

¹ The Greek characters on this coin and on No. 1 (comp. No. 3) seem to be similar to the "nail-headed" letters usual on Parthian coins (Thomas, "Num Chron." n.s. 1870, vol. x. p. 142, *note*).

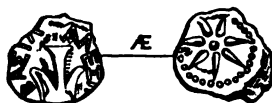
³ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 243; cf. "Num. Jud." pl. iv. Nos. 3, 4, 5. On the first piece (No. 3; p. 104) De Saulcy proposes to read the name **ANTI.** retrograde (?). The suns have six rays.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

7. Æ . 3. $\text{BA}\xi\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{X}\ \text{A}\Lambda\text{E}\Xi\text{A}\text{N}\Delta$. An anchor. | The sun with eight rays, within beaded circle.
(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. iv. No. 11; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 75, No. 1; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 213, No. 77.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

8. Æ . 3. $\text{BA}\xi\text{I}\Lambda$. $\text{A}\Lambda\text{E}\Xi\text{A}$. An anchor (?). | The sun with seven rays, within beaded circle.
(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. iv. No. 12; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 75, No. 1; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 213, No. 78.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

9. Æ . 2-2½. Portion of legend— $\text{BA}\xi\text{I}$. or $\text{BA}\xi\text{I}\Lambda\text{EY}$.
or $\text{BA}\xi$. or ΛE or $\text{BA}\xi\text{I}$. . . OY or $\text{BA}\xi$. . .
 ΔOY . Type as No. 1. | Traces of legend. The sun with eight or seven rays,
within beaded circle.
(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. iv. Nos. 2, 6-8; xx. 4, 5; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 213, No. 79.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

10. Æ . A large flower. | The same flower. Traces of Hebrew legend, also
the Greek letter ξ (? $\xi\text{YNE}\Delta\text{PION}$ or ? ψ).
(De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 241, No. 46; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 214, No. 83.)

The same flower may be found on some of the coins of John II. Hyrcanus, re-established a second time (Nos. 1 and 2), and on those of Antigonos (No. 1).

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

11. Æ . Anchor within a circle; outside, traces
of Hebrew legend הכה for הכה . | In the middle of the field ?HP; above, [B]A; below,
?CAEY (= $\text{BA}\xi\text{I}\Lambda\text{EY}\xi$?HP . . .).
(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* p. 248, No. 58; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 44; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 214, No. 81.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

12. Æ . Same type as No. 11; traces of letters. | Y BACI . . and in the field the letters ? ρ
(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* p. 248, No. 58bis; Madden, *op. cit.* p. 44; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 214, No. 82.)

The last two coins are assigned by De Saulcy to Herod I., but the attribution is doubtful, though they somewhat resemble pieces that have been restored to him (see coins of Herod I. No. 21).

OBSERVE.	REVERSE.
13. Æ. Traces of Hebrew legend; in the field a star?	. . ΛΑΝ (BAΞΙΑ ANTI P P). Large circle, within which probably an anchor.
(De Saulcy, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 245, No. 51; Merzbacher, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 212, p. 74.)	

De Saulcy proposes to attribute this piece to Antigonus, but with *très-grande réserve*.

I. ANTIGONUS (Mattathias), B.C. 40—B.C. 37.

Antigonus was the younger son of Aristobulus II., and was with his father and his elder brother Alexander II. carried to Rome by Pompey as prisoner. In B.C. 55 he escaped with his father, who found numerous followers among his countrymen. War was renewed, and Antigonus and his father were defeated by Gabinius and sent back to Rome; he was, however, at once set at liberty and returned to Judæa. His endeavour, in B.C. 42, to obtain the kingdom with the help of his brother-in-law, Ptolemy Mennæus, was defeated by Herod; but soon after he again attempted to seize Judæa, with the aid of the Parthians, whom he had won over by presents and promises, offering to Pacorus as a bribe 1000 talents and 500 Jewish women if he would assist to restore him to the throne. This expedition was successful, Jerusalem was taken, and Antigonus was made king by the Parthians in B.C. 40. Herod, who had escaped, having obtained through the influence of Antony the nominal title of king of Judæa,¹ now marched against Antigonus. After a long siege, the city was re-taken in B.C. 37, with the assistance of the Roman general Sosius, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Herod could save from pillage the greater part of the capital. Antigonus gave himself up to Sosius, who, after insulting him and calling him in derision *Antigone*, took him chained to Antony.² Antigonus was conveyed to Antioch, where, at the instigation of Herod, he was ignominiously executed with the axe (B.C. 37), a mode of treatment the Romans had never before used to a king.³

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 14, 4; "Bell. Jud." i. 14, 4.

² Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 16, 2; "Bell. Jud." i. 18, 2.

³ Joseph. (quoting Strabo) "Antiq." xv. 1, 2; "Bell. Jud." i. 18, 3; "Antiq." xiv. 16, 4; Plut. "Ant." 36; Dion Cass. xlix. 22, who says that "he was scourged and crucified." Coins of Sosius are extant commemorating the defeat of Antigonus. T. Obv. Head of Mark Antony to right; behind, Z A. Rev. C. SOSIVS IMP. Trophy, between Judæa seated on the ground weeping, and Antigonus also seated, naked, with his hands behind him. Æ. (Brit. Mus.: cf. Cohen, "Méd. Cons." pl. lxvii. No. 2.) The letters Z A have been supposed to stand for *Zacynthus* (Beger, "Th. Brand." ii. p. 586; Rasche, "Lex." s.v. Sosia, p. 1397; Cohen, "Méd.



Cons." p. 203, who has taken *Zante*, an island of Ionia (?) and *Zacynthus* for two different places!; "Méd. Imp." 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 47); but unless Antony or Sosius can be shown to have had some connexion with Zacynthus, this attribution is very improbable. Vaillant ("Num. Ant. Fam." vol. ii. p. 429) writes, "Sed nos paulum torquent litteræ Z A quas ipsissimis oculis integras in nummo *Thesauri Regis Chrm* vidimus. An urbem in qua cusus est arguunt? Josephus, 'Bell. Jud.' lib. 2, cap. 22 [ii. 18, 9], Zabulon Galilææ civitatem nominat, de cujus pulcritudine sic ait 'quippe domus habebat similiter ut apud Tyrum et Sidonem et Berytum edificatas.' Sosius in ea pro exercitus impensis monetam signare potuit. Moris erat per initiales litteras urbium nomina designare." Though I have not been able to discover any other "family" coins with initial letters of cities, as the last words of Vaillant would lead us to expect, it is much more likely that *Zabulon* was the place at which these pieces were struck; it was "a strong city of Galilee" and "of

From the coins of Antigonus we learn that he adopted the Jewish name of *Mattathiah*, being that of the founder of the Asmonæan dynasty.

OBSERVE.

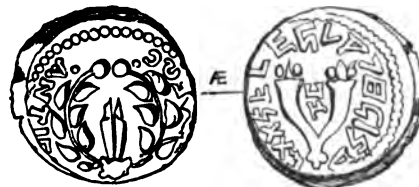
1. Æ. A large flower, of which the stem holds to right a bud, and to left a leaf.

REVERSE.

A large palm; above, מתתיה — הכהן ה; below, גרל החב — היהד, forming the legend מתתיה הכהן הגרל החבר היהד *Mattathiah Hakkohen Haggadol Hacheber Hajehudim*.

(Coll. of M. de Vogüé, De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 240.)

This coin, as already mentioned, is identical in every respect with some of John Hyrcanus II., struck in the last year of his reign, B.C. 41 [Sect. H.], and would seem therefore to have been issued by Antigonus immediately on his accession to the throne in B.C. 40. A similar flower also occurs on some of the uncertain coins (No. 10 above).



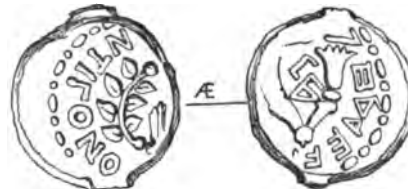
OBSERVE.

- *2. Æ. 5. [BAΣΙΛ]ΕΝC ANTIF[ONΟΥ] round a wreath.

REVERSE.

מתתיה כהן גרל חבר יה, "Mattathias the high-priest and the Senate of the Jews." Two cornua-copiae, between which ש, i.e. "year 1."

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 177; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1874, vol. xiv. p. 314.)



OBSERVE.

- *3. Æ. 5. . . . [A]NTIFONO[Y] round a wreath.

REVERSE.

ל חבר יה Two cornua-copiae, between which ש, i.e. "year 2."

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, *op. cit.* p. 177; Madden, *op. cit.* p. 314.)

These coins were struck in the first two years of the reign of Antigonus, B.C. 40 and

admirable beauty," and, as Vaillant has recorded, "had its houses built like those of Tyre, Sidon and Berytus" (Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 18, 9). On other specimens, with the type of an eagle, the letters ZA are in the field on the

reverse. The interpretation, however, must be received with reserve.

These coins give us the earliest representation of the *Judaea capta* type, so frequent under Vespasian and Titus [see CHAPTER IX.].

B.C. 39. Coins of the first year were published by Mionnet,¹ and by De Saulcy,² but were not in sufficiently good preservation to be deciphered with certainty. The coins of Antigonos differ entirely from those of his predecessors, and appear to suggest the influence of Parthia.³



OBVERSE.

4. Æ. 5. [BACIA]EOC ANTIFONOI round
a wreath.

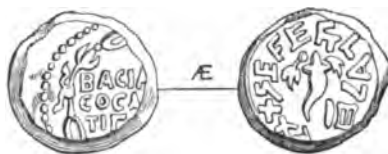
REVERSE.

מתתיה הכהן הגדל חבר ה'הור'ים
"Mattathias the high-priest and the Senate of
the Jews." Two cornua-copiae.

(De Vogüé, "Rev. Num." 1860, p. 284, *note*; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 77; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. v. No. 1.)

The reverse legend is adopted from the corrections of De Vogüé, who carefully compared all the available examples in the French cabinet, and is arranged in a very unusual manner. It commences at the bottom of the *left* side of the device immediately under the cornua-copiae, then at the second ה turns between the two cornua-copiae, begins again at the bottom of the *right* side under the cornua-copiae, and finally ends at the top of the coin, having formed a kind of 8.

Some specimens of the coins of Antigonos have only a single cornu-copiae.



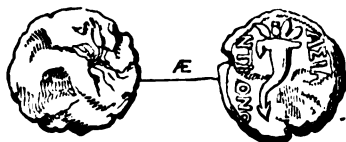
OBVERSE.

5. Æ. 4. BACIAEOC A[N]TIFONOI within a wreath.

REVERSE.

... מתתיה כהן גדל ח . .
Mattathiah Kohen Gadol
... "Mattathias high-priest. . . ." Cornu-copiae;
on either side a leaf.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. v. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 78; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 243, No. 48.)



OBVERSE.

6. Æ. 3½. Wreath? (side-struck and very much
obliterated). No legend visible.

REVERSE.

[B]AΞIA[ΕΩΞ A]NTI[Γ]ONO[Y] in two straight
lines; between them a cornu-copiae filled with
fruit or four flowers.

(Coll. of Dr. Babington, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 64, pl. ii. No. 1; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 79.)

¹ Vol. v. p. 563, No. 55.

² "Num. Jud." pl. v. No. 2.

³ Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 25.

After the first publication of this coin in my "Jewish Coinage" I expressed my opinion, from personal examination of the piece itself, that it was not a Jewish coin.¹ In justice, however, to Dr. Babington's experience in these studies I must add that he informs me that he still remains convinced that his attribution is correct. This coin is remarkable as being the only specimen of the coins of Antigonus which has a Greek inscription on the same side as the cornu-copiae.

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|---|--|
| 7. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{E}$. 3. . . . ΙΑΕΩ. ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ, in three lines within a wreath. | Anchor. Legend, if any, completely gone. |

(De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 243, No. 49.)

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|---|---|
| 8. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{E}$. 3. . . . תתיה. The table of shew-bread? | Ξ AN. (=BAΞ. ΑΝΤΙΓ.). Type (<i>candelabrum</i>) off the coin. |

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* p. 244, No. 50, who writes, "les deux traverses horizontales, qui relient les pieds deux à deux, montrent jusqu'à l'évidence que l'objet représenté ici n'est qu'une table.")

This curious coin aided M. de Saulcy in proving² that the pieces with the type of the *seven-branched* candlestick and four trees attributed by M. de Vogüé to the period which separates the Arab conquest from the coining of the first money of the Caliph Abd-el-Melik,³ are essentially Jewish, and were issued by Antigonus; an attribution now recognized by M. de Vogüé.⁴ The following is a woodcut of the example referred to:—

-
- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|--|--|
| 9. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{E}$. 3. Four trees planted parallel, or bunches of flowers and fruit. | The seven-branched <i>candelabrum</i> ; around which the letters B Ξ and Γ (=BAΞ. ΑΝΤΙΓ.). |

M. de Saulcy has, however, been misled in considering the "four trees" or "fruit" upon this coin to be the "table of shew-bread." The type as here represented may be compared with that on some of the coins of Herod Archelaus (Nos. 5 and 6), on which a very similar form is distinctly seen at the top of the cornu-copiae evidently intended for "flowers and fruit." It is to be regretted that no drawing is given of No. 8, and the description of its type as the "table of shew-bread" can only be received with reserve.

¹ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 207; 1874, vol. xiv. p. 316. ² "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 244.

³ "Obv. Chandelier à sept branches. Traces de légende illisible. Rev. Quatre arbres plantés parallèlement.—Provenant de Syrie . . . Elle me paraît donc avoir été frappée à Jérusalem pendant la période qui sépare la conquête Musulmane de l'émission des premières monnaies nominales du calife Abd-el-Melik." "Rev. Num." n.s. 1860, p. 291, pl. xiii. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 231, Woodcut, No. 3.

⁴ De Saulcy, *op. cit.* p. 244.

These coins give the earliest representation of the seven-branched candlestick. This candlestick was taken from the temple of Herod by Titus and carried in triumph before the conqueror, as represented on the arch of Titus;¹ but as Josephus observes "its construction was now changed,"² perhaps alluding to the hippocampi or griffins figured on its base, and in all probability the foot was added by some Roman artist. Representations of the candlestick occur in the Jewish catacombs,³ on Christian glass lamps,⁴ and on a sepulchral Christian inscription of A.D. 400.⁵

The Asmonæan dynasty commenced with a Mattathias; with the coins of a Mattathias the Asmonæan dynasty concludes.

¹ Reland, "De Spoliis Templi," 1710. See CHAPTER IX.

² "Bell. Jud." vii. 5, 5.

³ See CHAPTER III. p. 36. It also may be seen on a bas-relief found by M. de Saulcy at Tiberias ("Voyage autour de la mer morte," pl. xlv.).

⁴ Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét." s.v. Candélabres des Juifs; Dr. Babington, art. "Lamps" in Smith's and Cheetham's "Dict. of Christ. Antiq." vol. ii. p. 922.

⁵ De Rossi, "Inscr. Urb. Rom." No. 489; Dr. Babington art. "Tombs" in Smith's and Cheetham's *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 1985, engraved. That the object is the Jewish candlestick has been questioned by Martigny (*op. cit.* s.v. Candélabres des Juifs), who asserts that it has never been found on Christian mural paintings, nor on the sculptures certainly Christian.

SHOWING THOSE MEMBERS OF THE HERODIAN FAMILY OF WHOM THERE ARE EXTANT COINS.

Antipater (Antipas) (σπαρπηδός δλης τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 1, 3).

Antipater, appointed Procurator of Judea by Julius Cæsar, B.C. 47, married *Cypros*, an Arabian (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 7, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 8, 9). Died B.C. 43.

Phasael and Herod¹ (afterwards called "the Great"), joint Tetrarchs of Judæa, B.C. 41. Herod made king by the Romans, B.C. 40. Herod sole king, B.C. 37. Died, B.C. 4.

Herod married— <i>Doris</i> , in all 10 wives (Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 1, 3; xviii. 6, 4;	<i>Mariamne</i> , grand-d. of Hyrcanus, d. B.C. 29. d. of Simon, h. priest.	<i>Mallicae</i> , a Samaritan (Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 1, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 28, 4).	<i>Cleopatra</i> , of Jerusalem (Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 1, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 28, 4).
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<p>Sons of Herod :—Antipater (put to death by his father, B.C. 4).</p> <p>Aristobulus (put to death by his father B.C. 6).</p> <p>Herod I. (B.C. 7).</p>	<p>Herod [Philip I.],³ m. <i>Herodias</i>, (l. in private m. <i>Berenice</i>, d. of season).</p> <p>Herod Antipas³ ("the tetrarch," i.e. of Galilee). m. (1) daughter of Aretas, Arab king; (2) <i>Herodias</i>. Deposed and banished. A.D. 40.</p> <p>Herod Archelaus (Ethnarch of Judaea, Idumea, and Samaria). Matt. ii. 22. Deposed and banished, A.D. 6.</p> <p>Herod Philip II.,⁴ m. Salome, (Tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis) by Philip I. (cp. Matt. xvi. 13; Mark vii. 27). d. A.D. 33-34.</p>
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m. { 1) PHILIP II., king of Chalcis.
2) Aristobulus, king of Chalcis.

Herod (king of Chalcis), d. A.D. 48.	Aristobulus	HEROD AGRIPPA I., ⁵ (succ. to tetrachy of Philip II., A.D. 37. A.D. 40. Judea and Samaria added, A.D. 41). m. <i>Cypros</i> , grand-daughter of Phasaël. d. A.D. 44.	Herodias, Math. xiv. 3-11. Mark vi. 17-28. Luke iii. 19. m. (1) Philip I., (2) ANTIPAS.
m. (1) <i>Mariamme</i> .			
(2) <i>Bernice</i> . "Antiq." xx. 5, 2.) (Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 5, 4.)	Aristobulus, m. <i>Salome</i> , d. of Herodias by Philip I.		

<p>AGRIPPA II.⁶ (king of Chalcis, A.D. 48-53), succ. to tetrarchy of PHILIP II., A.D. 53-100. d. A.D. 100; the last prince of the line.</p>	<p>Drusus</p>	<p>Bernice or (Berence), Acta xv. 13, 23; xxvi. 30. m. (1) Marcus, son of Alexander the Alabarch. (Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 6, 1). (2) Herod king of Chalcis, after whose death she returned for a time to her brother. (3) Polemo, king of Cilicia.</p>	<p>Marianne (Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 7, 1, 3).</p>	<p>Drusilla, m. Felix, Acts, xxiv. 24.</p>	<p>after separation from her first husband, Azizus, king of Emessa.</p>	<p>Agrippa, d. A.D. 79.</p>
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¹ *Herod the King* (Matt. ii. 1, 3; Luke i. 6); *Herod* (Matt. ii. 7, 12-19, 22); *The King* (Matt. ii. 9).
² *Philip* (Matt. xiv. 3; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19).
³ *Philip the Tetrarch* (Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 1, 19; ix. 7; Acts xiii. 1); *Herod* (Matt. xiv. 3, 6; Mark vi. 16-22; Luke iii. 19; viii. 3; ix. 9; xiii. 31; Matt. xiv. 3, 6; Mark vi. 16-22; Luke iii. 19; viii. 3; ix. 9; xiii. 31; Acts xiv. 1, etc.).

NOTE.—Several names, both of wives and descendants, are omitted.

CHAPTER VI.

COINS OF THE IDUMÆAN PRINCES.

A. HEROD I. SURNAMED THE GREAT,¹ B.C. 37—B.C. 4.

HEROD on ascending the throne, after the death of Antigonus, killed all the members of the Sanhedrin, excepting Pollio and Sameas, and immediately elevated to the high-priesthood a friend named Ananel, who came from Babylon, and is said to have been one of the "stock of the high-priests."² This appointment, however, owing to the intrigues of Alexandra, he was obliged to cancel, and he then conferred it on the youthful Aristobulus, the brother of his wife Mariamne; but excited by jealousy he soon after caused him to be drowned whilst bathing, and restored Ananel to the office.

The year after the defeat of Antony at the battle of Actium (B.C. 31) Herod had an audience with Octavius, who made peace with him, and confirmed him in his kingdom, soon after adding Gadara, Samaria, and the maritime cities of Gaza, Joppa, etc.; and in B.C. 23 the regions of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea.

Herod's life was troubled by a long series of bloodshed. The aged Hyrcanus, the grandfather of his wife Mariamne, was put to death before his visit to Octavius (B.C. 31),

¹ Herod I. is not called *great* on his coins. Josephus ("Antiq." xviii. 5, 4) gives him the title of *great*, but Ewald ("Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 418, *note* 4) suggests that this surname is only intended to mean *elder*, to distinguish him from the younger Herod (Antipas), and compares the cases of Ἐλκίας δ μέγας (Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 8, 4) and Agrippa the Great (Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 2, 2; xviii. 5, 1, 4; xx. 5, 2; cf. "Vit." 9), in contradistinction to Helcias, the keeper of the sacred treasure (Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 8, 11), and to Agrippa II. The title "Agrippa the Great" is confirmed by coins on which he is styled ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ (see under Sect. F. Agrippa I. No. 2); but if, says Ewald, Agrippa I. was so designated "because he once more ruled over all Palestine in its wider extent, it would have been still easier to give Herod a similar title (although the coins of his reign hitherto found do not bear the word ΜΕΓΑΣ), and the origin of this surname

may be derived from this source. In that case it only contained the same sort of boast as that of an Indian prince of the present day, who calls himself Mahârâg'â; and in fact Agrippa, at any rate in the last passage cited ("Antiq." xx. 5, 2), is not called absolutely δ μέγας, but, as on the coin, δ μέγας βασιλεύς." Jost, in his "Geschichte des Judenthums" (p. 319, *note*), in speaking of "the tyrannical government of Herod, whom history called, as it were in derision, the *Great*," says, "Perhaps this (the title *Great*) arises from a mistaken translation of מַלְכִּי, which may also mean the *elder*." He does not, however, say from what source he obtains this word (cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 82, and Art. *Herodian Family*, in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Literature," ed. Alexander).

² Joseph. "Antiq." xv. 3, 1; but compare xv. 2, 4, *ἡρώδης τῶν ἀσημωτέρων Ἀνδρόλουν ἐνὸνματι*.

and Mariamne, to whom he was passionately attached, fell a victim to his jealousy soon after his return (B.C. 29). Thus freed from restraint by the extirpation of most of the Asmonæan family, Herod introduced heathenish customs at Jerusalem, such as shows, plays, and chariot races, and on the completion of the building of Cæsarea Stratonis he established Olympic games and consecrated them to Augustus, ordering them to be celebrated every fifth year. Notwithstanding that he thus alienated his subjects from him, he greatly improved his country by the number of fine towns and public buildings that he erected. He built a temple of Augustus at Panium (afterwards Cæsarea Philippi) and a temple at Samaria, which he converted into a Roman city under the name of *Sebaste*. He also built Gaba in Galilee, and Heshbonitis in Peræa, besides several other towns, which he called by the names of different members of his family, as Antipatris, from the name of his father Antipater, and Phasaelis in the plain of Jericho, after his brother Phasael. He further rebuilt Anthedon, on the coast, calling it *Agrippias* or *Agrippæum*, after his friend Agrippa. His grandest undertaking was the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem, which was commenced in the eighteenth year of his reign (B.C. 20). This beautiful Temple, though erected in honour of the God of Israel, did not win for him the hearts of his people, as is proved by the revolt, which took place shortly before his death, when the Jews tore down the golden eagle, which he had fastened to the Temple, and broke it to pieces. On his deathbed he gave instructions that some of the principal Jews, whom he had shut up in the Hippodrome at Jericho, should be put to death after his decease, that mourners might not be wanting at his funeral, and about the same time he ordered the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem.¹ Thus exasperated by endless atrocities, the people would have openly revolted had not Herod died in torments, aged 69, in the year B.C. 4.²

From the large extent of Herod's dominions, and the immense wealth that he bequeathed to his kindred and to strangers, we should naturally expect to find a very numerous and fine coinage. Though Josephus says that he left to his sister Salome five hundred thousand [pieces] of silver that was coined (*ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου*),³ and to Cæsar, besides vessels of gold and

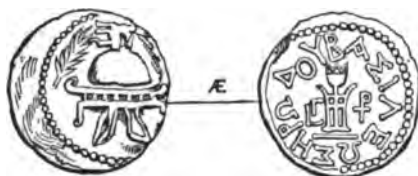
¹ Matt. ii. 16.

² See CHAPTER IV. p. 57, note 1. Upon the death of Herod, a man named Simon put the diadem on his own head and declared himself king. He was soon killed by Gratus (Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 10, 6, 7; "Bell. Jud." ii. 4, 2, 3; cf. Tac. "Hist." v. 9). Upon his death another, one Athronges, set himself up for king, but was eventually defeated by Archelaus and the Romans (Joseph. *loc. cit.*).

³ Besides this money Herod bequeathed to Salome the cities of Jamnia, Ashdod, and Phasaelis (Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 8, 1), which was confirmed by Augustus, who added thereto the royal palace of Ascalon ("Antiq." xvii. 11, 5; "Bell. Jud." ii. 6, 3). De Saulcy has suggested ("Ann. de la Soc. Franç. de Num. et d'Arch." 1869, vol. iii. pp. 253-258, Type iii. No. 2) that the following coin was issued by Salome on receiving the gift of the palace—*Obv.* Head of Augustus. *Rev.* Two cornua-copie; between them AC. He considers that this attribution is

corroborated by another coin in the possession of M. Walcker, bearing the letters |A instead of AC. These he proposes to read |A[ΜΝΕΙΑC]. They certainly cannot represent the date ΧΙ. Josephus adds ("Antiq." xvii. 11, 5; "Bell. Jud." ii. 6, 3) that Augustus put Salome's house under the *ethnarchy of Archelaus*, and as according to De Saulcy (*op. cit.* Types iv. and v.) Archelaus struck coins also at Ascalon, some with the letter Ε (for Εθναρχου), all were probably issued under the authority of Archelaus. Herod I. also struck similar coins at Ascalon, some with the type of the two cornua-copie (De Saulcy, *op. cit.* Types ii. and iii. No. 1). None of these attributions are alluded to in De Saulcy's work on the "Coins of the Holy Land" ("Num. de la Terre Sainte," 1874, p. 178). Salome, who died during the procuratorship of M. Ambivius (A.D. 9-12, or A.D. 10-13), left all her possessions to Julia, the wife of Augustus ("Antiq." xviii. 2, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 1).

silver, ten millions of *coined silver*, and to others five millions,¹ yet from numismatic evidence we must conclude that the coinage of gold was interdicted in all countries subject to the Romans,² and that the permission to strike silver was only granted under the Republic to certain free and autonomous cities, and under the Empire to some of the most important cities, as Alexandria, Antioch of Syria, Cæsarea of Cappadocia, Tarsus, etc.³ Pompey had already forbidden a silver coinage to be struck in most of the Phœnician mints, only a *copper currency* was to be employed.⁴ So in Judæa we find a *copper coinage* only from the time of the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, excepting in the time of the two revolts, when the Jews again struck *silver coins* for a short time. All the copper coins struck by Herod I. have *Greek* inscriptions only, and no Hebrew. Their types, for the most part, are borrowed from Greek sources and from some of the Asmonæan coins.



OBSERVE.

1. \mathcal{A} . 6. A helmet with cheek-pieces; in *field* to left a palm?-branch.

REVERSE.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ, a tripod, in the *field* to left $\Lambda \Gamma$ (year 3), and in *field* to right the monogram Φ .

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vi. No. 1; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 83, No. 1.)



OBSERVE.

2. \mathcal{A} . 6. The same helmet; above, a star; on either side a palm ?-branch.

REVERSE.

The same as No. 1.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vi. No. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 83, No. 2.)

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 8, 1. According to Zonaras ("Annal." l. v. c. 16) Herod coined gold and silver money from the silver and gold he cut off the rich furniture, and from the vessels, which he took to assist the people suffering by famine in Judæa and Syria. Josephus ("Antiq." xv. 9, 2) relates his cutting the gold and silver off, but leaves out the words *eis νόμισμα*, which are inserted by Zonaras. The silver money left by Herod must have been in *denarii*, and probably there is much exaggeration in the account of Josephus.

² There is one exception to this rule under the Republic in the case of Coson, prince of Thrace, who, in B.C. 42, was permitted by Brutus to strike gold coins, on which his name appears in full in Greek letters— ΚΟΞΩΝ —and in the *field* the letters $\Lambda \text{ B}$. for *Lucius Brutus*—Consul B.C. 509 (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet."

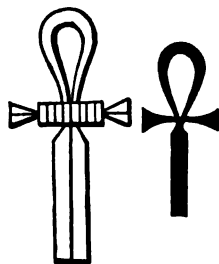
vol. vi. p. 23; Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas and De Witte, vol. iii. p. 283). The small gold pieces of Amyntas, king of Galatia, said to have been struck under the authority of Antony (Mommsen, *op. cit.* pp. 300, 311), have been proved to be forgeries (L. Meyer, "Num. Zeits. de Vienne," vol. iii. p. 437; Lenormant, "La Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. ii. p. 122). Under the Empire the kings of the Bosphorus coined, by special permission, a kind of gold (Lenormant, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 202; vol. ii. pp. 196, 430).

³ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. i. p. lxxi. The coining of silver money was also permitted to certain kings of Mauretania, Cappadocia, etc. (Lenormant, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 196).

⁴ Mommsen, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 46.

The object represented on the obverse of these coins has been generally considered to be a helmet with cheek-pieces,¹ but Levy² follows the opinion of Cavedoni,³ who though previously inclined to regard the object as a *galea cristata*, says now that the *upper part* of the object is severed from the *lower*, and the cheeks are not in the right place, and that, therefore, a vessel with a bell-shaped cover seems a better description. They are, however, unable to determine what vessel is intended. On the reverse is a tripod, on which Levy⁴ sees a vase, whilst Akerman⁵ describes it as an altar, with a flame coming out of it. The occurrence of a tripod on the coins of Herod illustrates his paganizing spirit, as he probably adopted it from the coins of the Seleucidæ, where there no doubt is a connexion of the tripod with the worship of Apollo.⁶ Cavedoni⁷ thinks that the object on the reverse is the censer,⁸ which the priest carried once a year on the solemn day of atonement into the Holy of Holies, especially as Herod, with the help of the Romans, conquered Jerusalem on the very day of atonement, and the star on the top of the helmet (No. 2) may also refer to this successful event. The two palm?-branches on each side of the star allude probably to Herod's victories, or to the woods of palm which abounded in Judæa, and from which Herod received a large revenue;⁹ though Cavedoni supposes that they refer to the "two olive trees" of the prophet Zechariah's vision.¹⁰

The year three has been referred by Eckhel¹¹ to the year of Rome 718 (B.C. 36), and by De Saulcy¹² to B.C. 37, the actual year of the capture of Jerusalem; but it may be that the years on his coins count from the time when he received the title of "King of Judæa" from the Romans in 714 (B.C. 40), and in this case his *third year* would be 716 (B.C. 38), or from the death of Antigonus in B.C. 37, when the *third year* would be B.C. 35. Cavedoni¹³ is of opinion that the monogram P is the *cruz ansata*, employed not only on Egyptian but also on Assyrian monuments, as the sign of life, and in support of his suggestion quotes the opinion of M. Raoul-Rochette.¹⁴ De Saulcy,¹⁵ however, is strongly opposed to this explanation, and prefers seeing only a monogram composed of T and P, suggesting that it may be a mark of value and a contraction for $\text{TP}\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ or rather $\text{TP}\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\nu$; and with this view I am disposed to agree.



Tau or sign of life.¹⁶

¹ Akerman, "Num. Ill. of New Testament," p. 3; "Num. Chron." o.s. vol. viii. p. 135; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 127. Dr. Babington is also of this opinion.

² "Jüd. Münzen," p. 70, and *note*.

³ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 27.

⁴ "Jüd. Münzen," p. 70.

⁵ "Num. Ill. of New Testament," p. 3; "Num. Chron." o.s. vol. viii. p. 135.

⁶ Dr. Babington, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 66.

⁷ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 27.

⁸ Πυρεϊον . *Thuribulum*, Levit. xvi. 12.

⁹ Hor. "Epist." ii. 2, 184. See CHAPTER VII.

¹⁰ Zech. iv. 2, 3, 12.

¹¹ "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 486.

¹² "Num. Jud." p. 128.

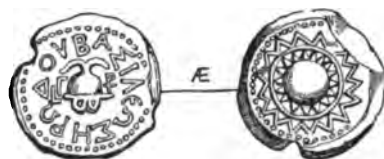
¹³ "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 50; vol. ii. p. 27; "Nuovi studi

sopra le Antiche Monete Giudaiche," p. 18; cf. "Le Princ. Quest. riguardanti la Num. Giud. definitivamente decise," p. 13.

¹⁴ "Hercule Assyr." 385.

¹⁵ "Num. Jud." p. 128; "Rev. Num." 1857, p. 291; 1864, p. 390; "Bull. Arch. de l'Athen. Franc." 1855, p. 74.

¹⁶ From Wilkinson's "Popular account of the Ancient Egyptians," vol. i. p. 277. Sir G. Wilkinson (*loc. cit.*) says, "The origin of the *tau* I cannot precisely determine, but this curious fact is connected with it in later times—that the early Christians of Egypt adopted it in lieu of the cross, which was afterwards substituted for it, prefixing it to inscriptions in the same manner as the cross in later times; and numerous inscriptions headed by the *tau* are preserved to the present day in early Christian sepulchres at the great Oasis." See Madden, "Christian Emblems on the coins of Constantine I. etc.," in "Num. Chron." n.s. 1877, vol. xvii. pp. 290-307.



OBVERSE.

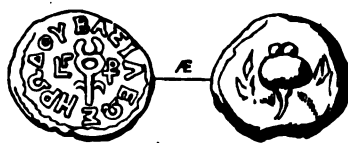
3. \mathcal{A} . 4. $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ}^1 \text{ΗΡΩΔΟΥ}$. A helmet with cheek-pieces. In *field* to left $\text{L. } \Gamma$ (year 3 = B.C. 38? or B.C. 35?); in *field* to right the monogram \mathcal{P} .

(Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan, Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 85, No. 3; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vi. No. 3.)³

REVERSE.

The Macedonian shield, on which a disc or globe surrounded by rays.²

This coin, according to Cavedoni,⁴ gives Herod I. a claim to descent from the Macedonian kings, as the emblems of the helmet and Macedonian shield are found on the small bronze coins of Antigonus Gonatas, and of his son Demetrius II., Philip V., and other Macedonian kings, but not on those of Pyrrhus, although he twice possessed this kingdom. The great crest which ornaments the Macedonian helmet on the coins of Herod I., and especially on those of Archelaus, is seen on the head of Philip V., king of Macedon, on a *denarius* of Quintus Marcius Philippus,⁵ probably with reference to the helmet of Alexander the Great, which was always distinguished by a tail and two very large white feathers, which fell sideways.⁶ It is right to add that De Saulcy thinks Cavedoni's conjecture about Herod's Macedonian descent a little too hazardous, and asks, "n'est-ce pas user trop largement du droit d'interpréter les types des monnaies antiques?"⁷ It may be mentioned that the name of Antigonus, the Asmonæan, shows Macedonizing tendencies.



OBVERSE.

4. \mathcal{A} . 4. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ round a winged *caduceus*. In *field* to left $\text{L. } \Gamma$ (year 3 = B.C. 38? or B.C. 35?); in *field* to right the monogram \mathcal{P} .

(British Museum.—Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 87, No. 5.)

REVERSE.

A pomegranate with leaves?

¹ The specimen of this coin in the collection of the Rev. Dr. Churchill Babington has ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 65).

² Mr. Gardner, in his paper on "Ares as a sun-god, and solar symbols on coins of Thrace and Macedon" ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1880, vol. xx. pp. 54, 55), shows that "the whole Macedonian shield is of astronomical pattern, and belongs specially to a deity who is worshipped as the sun"; and the interior device of this shield on the coins of Herod I. is identical with that adopted as the whole type on certain coins of Uranopolis of Macedon (Gardner, *op. cit.* pp. 56, 58, pl. iv. No. 15). See p. 90, note 1.

³ An example of this coin in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 184) is *without* the monogram \mathcal{P} , and as it weighs 41.9 grains, instead of 88.8 grains, would appear to be the half of the piece described

in the text (cf. Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 206, note). The piece given by Akerman ("Num. Ill. of N. T." p. 3; "Num. Chron." o.s. vol. viii. p. 135), from Mionnet (vol. v. p. 565) or Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 486), and published by me ("Jew. Coinage," p. 86, No. 4), with the supposed date ΕΙ , has probably been misread, and the $\text{ΕΙ} = \mathcal{P}$ (ΤΡΙΧΑΛΚΟΝ). Indeed, De Saulcy possesses one of these coins with the monogram ("Rev. Num." 1857, p. 291), and so does Dr. Babington (Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 87).

⁴ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 28.

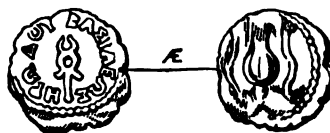
⁵ Cohen, "Médailles Consulaires, pl. xxvi. Marcia, No. 5.

⁶ $\text{Καὶ τοῦ κράνους τῇ χαίτῃ διαπρεπῆς ἥς ἑκατέρωθεν εἰστήκει πτερὸν λευκότητι καὶ μεγέθει θαυμαστόν.}$ Plutarch, "in Alex." 16.

⁷ "Rev. Num." 1857, p. 291.

De Saulcy has been fortunate enough to discover at Jerusalem two specimens of this rare coin, and has given¹ the following revised description of the reverse, "Une pomme de grenade, dont la tige est munie de chaque côté de deux folioles contournées en sens inverse; dans le champ, à droite et à gauche, deux grands fleurons en forme de ε." On one of the examples these ornaments are wanting.

It is probable that the following coin is a badly-preserved example of No. 4.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

Æ. 4. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. A caduceus.

A pitcher and palm?-branch.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Zeits. d. D.M.G." 1857, pp. 155, 156; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 271, No. 7, pl. vi. No. 4; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 90, No. 15.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

5. Æ. 3. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ[Ω]Σ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. *Acorostolium*.

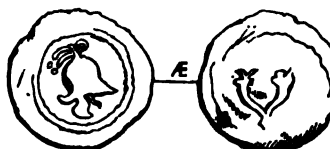
A palm or an ear of corn between two ornaments.

In *field* to left L. Γ (year 3=B.C. 38? or B.C. 35?);

in *field* to right the monogram Φ .

(De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 246, No. 55.)

This coin is in all probability the same as the imperfectly preserved one in the collection of Mr. Reichardt ("Zeits. d. D.M.G." 1857, pp. 155, 156; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 271, No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 90, No. 16).



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

6. Æ. 4. No legend. Helmet to the right.

No legend. Two cornucopias.

(Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan, Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 91, No. 19; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vi. No. 4.)

Doubts have been cast as to whether this coin is Jewish or not,² but the types are in accordance with those employed on the coinage of Herod I.

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

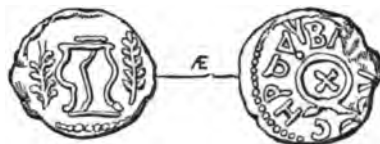
7. Æ. 3½. A tripod.

ΗΡΩ (sic) in the *field*.

(Reichardt, *op. cit.* No. 10; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 90, No. 18; incorrectly described in both works.)

¹ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 246, No. 54.

² De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 129.



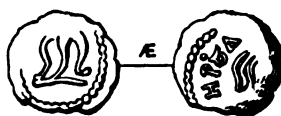
OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

8. Æ. 4. A rude tripod, on which a tray of floral offerings;¹ on each side a palm-branch.

BA[CI]ΛΕΩC (the last four letters indistinct)
HPYΔ.Y, around a wreath, within which X.

(Coll. of Dr. Babington, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 65, No. 1, pl. ii. No. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 88, No. 6.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

9. Æ. 2½. A rude tripod.

[BACIΛΕΩC] HP.YΔ[OY]. ? Portion of wreath.

(Coll. of Dr. Babington, *op. cit.* No. 2, pl. ii. No. 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 88, No. 7.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

10. Æ. 2½. Tripod.

BACIΛΕΩC HP . . . Y around a wreath, open
at the base; within which X.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xix. p. 245, No. 52.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

11. Æ. 3. Tripod.

BACIΛΕ Y. Wreath opening at the
base, but *not* containing X.

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* p. 246, No. 53.)

The reverse of these coins represents not a helmet, but a wreath formed very like an Ω, in the middle of three of which (Nos. 8, 9 and 10) is the letter X, in all probability the initial letter of *Χαλκούς*.²

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

12. Æ. 4. A helmet?; on each side a palm-branch.

BAΞIΛ . . C HPO<OY (*sic*) round a wreath,
within the wreath the letter X.

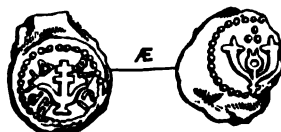
(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Zeits. d. D.M.G." 1857, pp. 155, 156; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 271, No. 9; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 90, No. 17; incorrectly described in all works quoted.)

This coin is probably the same as Nos. 8, 9 and 10. The helmet on the obverse is most likely a tripod.

¹ Comp. coins of Antigonos (Nos. 8 and 9, p. 102), and coins of Archelaus (Nos. 5 and 6, p. 116).

² De Saulcy, "Bull. Arch. de l'Athen. Franc." p. 74;

Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 88. Cavedoni ("Nuovi studi sopra le Mon. Ant. Giud." p. 19) does not agree with this interpretation, but prefers to see in X the mystical Hebrew *Tau*.



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

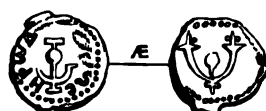
13. Æ. 3. BACI. HPWΔ., round an anchor.

Two cornua-copiae tied together at the ends, and the poppy-head (De Saulcy, Levy), or two cornua-copiae, and a *caduceus* crossed saltier-wise (Cavedoni, Akerman).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xx. No. 6; cf. No. 7; pl. vi. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 88, No. 8.)

The type of the anchor occurs on the coins of Alexander Jannæus and Alexandra, and may probably refer in this case to the maritime city of Cæsarea, built by Herod I. at the place formerly called Strato's Tower. It may also symbolize generally his extensive improvements to several maritime cities.¹ The type of the double cornu-copiae occurs upon coins of John Hyrcanus, Judas, Aristobulus, Alexander Jannæus, and Antigonus.

The following coins are rather smaller :—



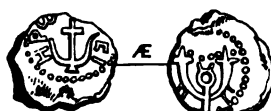
OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

14. Æ. 3. ΩC HPWΔ. (BACIΛEΩC HPWΔOY), round an anchor.

The same as No. 13.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vi. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 89, No. 9.)



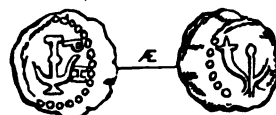
OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

15. Æ. 3. [BA]CI. HPW., round an anchor.

The same as No. 13.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vi. No. 6; cf. xx. No. 10; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 89, No. 10.)



OBVERSE.

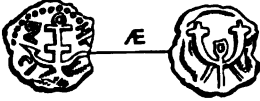
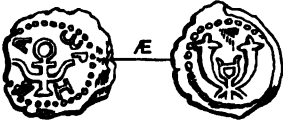
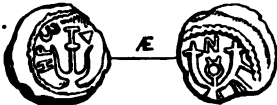
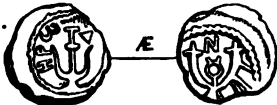

REVERSE.

16. Æ. 3. HP (HPWΔOY), in *field* to right of anchor.

The same as No. 13.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vi. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 89, No. 11.)

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xv. 9, 6.

- 
- O B V E R S E. R E V E R S E.
17. Æ. 3. BACI. HP. (retrograde), round an anchor. The same as No. 13.
- (De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xx. No. 9; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 89, No. 12.)
- 
- O B V E R S E. R E V E R S E.
18. Æ. 3. BA. HPΩ. (BACIAEΩC HPΩΔOY) round an anchor. The same as No. 13.
- (De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vi. No. 9; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 90, No. 13.)
- 
- O B V E R S E. R E V E R S E.
19. Æ. 3. HPΩΔ. round an anchor. The same as No. 13. Above the cornua-copiae the letter N.
- (De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xx. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 90, No. 14.)
- 
- O B V E R S E. R E V E R S E.
20. Æ. No legend; anchor within a circle. The same as No. 13.
- (De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 248, No. 57.)
- 
- O B V E R S E. R E V E R S E.
21. Æ. BACIAEYΞ within a beaded circle. An anchor within a wreath or within a circle; on some, traces of letters.
- (De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. iv. Nos. 9, 10; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 75, No. 2.)

These coins have been previously attributed by me to Alexander II., but M. de Saulcy has obtained at Jerusalem another example of these pieces on which he thought he could read BACIAEYΞ H . . .,¹ and if he is correct in the letter H, they would of course belong to Herod. In any case I am not now disposed to class them to Alexander II.

¹ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 247, No. 56.



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

22. Æ. 3. BACIA . . . HPΩΔ. on either side of a cornu-copiae.

No legend. An eagle standing to right.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vi. Nos. 10, 11, 12; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 112.)

These coins were in the first instance assigned by De Saulcy¹ to Herod I., but Cavedoni,² Levy,³ and after them the present writer,⁴ attributed them to Herod, king of Chalcis, the brother of Herod Agrippa I. (A.D. 41-48), principally on the ground that an image of a living creature did not occur on any other purely Jewish coin. But as it has been clearly established by De Saulcy⁵ that these small pieces are always found at Jerusalem, and as there is an invariable rule that "small coins do not make long voyages," it is out of the question to suppose that these, and these only, out of the coinage of Herod, king of Chalcis, should have been carried by pilgrims to Jerusalem. I have already recognized the justice of M. de Saulcy's remarks.⁶

De Saulcy found a reason⁷ for a live symbol (the eagle), from the fact of Herod having placed a large golden eagle over the great gate of the Temple,⁸ suggesting that he might also have placed an eagle on his coins previous to, and even after, the sedition to which his apparent breach of the law had given rise.⁹

B. HEROD ARCHELAUS, B.C. 4—A.D. 6.

Herod Archelaus, the son of Herod I. and Malthace, had, by a first will, been disinherited; but in the final arrangement he was left the "kingdom" which had previously been assigned to his elder brother Antipas. Archelaus would not accept the title of "king," though saluted as such by the army, until that title should be confirmed by Augustus.¹⁰ Shortly after a sedition was raised against him at the Passover, which he quelled by killing 3000 persons, after which he set out for Rome, whither he was

¹ "Num. Jud." p. 131.

² "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 35.

⁷ "Num. Jud." p. 131.

³ "Jüd. Münzen," p. 82.

⁸ Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 6, 2; "Bell. Jud." i. 33, 2.

⁴ "Jew. Coinage," pp. 111-113.

⁹ Joseph. *loc. cit.* "Antiq." viii. 7, 5; Levy, "Jüd.

⁵ "Rev. Num." 1857, p. 242; 1864, p. 388; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 248.

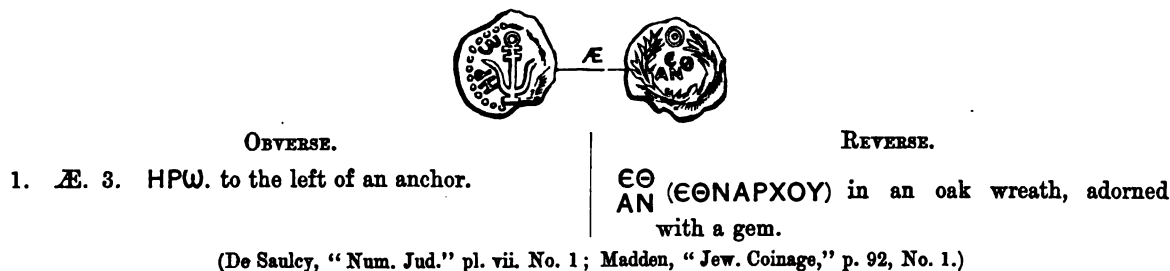
Münzen," p. 132.

⁶ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 206; 1875, vol. xv. p. 44.

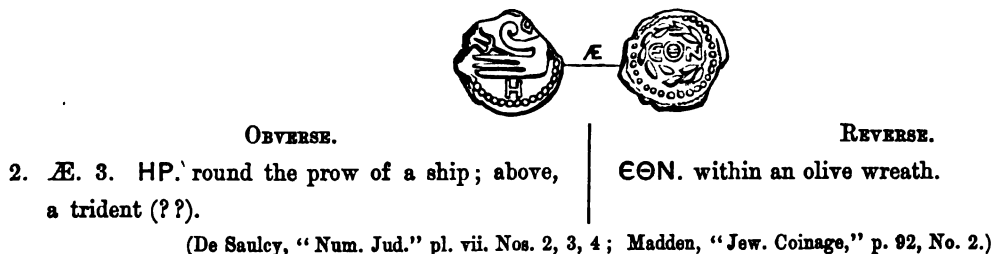
¹⁰ Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 8, 2, 4; "Bell. Jud." i. 33, 9; ii. 1, 1.

quickly followed by his brother Antipas and other opponents,¹ and was appointed by Augustus *Ethnarch*² (or ruler of the nation), and Judæa, Samaria, Idumæa, and several cities were apportioned to him, with a promise that, if he reigned virtuously, the title of king might be conferred upon him.³ He, however, following in the steps of his father, committing many cruel deeds, and violating the Jewish laws, caused the Jews to complain loudly of his tyranny. Augustus at last paid attention to their frequent murmurs, and Archelaus was summoned to Rome, and in A.D. 6 was banished to Vienne, in Gaul, where he died. His dominions were confiscated, and attached to the Roman Empire, to be administered by Procurators.⁴

This prince is called Archelaus by St. Matthew and Josephus, and *Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος* by Dion Cassius,⁵ a proof that he also bore the name of "Herod" in common with other members of the Herodian family, and as he is the only Herodian prince of Judæa who bore the title of *Ethnarch*, coins can be attributed to him with certainty.⁶ He also styles himself only "Herod" on the coins.⁷ The types are somewhat similar to those of his father, and of some of the Asmonæan princes.



De Sauley has obtained two new examples of this coin, and from them completes the obverse legend—HP—^Ω—O—Y—distributed around the anchor.⁸



¹ There is probably allusion to his journey in the parable of the nobleman going into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, "But his citizens hated him and sent a message after him, saying, we will not have this man to reign over us" (Luke xix. 12-27). ² See CHAPTER V. p. 62, note 3.

³ He is called *βασιλεύς* by Josephus ("Antiq." xvii. 9, 2), and the verb *βασιλεύει* is used in St. Matthew (ii. 22). Antipas, who was only *tetrarch*, is called *ὁ βασιλεύς* (Matt. xiv. 9; Mark vi. 14, 22, 26-27); and the *tetrarchy* of Lysanias is called by Josephus *βασιλείαν τῆς Λυσανίου* ("Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 5). See note 9 on p. 118.

⁴ See CHAPTER VII.

⁵ Lib. lv. 57.

⁶ Mr. Akerman was the first numismatist who restored the coins with the legend HPWΔΟΥ ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ to Herod Archelaus ("Num. Ill. of New Test." 1846, p. 4), though Dr. Kitto had already suggested, in 1841, the probability of coins with the title *ethnarch* belonging to Archelaus ("Hist. of Palestine," p. 716).

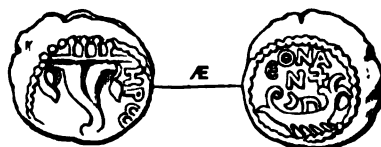
⁷ I have already alluded to the coins struck at Ascalon, and bearing the letter Ε(=ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ), attributed by De Sauley to Archelaus. See Sect. A. HEROD I. p. 106, note 3.

⁸ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 249, No. 61.

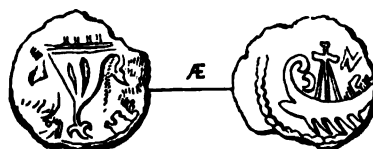
With respect to the trident on the obverse, as shown in the woodcut, De Sauley has suggested,¹ from an examination of eight other examples, and with considerable probability, that it is nothing more than an ω (*Omega*), and that this letter is a portion of the word HP ω Δ .

- | | | |
|--|--|----------------------------------|
| OBVERSE. | \| | REVERSE. |
| 3. \mathcal{A} . 4. HP. a double cornu-copisæ. | | $\epsilon\theta\eta$. a galley. |
| (Coll. of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 271, No. 11; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 93, No. 3.) | | |

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| OBVERSE. | \| | REVERSE. |
| 4. \mathcal{A} . 2½. HP ω . a double cornu-copisæ.
$\epsilon\theta\eta$. | | $\epsilon\theta\eta$
PA above a galley, all within a garland.
X |
| (Coll. of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 271, No. 12; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 93, No. 4.) | | |



- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| OBVERSE. | \| | REVERSE. |
| 5. \mathcal{A} . 4½. HP ω . a double cornu-copisæ, united below in one stem, filled with fruit (?), ² bunches of grapes hanging from either side; all within a circle of dots. | | $\epsilon\theta\eta\alpha$. Galley of five oars, without mast, having on deck a tower (?) near the bow; in <i>field</i> , crescent (?), and two letters above (NX?). |
| (Coll. of Dr. Babington, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 66, pl. ii. No. 4; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 93, No. 5.) | | |



- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| OBVERSE. | \| | REVERSE. |
| 6. \mathcal{A} . 4. Legend illegible, but traces of an ill-formed Δ . A double cornu-copisæ, as No. 5, but no dotted circle apparent. | \| | Legend illegible. Galley of five oars, with mast and sail; near the bow in <i>field</i> crescent and two letters above (NX?). |
| (Coll. of Dr. Babington, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 66, pl. ii. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 93, No. 6.) | | |

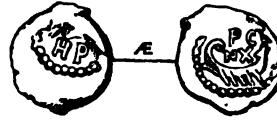
An example of Nos. 5 and 6, but in no better preservation, obtained at Jerusalem by De Sauley,³ shows on the reverse the letters $\epsilon\theta\eta\alpha$ —(P)XO.— ω L; and a specimen of No. 6 in Dr. Babington's collection has an H . . on the left side of the obverse.⁴

¹ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 250, No. 63.

² Comp. coins of Antigonos (Nos. 8 and 9, p. 102) and a coin of Herod I. (No. 8, p. 111).

³ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 249, No. 59.

⁴ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 66, *note*.



OBSERVE.

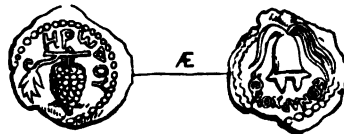
REVERSE.

7. Æ. 2½. HP. Type unintelligible.

A galley and the letters PCNX in two lines.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 94, No. 7.)

The letters on the reverses of these last three coins probably show the elements of the word ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ. Cavedoni¹ suggests N with an *Aleph* on No. 5, and N and *Rosh* or *Tau* and X on No. 6, but gives no further explanation. A specimen of No. 7, published by De Saulcy,² completes the obverse type ". . . ΩΔ. a cornu-copiae." The types of the reverses of these coins, as has already been noticed as regards the anchor,³ bear reference to the sovereignty that Archelaus had over the seaport cities of Cæsarea, Sebaste, and Joppe, which were conferred upon him by Augustus, when the latter ratified the main points of Herod's will.⁴



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

8. Æ. 3½. ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. A bunch of grapes from which hangs a grape leaf.

ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ. A helmet with tuft of feathers and cheek-pieces; in *field* to left a small *caduceus*.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vii. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 94, No. 8.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

9. Æ. 3½. The same as No. 8.

ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ (*sic*). The same type.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vii. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 94, No. 9.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

10. Æ. 3. [HP]ΩΔΟΥ. Bunch of grapes with part of the tendrils.

[ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ.] Unornamented *caduceus*.⁵

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. vii. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 95, No. 10.)

¹ "Nuovi studi sopra le antiche Monete Giudaiche," p. 20.² "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 249, No. 60.³ Alexander Jannæus, p. 86; Herod I., p. 112.⁴ Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 11, 4; "Bell. Jud." ii. 6, 3.⁵ This piece is given by Mionnet (vol. v. p. 564) from the Collection Chamillard. De Saulcy does not know what has become of it, and only gives an imperfect representation from a similar example in the collection of M. Ed. Delessert.

The helmet and *caduceus* seem to bear allusion to his Macedonian descent, which has also been remarked on some of the coins of Herod I.¹ Cavedoni² considers the *caduceus* on these coins to be a sign of Peace and Felicity.

C. HEROD ANTIPAS, B.C. 4—A.D. 40.

Herod Antipas was son of Herod the Great by Malthace, a Samaritan. Though "the kingdom" had been originally left to him, yet in the final arrangement of Herod's will, he was named "Tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa."³ He first married the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, but while on a visit to his half-brother Philip I. he persuaded his wife Herodias to marry him, thus violating the Jewish law. Upon this Aretas invaded the dominions of Antipas and defeated him with great loss. His government appears to have been milder than that of his brother Archelaus, of whom Joseph was afraid, and "turned aside into Galilee,"⁴ though the Evangelists represent him as cruel, tyrannical and unscrupulous.⁵ He enlarged and adorned several places in his dominions, restoring Sepphoris and Betharamphtha, and founded a city on the Lake of Gennesareth, which he called *Tiberias*, in honour of the Emperor Tiberius, with whom he was in great favour.⁶ After the death of Tiberius in A.D. 38, and the accession of Caius, he was persuaded by Herodias to go to Rome to obtain the title of king.⁷ His nephew, Agrippa I., who was much esteemed by Caius, opposed this request, and accused him of treacherous correspondence with the Parthians. He was consequently exiled to Spain in A.D. 40, where he eventually died.⁸ His wife Herodias voluntarily shared his exile, and his dominions were given to Agrippa I.

This prince is called *Herod* by St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and in the Acts; and *Antipas* and *Herod* by Josephus.

Coins of Herod Antipas bear the title *Tetrarch*.⁹

¹ See p. 109.

² "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 58.

³ Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 8, 1; Ἡρώδης δὲ τετραρχὴς, Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 19; ix. 7; Acts xiii. 1; τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδου, Luke iii. 1. Antipas had stealthily (comp. "that fox," Luke xiii. 32) followed his brother Archelaus to Rome to lay claim to the kingdom.

⁴ Matt. ii. 22.

⁵ Matt. xiv. 9; Luke iii. 19; xiii. 31. Antipas put to death John the Baptist (Matt. xiv. 3-12; Mark vi. 17-29; Luke ix. 9), and it was to Antipas that our Lord was sent by Pilate for examination (Luke xxiii. 6-16).

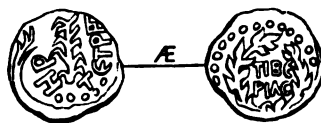
⁶ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 2, 3; "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 1.

⁷ Ὁ βασιλεὺς, Matt. xiv. 9; Mark vi. 22, 25-27; δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης, Mark vi. 14.

⁸ Mr. Lewin is of opinion ("Fasti Sacri," p. 261) that the banishment of Antipas to Spain was decreed, not at Baïæ, in A.D. 39, but in Gaul in A.D. 40; and states that the probability is, as was commonly the case in audiences before Caligula, there were two hearings; one at Baïæ, when Agrippa's envoy was present, and

when the trial was adjourned on account of the absence of Agrippa; and a second hearing in Gaul, in the presence of Agrippa himself. The trial having been adjourned from Baïæ to Lyons, Josephus wrote by mistake (cf. "Antiq." xviii. 7, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 6) the place of condemnation (Lyons) for the place of banishment (Spain). It has also been suggested (E. S. Ffoulkes, art. *Herodias*, Smith, "Dict. of the Bible." vol. i. p. 796, note) that the town is Lugdunum Convenarum, a town of Gaul, situated on the right bank of the Garonne, at the foot of the Pyrenees, now *St. Bertrand de Comminges*, as a town on the frontier like this would satisfy both passages of Josephus.

⁹ The title *Tetrarch* properly means the prince of a fourth part of a province. Thessaly was divided into four *tetrarchies*, each ruled by a *tetrarch* (Strabo, ix. p. 430). The title was conferred upon Antipas and Philip II. by Augustus, when confirming the will of Herod I. Archelaus had half (two fourths) of the kingdom, with the title *Ethnarch* (see CHAPTER V., p. 62, note 3), and Antipas and Philip the remaining half, divided into two *tetrarchies* (Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 11, 4; "Bell. Jud." ii. 6, 3). Both Antipas and Philip are called *Tetrarchs*



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

1. Æ. 3. HP. ΤΕΤΡΑ. (HPWΔΟΥ ΤΕ-
ΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ.) Palm-branch.

TIBEPAC in two lines within a wreath.

(Cab. des Médailles, Paris; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 97, No. 1.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

2. Æ. 6. HPWΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ. Palm-
branch. In field L. ΑΓ (year 33).

TIBEPAC in two lines within a wreath.

(Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan; "Trésor,"¹ pl. lix. No. 16; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 97, No. 2.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

3. Æ. 4. HPW ΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ. Same
type and date.

TIBEPAC in two lines within a wreath.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 254, No. 74.)

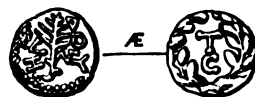
This piece is the half of No. 2.

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

4. Æ. 3. . . WΔΟΥ ΤΕ Same type
and date.

TIB. within a wreath.

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* p. 254, No. 75.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

5. Æ. 2. H[PW]ΔΟΥ. A palm-branch. In field
L. ΑΓ (year 33).²

T within a laurel wreath.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 272, pl. vi. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 98, No. 5.)

in the New Testament (see Table at commencement of this CHAPTER, p. 104). Lysanias (Luke iii. 1) was also a *tetrarch*, notwithstanding that Josephus in one passage calls his territory a kingdom (*βασιλείαν τῆς Λυσανίου*, "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6; but see "Antiq." xviii. 6, 10; xx. 7, 1; cf. xix. 5, 1). Herod I. was made *tetrarch* of Judæa, together with his brother Phasael, by Antony (Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 13, 1; "Bell. Jud." i. 12, 5).

¹ References to the "Trésor" are to Ch. Lenormant's "Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique. Numismatique des Rois Grecs," Paris, 1849.

² This date is omitted in the original woodcut and description. I have to thank Mr. Reichardt for sending me an impression of the coin, from which a new obverse has been engraved by Mr. Utting.



OBSERVE.

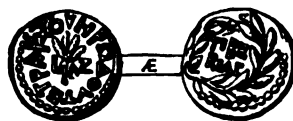
REVERSE.

6. Æ. 4. HPΩΔ[OY TET]PAPXOY. Palm-branch. In *field* L. ΛΔ (year 34).

TIBEPIAC in two lines within a wreath.

(“Trésor,” pl. lix. No. 17; Madden, “Jew. Coinage,” p. 98, No. 3.)

De Saulcy (*op. cit.* p. 254, Nos. 76, 77) publishes two examples of this coin, one of which appears to be a large piece similar to No. 2. In Mr. Reichardt’s cabinet there is also a specimen a size larger.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

T. 7. Æ. 2½. HPΩΔOY TETPAPXOY. Palm-branch. In *field* L. ΛΖ (year 37).

TIBEPIAC in two lines within a wreath.¹

(Leake, “Num. Hell.” p. 40; Madden, “Jew. Coinage,” p. 98, No. 4.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

8. Æ. 4. . . TPAPXOY. Same type and date.

TIBEPIAC in two lines within a wreath.

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* p. 254, No. 78.)

On these last two coins, as well as on those of the year 43, the title TETPAPXOY is on the left of the palm; on all other pieces it is on the right.

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

9. Æ. 4. HPΩΔOY . . . Same type. In *field* L. AH (year 38).

TIBEPIAC in two lines within a wreath.

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* p. 254, No. 79.)

De Saulcy writes, “date un peu douteuse.” If the date is correctly read, it will correspond to A.D. 34–35. There is no reason why a coin with such a date should not exist.²

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. S. S. Lewis for an impression of this coin, which is now, with the rest of Col. Leake’s collection, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Dr. Churchill Babington, “Cat. of a selection from Col. Leake’s Greek Coins,” p. 12, No. 76, 1867).

² See TABLE at end of Section E. A piece with no legend

on the obverse, and type a large palm, the reverse unrecognizable, has been catalogued by De Saulcy (*op. cit.* p. 254, No. 80) among coins of Antipas, but with the qualifying words, “Cette pièce est-elle d’Hérode-le-Tétrarque? Je me garderai bien de l’affirmer.”

These coins are struck at the city of *Tiberias*, which, as above stated, had been built by Antipas in honour of the Roman Emperor Tiberius.¹ The plant on the obverse is supposed to be the *canna communis*, and to bear reference to the adjacent Lake of Gennesareth, or Sea of Tiberias.² The years 33, 34 and 37 of his reign correspond to A.D. 29-30, A.D. 30-31, and A.D. 33-34. M. de Saulcy has suggested³ that perhaps it was in A.D. 29-30, the first year of which we possess the coins of Antipas, that he quitted Machærus to live in Galilee, in the town of Tiberias, of which he was the founder. On number 5 the title *Tetrarch* is omitted, and instead of ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑC in full, the name is abbreviated, and the initial T and final C are the only two letters given. This coin was obtained at the village of Siloam, near Jerusalem.



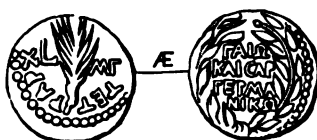
OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

10. Æ. 5. ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ. Palm-branch. In *field* L. ΜΓ (year 43).

ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ ΓΕΡΜΑΝ. in four lines within a wreath.

("Trésor," pl. lix. No. 19; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 99, No. 6.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

11. Æ. 4. ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ. Palm-branch. In *field* L. ΜΓ (year 43).

ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ in four lines within a wreath.

("Trésor," pl. lix. No. 20; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 99, No. 7. The reverse of this coin, as published by Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 486, has the legend ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙCΑ. ΓΕΡΜ. ΞΕΒ. See No. 13.)

¹ A coin of the Emperor Claudius, in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, of which the following is a description—*Obv.* . . . ΕΛΛΑΔΕΩΣ . . . Palm-branch. In *field* L. ΜΓ (year 13). *Rev.* ΤΙ. C in two lines within a wreath. Æ. 3—proves that this type was not only adopted by the tetrarch Antipas. On his deposition in A.D. 40, Caius gave his dominions to Agrippa I. (Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 7, 2), and on his death, in A.D. 44, his principality returned to the Imperial government [see Sect. F.]. In the first year of Nero (A.D. 54-55) Agrippa II. received [see Sect. H.] a certain part of Galilee, the city of Tiberias, etc. (Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 8, 4; "Bell. Jud." ii. 13, 2), consequently between A.D. 44 and A.D. 54, *i.e.* during the reign of Claudius, Tiberias was under Roman control. The date L. ΜΓ (year 13) can only refer to the Imperial year, *i.e.* A.D. 53, the last year but one of the reign of Claudius, and this date may be found on the coins struck in

Judæa by the procurator Felix [see CHAPTER VII.]. M. de Saulcy has published ("Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 334; "Ann. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, vol. iii. p. 267) a very rare coin of Claudius, struck at Tiberias—*Obv.* No legend. Head bare. *Rev.* ΤΙΒ—Λ. ΜΓ in two lines within a wreath,—and the date L. ΜΓ (year 33 of the era of Tiberias) is assigned by him to A.D. 53. As, however, his coin is said to be *en très-mauvais état de conservation*, it may be that his reading is erroneous, and that the piece is a similar one to that in the collection of Mr. Reichardt. That Claudius was a benefactor to Tiberias may be assumed from the fact that on the coins of Trajan and Hadrian struck at this town the surname ΚΑΛΑΥΔΙΕΩΝ occurs (De Saulcy, *op. cit.*).

² Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 34; cf. Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iii. 10, 8.

³ "Numismatique de la Tibériade," in the "Ann. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, vol. iii. p. 270.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>12. Æ. 5. ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ. A fig-
tree or an orange-tree laden with fruit; in
<i>field</i> to left ΕΤΟ., to right ΜΓ (year 43).</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙCΑ. ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ in four lines
within a wreath.</p> |
|---|---|

(Formerly Cab. of Count Prokesch-Osten; De Saulcy, "Mélanges de Num." Jan.-April, 1877, p. 92.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>13. Æ. 4. ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ. Palm-
branch; in <i>field</i> Λ. ΜΔ (year 44).</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙCΑ. ΓΕΡΜ. ΞΕΒ. within a wreath.</p> |
|---|--|

(Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 486, after Vaillant and Galland.)

The earliest known coin of Herod Antipas bears the date ΛΓ (year 33), and was struck in A.D. 29-30. The latest has till recently been supposed to be the class having the date ΜΓ (year 43), corresponding to A.D. 39-40. A coin has, however, been published by Eckhel after Vaillant and Galland bearing the date ΜΔ (year 44). This has been condemned on the assumption that Antipas was banished in A.D. 39.¹ A more strict examination of the question (in which I have been aided by the late Mr. Lewin's valuable researches²) seems to prove that a coin with this date might really have been issued. Herod Antipas was deposed in the *fourth year* of the reign of Agrippa I. over the Tetrarchy of Trachonitis (A.D. 40);³ and Agrippa I. had this Tetrarchy conferred upon him a few days after the arrival of Caligula at Rome, and therefore about April A.D. 37.⁴ The *fourth year* would thus be comprised between April A.D. 40 and April A.D. 41, so that if Antipas was banished shortly after April A.D. 40, there is no reason for objecting to the issue of a piece in *Judæa* bearing the date Λ.ΜΔ (year 44), whilst Antipas was absent on his trial.

D. HEROD PHILIP I.

Herod Philip I. was the son of Herod I., surnamed the Great, by a second Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest.⁵ He was the husband of Herodias, by whom he had a daughter, Salome, who married Herod Philip II. Herodias, contrary to the laws of

¹ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 486; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 99.

² "Fasti Sacri," p. xiii; p. 260, No. 1561; p. 265, No. 1592; p. 268, No. 1610; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 47.

³ Τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἔρξας, τῇ τετάρτῃ

δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσηλυφάς, Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 8, 2. See under Sect. F. HEROD AGRIPPA I. and TABLE at end of Section E.

⁴ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 6, 10.

⁵ Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 1, 3; xviii. 5, 4; "Bell. Jud." i. 28, 4; 30, 7.

her country,¹ divorced herself from him and married her half-uncle Antipas. Herod Philip I. was omitted in the will of Herod in consequence of the discovery that Mariamne was conscious of the plots of Antipater, the son of Herod I. by Doris.²

I have already pointed out in my "Jewish Coinage,"³ that the late Mr. J. Y. Akerman wrongly attributed coins to this Philip,⁴ and that the editor of the "Trésor de Numismatique et Glyptique" confounded the two Philips, and I attempted to make some distinction between them. Unfortunately, one of my references was wrongly printed. The reference to "Matt. xvi. 3," in note 8, should have been to "Matt. XIV. 3."⁵

It may, therefore, be as well now to give the three passages in full from the gospels in which reference is made to Philip I.

1. Matt. xiv. 3: "For Herod [Antipas] had laid hold on John, and bound him, and put him in prison for Herodias' sake, *his brother Philip's wife*."

2. Mark vi. 17: "For Herod [Antipas] himself had sent forth and laid hold upon John and bound him in prison for Herodias' sake, *his brother Philip's wife*: for he had married her."

3. Luke iii. 19: "But Herod [Antipas] the tetrarch, being reproved by him for Herodias *his brother Philip's wife*, etc."

There are, then, *three* passages in which allusion is made to a Philip brother of Herod Antipas, and as Philip I., and *not* Philip II., was the husband of Herodias, there is no doubt that they allude to the former of the two persons, and distinguish him from his half-brother, the husband of Salome.⁶

Herod Philip I. is called *Philip* in the passages of the gospels above quoted, and *Herod* in Josephus.

Of this prince there are *no coins*.

E. HEROD PHILIP II. B.C. 4.—A.D. 34.

Herod Philip II. was the son of Herod I. and Cleopatra (*Ἱεροσολυμίτις*), and was with

¹ The marriage of Herodias was unlawful for three reasons: first, her former husband, Philip, was still alive (*διασώζοντες ζῶντες*, Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 5, 4); secondly, Antipas' wife was still alive; and thirdly, by her first marriage with Philip she became the sister-in-law of Antipas, who was consequently forbidden by the Jewish law to marry his brother's wife (Levit. xviii. 16, xx. 21; Alford, Matt. xiv. 4; Madden, art. *Herodian Family*, in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Literature," ed. Alexander).

² Joseph. "Bell. Jud." i. 30, 7.

³ P. 100.

⁴ "Num. Ill. of N. T." 1846, p. 18; "Num. Chron." o.s. 1845, vol. viii. pp. 133-162.

⁵ The question drew forth some remarks from De Saulcy in 1872 ("Note sur les Mon. de Philippe le Tétrarque," in the

"Ann. de la Num. Soc. Franç." 1869, vol. iii. p. 264), who, commenting on the two remaining passages quoted by me, feared "qu'il n'y ait eu là une confusion de noms."

⁶ There is a mistake in the art. *Herodias* (in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible") by the Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes. It is here stated that "Herodias first married Herod surnamed Philip, *another of the sons of Mariamne* and the first Herod, and therefore her *full uncle*." This should read, "Herodias first married Herod surnamed Philip, the son of *another Mariamne* and the first Herod, and therefore her *half-uncle*." It is further said that "her paramour (Antipas) was indeed *less of a blood relation than her original husband*," but this is again a mistake, as the relationship was just the same (see our Genealogical Table at commencement of this CHAPTER on p. 104).

his half-brothers, Archelaus and Antipas, brought up at Rome.¹ He received as his share of the kingdom the tetrarchies of Auranitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis, with a certain part of what was called the house of Zenodorus.² He is mentioned only once in the New Testament,³ and must not be confounded with Herod Philip I., of whom an account is given in the previous section. He married Salome, the daughter of Herod Philip I. and Herodias. He built the city of Cæsarea Paneas, more commonly known as Cæsarea Philippi,⁴ and bestowed the name of *Julias* upon the town of Bethsaida in Lower Gaulonitis, in honour of Julia the daughter of Augustus.⁵ He here built a fine monument, in which his remains were deposited after his death. He enjoyed a reign of thirty-seven years (B.C. 4—A.D. 34), and showed himself to be a person of moderation and peace in the conduct of his life and government, always living in the country, and ruling with equity and mildness. As he left no children, Tiberius transferred his principality to the Roman province of Syria.

There is not a shadow of doubt that certain coins bearing the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ belong to Herod Philip II.

M. de Saulcy having, since the publication of my "Jewish Coinage," carefully studied the coins of this prince which exist in the "Cabinet de Médailles" at Paris,⁶ I shall be able to lay before my readers a more complete description than that given in my former book.

I have, however, the pleasure of commencing the catalogue with a specimen unknown to him at that time.

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 1, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 28, 4. Josephus, in "Antiq." xvii. 8, 1, calls Philip Ἀρχελαίου ἀδελφεὺς γυναικός, own brother of Archelaus, but in other passages he gives the correct relationship.

² Σὺν τινὶ μέρει οἴκου τοῦ Ζηνοδόρου λεγομένου, Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 11, 4; cf. xviii. 4, 6; καὶ μέρος τινὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἴκου τὰ περὶ Ἰδμυιαν, "Bell. Jud." ii. 6, 3. In B.C. 36 Auranitis, Trachonitis, Batanea and Paneas were in the possession of Cleopatra, but after her death, in B.C. 30, they were farmed out to Zenodorus or Zeno, and were then known as the "house of Lysanias" (οἶκος Λυσανίου, "Antiq." xv. 10, 1; "Bell. Jud." i. 20, 4). In B.C. 24 all these districts were taken away from Zenodorus on account of his robberies and given to Herod (Joseph. *loc. cit.*), with the exception of Paneas, which together with Onlatha formed the "house of Zenodorus" (Lewin, "Life of St. Paul," vol. i. p. 61; "Fasti Sacri," p. 90, No. 730), and which were added in B.C. 20, on the death of Zenodorus, to Herod's dominions ("Antiq." xv. 10, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 20, 4; τῶν τε Ἡρώδου Ζηνοδόρου τινὲς τετραρχίας . . . ἐπέτρεψε, Dion Cass. liv. 9). An inscription is extant which has been held to show (J. Hogg, "On the Scriptural names of Baalbec," in the "Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Literature," N.S. vol. vii. [tirage à part pp. 28-32]) that Zenodorus was son of the tetrarch Lysanias, who was put to death by Antony in B.C. 36, and perhaps half-brother of the second Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene (Luke iii. 1). Coins of Zenodorus the

tetrarch are known, of which the following is a description. Ὀβ. ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ [ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΗΡ. (ἀρχιερεὺς)]. Head of Zenodorus, to left, bare. Rev. ΝΕ. ΚΑΙ—(Νέος Καῖσαρ) Λ. ΖΠ. Head of Octavian, to right, bare; behind, a countermark. Brit. Mus. Æ. This piece must have been struck between B.C. 30-20, or probably between B.C. 30-27, as in this year Octavian assumed the name of Augustus. The date Λ. ΖΠ (year 87) will consequently fall into an era commencing either in B.C. 117 or B.C. 114 (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 497). The title of "tetrarch and high-priest" also occurs on the coins of Lysanias I. of Chalcis (Barthelemy, "Man. de Num. Anc." p. 281, Paris, 1851).

³ Φιλιππου τετραρχούντος, Luke iii. 1.

⁴ Καισάρεια ἢ Φιλίππου, Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27.

⁵ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 2, 1; 4, 6; "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 1; iii. 10, 7; "Vit." 71, 72. Some have identified this Bethsaida with that mentioned in Mark viii. 22, and Luke ix. 10, in contradistinction to Bethsaida of Galilee (see Smith and Kitto, s.v. Bethsaida), but there is very great uncertainty on this question, and many think that there was really only one Bethsaida (Major Wilson, "Bible Ed." vol. iii. p. 170; Conder, "Handbook to the Bible," pp. 322-324; Rev. A. Carr, "S. Matthew," p. 123; De Saulcy, "Travels," vol. ii. p. 441, etc.).

⁶ "Notes sur les mon. de Philippe le Tétrarque," in the "Ann. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, vol. iii. p. 264.



OBSERVE.

- *1. Æ. 4. . . ICAP . . . ACTY. Head of Augustus to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

- ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤ . . . Tetrastyle temple; between the columns L. IB (year 12).

(Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 53, No. 1.)

This interesting and rare coin is in the possession of the Rev. W. Wright, of 21, Straight Street, Damascus, who has kindly permitted me to publish it. I have also to thank Dr. Macaulay, of the Religious Tract Society, for lending me the electrotype of the piece.

OBSERVE.

2. Æ. 4. KAICAP . . . Head of Augustus to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

- ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤ . . . Tetrastyle temple; between the columns L. IS (year 16).

(De Saulcy, "Ann. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, vol. iii. p. 264, No. 1; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 2; Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt.)

This is perhaps the same piece as that published by Panel, and afterwards by Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 490) and Mionnet (vol. v. p. 567) with the date L. KS.

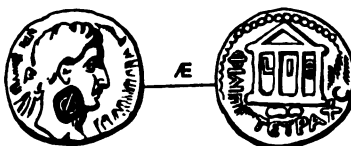
OBSERVE.

3. Æ. 4. ΞΕ . . . ΠΙ. Head of Augustus, bare.

REVERSE.

- [ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ. Tetrastyle temple; between the columns L. ?? The summit of the frontal of the temple is crowned by a Δ (reversed).

(Coll. of De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 5.)



OBSERVE.

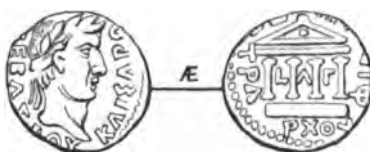
4. Æ. 4. ΞΕΒΑ. Head of Tiberius to the right, laureated; on the neck the countermark Φ.

REVERSE.

- ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟ[Υ] (*sic*). Tetrastyle temple; between the columns L. ΙΘ (year 19).

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 2; "Trésor," pl. lx. No. 1; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 101, No. 1; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 54, No. 3.)

This is perhaps the same piece as that published by Mionnet (vol. v. p. 567) with the date $\Lambda \cdot \text{K}\Theta$.¹ With respect to the countermark Φ on the neck, M. de Saulcy is of opinion that it is rather the initial of the name of Philip of Bathyra, the Zamaride,² than that of Philip the tetrarch himself. A specimen of this coin is in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt. The obverse legend reads $[\text{KAI}\Sigma]\text{API} \Sigma\text{EB}[\text{A}\Sigma\text{T}\Omega]$, and above the head there is a countermark of a star.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

5. Æ . 4. $\Sigma\text{EBA}\Sigma\text{TOY KAI}\Sigma\text{APO}$. Head of Tiberius to the right, laureated.

$\Phi \text{I} \Lambda - [\text{T} \text{E}] \text{T} \text{P} \Lambda - \text{P} \text{X} \text{OY}$. Tetrastyle temple; between the columns $\Lambda \Gamma$ (year 33).

(De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 3; "Trésor," pl. lx. No. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 101, No. 2; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 4.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

6. Æ . 4. $\text{TIBEPIOY CEBACTOC KAI}\Sigma\text{AP}$. Head of Tiberius to right, bare; before it a branch of laurel.

$\Phi \text{I} \Lambda \text{I} \text{ΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤ} \dots$ Tetrastyle temple; between the columns ΛZ (year 37).

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 102, No. 3, from Cabinet of the late Mr. Wigan. The coin now belongs to M. le Comte Cahen d'Anvers; De Saulcy, *op. cit.* No. 4; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 5.)

From this catalogue it appears that the only dates on the coins of Herod Philip II., as at present known, are $\Lambda \cdot \text{IB}$., $\Lambda \cdot \text{IS}$., $\Lambda \cdot \text{I}\Theta$., $\Lambda \cdot \text{A}\Gamma$., and $\Lambda \cdot \text{A}\text{Z}$.

<i>F. W. Madden.</i>			
IB	12	corresponds to	A.D. 8-9
IS	16	"	" 12-13
$\text{I}\Theta$	19	"	" 15-16
$\text{A}\Gamma$	33	"	" 29-30
AZ	37	"	" 33-34

<i>F. de Saulcy.</i>	
..	..
A.D.	11-12.
"	14-15.
"	28-29.
"	32-33.

¹ It is on the authority of De Saulcy (*op. cit.*) that the coins Nos. 2 and 4, with the dates $\Lambda \cdot \text{IS}$ and $\Lambda \cdot \text{I}\Theta$ are said to be the same as those published by Eckhel and Mionnet with the date $\Lambda \cdot \text{KS}$ (year 28), and by Mionnet with the date $\Lambda \cdot \text{K}\Theta$ (year 29). At the same time there is no reason why coins bearing these dates should not have been struck by Philip II.

(cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 101; see TABLE at end of Section).

² A most rare and interesting coin of this prince is published by De Saulcy in the "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 160. He also attributes another specimen to Jakim ('Idkemes) his father.

It will be seen that my dates differ slightly from those given by De Saulcy, and a table given at the end of this section will show how I have obtained this result.

Of these coins, those bearing the dates IB and IS were struck during the reign of Augustus, and those with the dates AΓ and AZ during that of Tiberius.

With respect to the piece with the date IΘ, De Saulcy has raised an objection, to the following effect: "Pour celle de l'an IΘ nous devons admettre qu'elle a été frappée avant que la nouvelle de la mort d'Auguste ne fût parvenue à Philippe le tétrarque, qui d'ailleurs comptait sa XIX^e année depuis le printemps de l'an 14 et par conséquent, quatre mois avant la mort d'Auguste."

This theory of De Saulcy might be of some value if his calculation, that the coins with the date IΘ were struck between A.D. 14 and 15, was positively certain; but I consider these pieces to have been issued between A.D. 15-16, and Augustus died the 19th of August, A.D. 14. In these circumstances the effigy on the obverse of the coins of Herod Philip II. with the date IΘ would be that of the Emperor Tiberius.

As regards the place of issue of the coins of Philip II., De Saulcy is strongly opposed to the supposition that they were struck at Cæsarea Philippi, and consequently the type of the temple would not refer to that built near Panium by Herod I. and dedicated to Cæsar.¹ He is of opinion that they were probably issued at Julias, the ancient Bethsaida, now *Tell-hum*, and that the temple on the coins is no other than the fine synagogue of which one admires the ruins at Tell-hum. Here, however, arises a difficulty, "Julias" is certainly "Bethsaida," but is it *Tell-hum*?²

Perhaps the type of the temple on these coins bears some allusion to a portion of the costly tomb built by Philip II. at Julias (Bethsaida), and in which he was buried.

The effigy of the Roman emperor on these coins was a grave infringement of the Mosaic Law. But it has been suggested³ that this infraction took place at some distance from the centre of religion, in a town inhabited for the most part by Greeks, and besides a son of Herod is not likely to have scrupled to break the national Law in order to flatter the masters of the world.

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xv. 10, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 21, 3.

² The ruins of *Tell-hum* have also been identified with Chorazin (Rev. J. L. Porter, Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Chorazin) and with Capernaum (Major Wilson, "Our Work in Palestine," p. 186, publ. by Palestine Explor.

Fund Com. 1873; Dr. Farrar, "Life of Christ," illustr. ed. p. 139; Neubauer, "Géog. du Talmud," p. 221). Its actual identification appears doubtful. See p. 124, note 5.

³ "Trésor de Num. et de Glyptique," p. 126.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE COINAGE OF HEROD ANTIPAS AND HEROD PHILIP II.

YEARS OF ANTIPAS.		YEARS OF PHILIP II.	REMARKS.
B.C.	4 — 1	1	Death of Herod I. in March, B.C. 4.
	3 — 2	2	
	2 — 3	3	
	1 — 4	4	
A.D.	1 — 5	5	Banishment of Archelaus.
	2 — 6	6	
	3 — 7	7	
	4 — 8	8	
	5 — 9	9	
	6 — 10	10	
	7 — 11	11	
	8 — 12	12 L. IB	
	9 — 13	13	
	10 — 14	14	
	11 — 15	15	Death of Augustus, August 19, A.D. 14.
	12 — 16	16 L. IS	
	13 — 17	17	
	14 — 18	18	
	15 — 19	19 L. IO	
	16 — 20	20	
	17 — 21	21	
	18 — 22	22	
	19 — 23	23	
	20 — 24	24	
	21 — 25	25	20th year of Tiberius. Death of Philip II.
	22 — 26	26	
	23 — 27	27	
	24 — 28	28	
	25 — 29	29	
	26 — 30	30	
	27 — 31	31	
	28 — 32	32	
	29 — 33 L. ΛΓ	33 L. ΛΓ	
	30 — 34 L. ΛΔ	34	
	31 — 35	35	Agrippa I. receives from Caius the Tetrarchy of Philip II.
	32 — 36	36	
	33 — 37 L. ΛΖ	37 L. ΛΖ	
	34 — 38 L. ΛΗ?		
	35 — 39		
	36 — 40		
April	37 — 41		
"	38 — 42		
"	39 — 43 { L. ΜΓ		
"	40 — 44 { ETO. ΜΓ		
"	41 — 44 L. ΜΔ		Antipas banished to Gaul early in A.D. 40, and in the fourth year of Agrippa I. holding the Tetrarchy of Philip II.

F. HEROD AGRIPPA I., A.D. 37—A.D. 44.

Herod Agrippa I. was born at the latter end of B.C. 11, and was the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and the grandson of Herod I., surnamed the Great. A short time before the death of Herod I. he was living at Rome, and was brought up with Drusus the son of Tiberius, and Claudius, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the elder.¹ By his reckless extravagance he was reduced to poverty, and became unable to live at Rome any longer. For this cause he left Rome and went to Judæa, and shortly after was appointed governor of Tiberias, through the instigation of his sister Herodias and his wife Cypros. Finding himself again in difficulties, and having quarrelled with Antipas, he returned to Italy to seek an interview with Tiberius, and he there became very friendly with Caius. In an unguarded moment he expressed the wish that Caius might soon succeed to the throne, which being reported to Tiberius, he was arrested and thrown into prison, where he remained till the accession of Caius, the 16th of March, A.D. 37.²

Agrippa I. was *immediately* set at liberty, and Caius put a diadem upon his head and conferred upon him the tetrarchy of Philip II. with the title of "king."³

Soon after Agrippa had arrived to take possession of his new kingdom, in the second year of the reign of Caius, Antipas hastened to Rome to ask for himself likewise the title of "king." This, however, was opposed, first by Agrippa's envoy, and secondly by Agrippa in person; and Antipas, instead of gaining the royal title, was sent into exile in Spain [see Section C.].

This took place in A.D. 40, and Caius gave the dominions of Antipas, consisting of Galilee and Peræa, to Agrippa I.⁴

In A.D. 40 Agrippa I. was at Rome in high favour with Caius, interceding for the Jews and begging that Petronius might be forbidden to set up the Emperor's statue in the Temple. This request was granted.⁵

On the 24th of January, A.D. 41, Caius was slain, and Claudius succeeded to the empire.

For the services rendered by Agrippa I. in negotiating between the Senate and Claudius, the new Emperor on his accession presented to him Judæa, Samaria, the tetrarchy of Lysanias II.,⁶ and the parts about Libanus.

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 6, 1.

² Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 6, 3-9.

³ Διελευσάντων μόντοι οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν μεταπεμφθέντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον . . . εἶτα δὲ τὸ διδῆμα περιτίθησι τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ βασιλεὺς καθίστησιν αὐτὸν τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας. Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 6, 10; "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 6.

⁴ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 7, 2.

⁵ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 8, 7-9.

⁶ Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 5, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 5. In another passage Josephus says that Caius gave him this tetrarchy ("Antiq." xviii. 6, 10). Caius probably promised it and Claudius actually conferred it.

Agrippa I. now possessed the entire kingdom of his grandfather, Herod I.

He appears to have started to take possession of his dominions soon after.¹

Agrippa I. loved to live at Jerusalem, and was a strict observer of the laws of his country. Influenced by a strong desire for popularity rather than from innate cruelty, he "stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church." He put to death James the elder, son of Zebedee, and cast Peter into prison, no doubt with the intention of killing him also. This was frustrated by his miraculous deliverance from his jailors by the angel of the Lord.² Agrippa I., like his grandfather Herod, displayed great taste in building, and especially adorned the city of Berytus.³ In A.D. 44 Agrippa celebrated games at Caesarea in honour of the Emperor Claudius, and to make vows for his safety. At this festival a number of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity in the province, attended. The people of Tyre and Sidon were in all probability also present, though not so recorded by Josephus, and whilst it is stated⁴ that Agrippa I. was "highly displeased" with them, it does not appear that any rupture worthy of notice had taken place. On the second day Agrippa appeared in the theatre in a garment interwoven with silver. On closing his address to the people they saluted him as a god, for which he did not rebuke them, and he was immediately seized with internal pains, and died five days after.⁵

This fuller account of Josephus agrees substantially with that given in the Acts; the silver dress⁶ and the disease.⁷ The owl,⁸ which on this occasion appeared to Agrippa I. as the messenger of ill tidings,⁹ though on a former it had appeared to him as a messenger of good news,¹⁰ is converted by Eusebius,¹¹ who professes to quote Josephus, into the angel of the Acts.¹²

The death of Agrippa I. took place when he had reigned three years over all Judæa.¹³ Josephus adds that he "departed this life in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the *seventh* year of his reign; for he reigned four years under Caius Cæsar [A.D. 37-41], three of them were over Philip's tetrarchy only [A.D. 37-40], and in the fourth [A.D. 40] he had that of Herod [Antipas] added to it; and he reigned besides those, three years under the reign of

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 6, 1.

² Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 7, 5.

³ Acts xii. 20.

⁴ Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 8, 2. See CHAPTER IV. p. 57, note 1. The Roman emperors were very fond of assuming to themselves the title of "God," as I have in another place pointed out ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1886, vol. vi. p. 272). Domitian in his edicts commenced, *Dominus et Deus noster hoc fieri jubet* (Suet. "In Dom." 13; Dion Cass. lxxvii. 13). Caligula assumed the title, exclaiming, *εἰς κόρανός εἰσται, εἰς βασιλεύς* (Suet. "In Calig." 22; cf. Homer, "Iliad," ii. 204). Nero is called *κύριος* by Festus (Acts xxv. 26), and Elagabalus was hailed as *κύριος* (Dion Cass. lxxix. 16). Aurelian styled himself on his coins *DEO ET DOMINO NATO* and *SOL DOMINUS IMPERI ROMANI*, as also Carus. The term *ΘΕΟΣ ΞΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ* occurs frequently on coins of Pergamus, etc. (For further particulars see my article in the "Numismatic Chronicle," above referred to.) I may, however,

⁵ Acts xii. 1-19.

add that M. Ernest Renan ("Les Apôtres," p. 251) is of opinion that the symptoms recorded by Josephus suggest that Agrippa I. was poisoned, and that what is said in the Acts about the equivocal conduct of the Phœnicians and about the care that they took to gain over Blastus, the king's chamberlain, corroborates this hypothesis.

⁶ *Πολλὴν ἐνδυσάμενος ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν*, Josephus; *ἐνδυσάμενος ἐσθῆτα βασιλικήν*, Acts.

⁷ *Τῇ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγῆματι τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν*, Josephus; *γενόμενος σκυληκόβρωτος ἐξέψυξεν*, Acts.

⁸ *Βουβάνα ἐπὶ σχοινίου τινός*, Josephus.

⁹ *ἄγγελος κακῶν*, Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 8, 2.

¹⁰ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 6, 7.

¹¹ "H. E." ii. ch. 10.

¹² *Ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος Κυρίου*, Acts xii. 23. For an explanation of the confusion, cf. Eusebius, *loc. cit.* ed. Heinichen. Excurs. II. vol. iii. p. 556; Alford, *in loc.*

¹³ Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 8, 2.

Claudius Cæsar [A.D. 41-44], in which time he reigned over the fore-mentioned countries and also had Judæa added to them, as also Samaria and Cæsarea."¹

In another passage Josephus writes, "He had then (at his death) reigned *three years* [A.D. 41-44], as he had governed his tetrarchies *three other years* [A.D. 37-40]."²

Let us see by means of a table which of these statements may be taken as correct:—

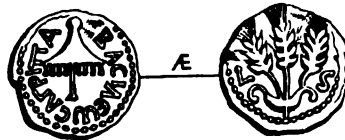
March, A.D. 37. Death of Tiberius. Caligula.

April, A.D. 37	Agrippa I. receives the tetrarchy of Philip II.
" 38—1st year	
" 39—2nd "	
" 40—3rd "	Agrippa I. receives Galilee and Peræa.
" 41—4th "	Death of Caligula. Claudius. Agrippa I. receives Judæa and Samaria.
" 42—5th "	
" 43—6th "	
" 44—7th "	Death of Agrippa I. in the summer of A.D. 44.

From this table there does not seem to be much doubt that the figures in the first quoted passage of Josephus are the correct ones, and that seven years and a few months may be considered to have been the length of the reign of Agrippa I.³

His son being too young to govern, Claudius annexed the kingdom to the province of Syria⁴ under the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus.⁵

HEROD AGRIPPA I. WITHOUT NAME OF EMPEROR.



OBVERSE.

1. Æ. 4. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.⁴ Umbrella.

REVERSE.

Three ears of corn springing from one stalk; in the field, to right and left, L. S (year 6).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. ix. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 104; De Saulcy, "Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, p. 27, No. 6.)

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 8, 2.

² Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6.

³ Agrippa himself, in A.D. 40 ("Apud Philonem leg. ad Caium," c. 41), enumerates the gifts of Caligula, *ἐχαρίσω μοι βασιλείαν, πάλαι μὲν μίᾱς χώρας* (the tetrarchy of Philip in A.D. 37), *αὐθις δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας μελίζονος, τὴν Τραχωניתιν λεγομένην καὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν συνάψας* (the tetrarchy of Antipas in A.D. 40). De Saulcy ("Etude Chron. de la vie et des mon. des rois juifs d'Agrippa I. et d'Agrippa II.," in the "Mém. de la Soc. Franç.

de Num." 1869, p. 35) has given a somewhat similar table, but comes to the conclusion that Agrippa died some days *before* the seventh year of his reign was terminated.

⁴ Tac. "Hist." v. 9; "Ann." xii. 23.

⁵ Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 9, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6. See Sect. H. AGRIPPA II.

⁶ I have never seen this name written ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ on these coins as given by Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." p. 493) and by Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 35).

Besides the date L. S (year 6), Eckhel has published¹ the following dates on similar coins—L. E (5), L. Z (7), L. Θ (9),—all of which Mr. Reichardt states² that he has in his collection, as also a coin with the date L. H (8). Woodcuts of the specimens with the dates L. E and L. Θ were published by me in 1865 and 1875,³ which I here repeat. M. de Saulcy,



however, though he has seen casts of these pieces, persisted in maintaining that there is no coin of Agrippa I. of this type with any other date than the year L. S (year 6).⁴

Mr. Reichardt, the owner of the coins in question, has suggested the following explanation, which merits attention:⁵ "Eckhel and Cavedoni assert that if a coin of the year 9 does exist, it cannot belong to Agrippa I., but to the second, inasmuch as the former only reigned seven years. Now, these eminent men have forgotten that we have coins of the second year of Roman princes who only reigned a few months; nor is it likely that they were aware that the Jewish kings counted their reign of one day of the year for a whole year, commencing that year on the 1st of Nisan (Gemar. Bab. Tract, 'Rosh ha-shanna,' fol. 2b). So if one king ascended the throne the day before the 1st of Nisan, that one day would have been said to be the first year of that king's reign, and on the following day, the 1st of Nisan, it would have been said he entered upon his second year. Agrippa, therefore, though only reigning for the space of seven years, might put the ninth year on his coins, as may be seen by the following table:—

¹ "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 493.

² "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 272; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 105.

³ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 207; 1875, vol. xv. p. 64.

⁴ De Saulcy wrote ("Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, p. 45): "A en juger par l'état des pièces en question, les dates pour ainsi dire seules, ont été préservées en bon état et sont lisibles. C'est certainement le fait d'un bonheur inouï, et d'autant plus extraordinaire à mes yeux, que sur plusieurs centaines d'exemplaires qui ont passé par mes mains, je n'ai jamais eu la chance d'en rencontrer un seul qui ne m'offrit la date L. S. Mais cela ne me suffit plus pour déclarer que ces monnaies doivent être considérées comme suspectes." He therefore examines the question if Agrippa II. could possibly have struck any of these coins, especially the one with the date L. Θ (year 9), and certainly satisfactorily proves that none of these pieces could by any possibility have been issued by Agrippa II. I am quite of his opinion. De Saulcy consequently concluded as follows (p. 46): "Josèphe dit en toutes lettres que le règne d'Agrippa Ier n'a pas été de plus de sept ans, puisqu'il est mort dans le cours de sa septième année. Nous avons prouvé plus haut par les chiffres qu'Agrippa Ier avait reçu le titre de roi pour la tétrarchie de Philippe en avril 37. Il est mort vers le mois d'avril 44. Que l'on s'y prenne comme l'on voudra, Josèphe,

qui n'a guère pu se tromper, est, sur ce point, pleinement justifié par les chiffres. A la rigueur, en admettant l'inexactitude de notre historien, lorsqu'il dit qu'Agrippa mourut *ἔγνων* . . . *τῆς βασιλείας ἑβδόμου*, on pourrait peut-être évaluer le règne de ce prince à sept ans et quelques jours, ce qui pourrait légitimer la présence d'une date L. H. Mais une date L. Θ me paraît toujours inexplicable; d'ailleurs, les faussaires ne manquent pas à Jérusalem!" (cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 255). I have again examined the electrotypes in the collection of Dr. Babington bearing the dates L. E, L. Z, L. H and L. Θ, and also casts furnished by Mr. Reichardt, and these dates are certainly perfectly clear and distinct; but to settle the question, the *coins themselves* must be submitted to critical investigation. Mr. Reichardt informs me that he has recently acquired a coin of Agrippa I. whose date is quite different from any previously known. The form is L. 4. He writes, "This sign can certainly not be intended for S; can it stand for 4? If so, we have a coin of the fourth year. However, I am not certain of this reading. . . . The engraver may have been a Jew, and for some unknown reason adopted this form for the numerical sign of Δ."

⁵ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 272; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 105; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 65.

Agrippa was made king by Caligula—

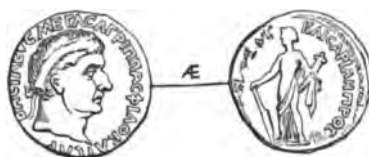
790 u.c., before the 1 Nisan A.D. 37, counting this as his 1st year.

	„	from	„	„	„	2nd	„
791	„	„	„	38	„	3rd	„
792	„	„	„	39	„	4th	„
793	„	„	„	40	„	5th	„
794	„	„	„	41	„	6th	„
795	„	„	„	42	„	7th	„
796	„	„	„	43	„	8th	„
797	„	„	„	44	„	9th	„

when Agrippa died, in his fifty-fourth year.”

Whilst, however, admitting that there might exist a piece with the date L. H (year 8), and with greater improbability a piece with the date L. Θ (year 9), I must again repeat “that neither at Copenhagen nor at Vienna, nor at Berlin, nor in the British Museum, nor in the Wigan Collection (and De Saulcy now adds, nor at Paris), is there a piece of Agrippa I. with a higher numeral than 6 (L. ς).”¹

The type of the above engraved coins of Agrippa I. has puzzled many numismatists. Some² have thought that the umbrella was a *tabernaculum*, and has some reference to the feast of Tabernacles, and that the ears of corn on the reverse alluded to the bread offered. Levy throws out the suggestion that the umbrella may indicate a token of Agrippa’s dignity, as we find in all times with great men and princes of the East.³



OBVERSE.

2. Æ. 5. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ
ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Head of Agrippa I. to right,
with diadem (?).

REVERSE.

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ [ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ] ΛΙΜΕΝΙ.
Female figure standing, holding rudder and
cornu-copiae.

(“Trésor,” pl. lx. No. 3; Madden, “Jew. Coinage,” p. 106; De Saulcy, “Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num.” 1869, p. 27, No. 1;
Madden, “Num. Chron.” n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 66, No. 2.)

On reference to my “Jewish Coinage,” it will be noticed that I omitted, on the reverse,

¹ “Jew. Coinage,” p. 105.

² Eckhel, “Doct. Num. Vet.” vol. iii. p. 493; Cavedoni,
“Bibl. Num.” vol. i. p. 61.

³ “Jüd. Münzen,” p. 81. See Rawlinson, “Anc. Mon-
archies,” vol. i. p. 496.

the words $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\kappa\tau\omega\ \lambda\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\iota$, as the editor of the "Trésor," after a most careful examination, was unable to trace these words. De Saulcy now restores $\lambda\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\iota$, which is corroborated by the cast of the coin itself.¹

The legend $\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\ \eta\ \pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \xi\epsilon\beta\alpha\kappa\tau\omega\ \lambda\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\iota$ may be found on the coins of Nero, struck at Cæsarea of Samaria.²

It will be observed that the title $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ occurs on the obverse of this coin.³ On another piece, struck at Anthedon-Agrippias, published by Sestini⁴ and Mionnet,⁵ there is the title $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. Its description is as follows:—

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
Æ. 4. $\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\gamma\rho\iota\pi\pi\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. Head of Agrippa I. to left; before, L. E (year 5).	$\alpha\eta\theta\eta\delta\iota\omega\nu\ \beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\gamma\rho\iota\pi\pi\alpha$. Double cornu-copie.

De Saulcy has not a very high opinion of this coin, and adds,⁶ "Il n'est pas possible que [le] mot absurde $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ne soit pas le résultat d'une mauvaise lecture. J'ai bien peur que l'éthnique [l'ethnique] $\alpha\eta\theta\eta\delta\iota\omega\nu$ ne soit estropié de la même façon." If genuine, it must have been issued about A.D. 41-42. De Saulcy does not allude to this or to the previous coin in his "Numismatique de la Terre Sainte."⁷

The title $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\rho$ occurs only on the coins of Agrippa I.⁸

¹ It must be mentioned that this coin is engraved and published with the words $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\kappa\tau\omega\ \lambda\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\iota$ by Mr. Akerman in his "Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament," 1846, p. 39, and no doubt correctly (cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 107).

² De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 116. Cæsarea, originally "Strato's Tower," was built by Herod I. It was called *Cæsarea Palestina* or *Καὶσάρεια Παλαιστίνη* (Joseph. "Antiq." xvi. 5, 1). The harbour was named *Ξεβαστὶς λιμὴν* ("Antiq." xvii. 5, 1; "Bell. Jud." i. 31, 3). It was considered in the Talmud (Neubauer, "Géog. du Talmud," p. 92) as "the capital of kings." Tacitus ("Hist." ii. 79) speaks of it as "*Judææ caput*," and Josephus ("Bell. Jud." iii. 9, 1) as "a very great city of Judæa" (*μεγίστη τῆς Ἰουδαίας πόλις*). After the destruction of Jerusalem it became the capital of Judæa. It was the residence of Felix and Festus (Acts xxiv. 27; xxv. 1), and Agrippa I. died there (Acts xii. 19). Its site has been identified with *Kaisariëh*.

³ See p. 105, note 1, under Sect. A. $\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\delta\ \iota$.

⁴ "Lett. Num. Cont." t. v. p. 103, No. 1.

⁵ "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 364; see Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 108; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 68.

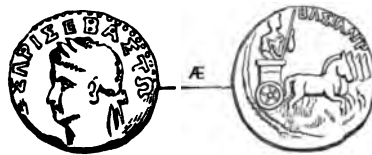
⁶ "Mém. de la Soc. Franç." 1869, p. 55.

⁷ Anthedon was a city on the coast of Palestine, not far from Gaza, and was included among the cities taken by Alexander Jannæus (Joseph. "Antiq." xiii. 13, 3; 15, 4; "Bell. Jud." i.

4, 2). It was restored by Gabinius ("Antiq." xiv. 5, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 8, 4), and eventually given by Augustus to Herod I. ("Antiq." xv. 7, 3), who changed its name to *Agrippias* ("Antiq." xiii. 13, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 4, 2) or *Agrippæum* ("Bell. Jud." i. 21, 8), in honour of his friend Marcus Agrippa [see Sect. A. $\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\delta\ \iota$, p. 106]. It formed part of the dominion of Agrippa I., who possessed the whole kingdom of his grandfather Herod I., and who may therefore have issued the coin described in the text. The city was destroyed under Gessius Florus ("Bell. Jud." ii. 18, 1), but it appears to have been existing under the name *Anthedon* at the time of Julian (Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles." v. 9). A few autonomous coins with the name $\alpha\gamma\rho\iota\pi\pi\epsilon\omega\nu$, as also some Imperial pieces of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander with the name $\alpha\eta\theta\eta\delta\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ have been published (De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," pp. 234-236).

⁸ Comp. "Thou art not *Cæsar's friend*" (*οὐκ ἐφ' ὠλοῦ τοῦ καίσαρος*) John xix. 12). The title *φίλος τοῦ καίσαρος* was one of honour frequently given to tributary kings (cf. Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 10, 2; Böckh, "Corpus Inscr." Nos. 2123, 2124, 2130, etc.), but in the passage in St. John the phrase is probably used in a general and not a technical sense, signifying "a loyal supporter of the Emperor"—"well-affected to Cæsar" (Canon Westcott, "Speaker's Com." N. T. vol. ii. p. 271; Alford, *ad loc.*). See coin of $\alpha\gamma\rho\iota\pi\pi\alpha\ \iota$. UNDER CLAUDIUS, No. 1.

HEROD AGRIPPA I. UNDER CAIUS.



OBSERVE.

1. Æ. 5. ξΕΒΑΣΤ. Head to the left, laureated?

REVERSE.

BA in front of the king holding a sceptre,
 ΑΓ in a quadriga to right.

("Trésor," pl. lx. No. 4; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 108; De Sauley, "Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, p. 27, No. 2; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 68, No. 1.)

The attribution of this coin to the reign of Caius is uncertain, though Eckhel has published¹ a very similar piece from Froelich—*Obv.* Æ. II. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. ξΕΒΑΣΤ. ΑΞ. ΙΕ . . . Head of Caius. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ Γ. Emperor with sceptre in quadriga. Struck at Cæsarea Panias. It is not published by De Sauley in his "Numismatique de la Terre Sainte."

De Sauley points out that my original description and engraving are incorrect, and records his decipherment, which I have above given. The cast of this coin has not assisted me.



OBSERVE.

T. 2. Æ. 7. Legend illegible. Bust to left, laureated.

REVERSE.

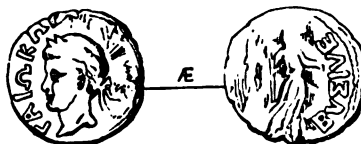
NOM
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΞ in field. Emperor holding sceptre
 ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ
 in quadriga to right.

(Collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.)

The letters NOM. can only stand for ΝΟΜισμα, and the legend be explained "the money of king Agrippa." Indeed, Mr. Reichardt writes that he can trace on the coin, but very faintly, the letters ΙΞ after NOM, which I am unable to do on the two casts sent. There is a corroboration of this interpretation in the coins of Domitian with the legend MONETA AVGVST., AVGVSTI, or AVG.,² which is employed a few years later.

¹ "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 491.

² Cohen, "Méd. Imp." Nos. 375-384; 2nd ed. Nos. 323-334.



OBVERSE.

3. Æ . $4\frac{1}{2}$. $\Gamma\text{ΑΙΩ ΚΑΙ}$. . . Head of Caius to the left, laureated?

REVERSE.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕ (retrograde). Victory walking to right.

("Trésor," pl. lx. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 109; De Saulcy, "Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, p. 27, No. 3; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 2.)

OBVERSE.

4. Æ . II. Head of Caius.

REVERSE.

$\text{ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ}$.
Male figure, standing, holding a roll.

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 109, from Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 491, after Vaillant; De Saulcy, "Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, p. 27, No. 7; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 69, No. 3.)

Eckhel is of opinion that this coin was struck at Cæsarea Panias. It does not, however, appear to be alluded to by De Saulcy in the description of the coins of this town in his "Numismatique de la Terre Sainte."

HEROD AGRIPPA I. UNDER CLAUDIUS.



("Trésor," pl. lx. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 109.)

* (Reichardt, "Num. Zeits." Wien, 1871, p. 83; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 70.)

OBVERSE.

1. Æ . 8. $\text{ΒΑΣ. ΑΓΡΙΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ}$.
The king, head veiled, sacrificing, and crowned by two females, one of which is Victory.

REVERSE.

Two hands joined together within a wreath; an Imperial head in countermark.

As to the reverse legend, it has been deciphered in the six following ways:—

1. ΔΗΜ[ος] ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΕΥΜΧΙΑΤ(?) [σύν]ΚΛΗΤΟΝ ΒΑΣ[ιλεὺς] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ (Madden, "Jew. Coinage," after drawing in "Trésor").
2. ΕΥΜΧΙΑ (συμμαχία) Τ[οῦ] ΔΗΜ[ου] ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ . ΒΑΣ[ιλεὺς] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ [τὴν σύν]ΚΛΗΤΟΝ [τιμῇ] (Cavedoni, "Princ. Quest. rig. la Num. Giud. diffinitivamente decise," p. 14).
3. ΚΛΗΤΟΝ Α ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΕΥΜ · ΧΙ · ΑΥ ΗΜ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ Κ (De Saulcy, "Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, p. 27, No. 4).
4. ΔΗΜ[ος] ΡΩΜΑΙΩ[ν] · Κ[αὶ] · ΕΥΛΛΟΧΙ[ται] ΑΥ[τοῦ] · ΒΑΣ[ιλεὺς] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ[ν μέγαν] ΚΛΗΤΟΝ [for ΚΛΕΙΤΟΝ] · ΧΑ[ίρειν] · (Reichardt, *op. cit.*).
5. [Φιλ]ΙΑ ΒΑΣ[ιλεὺς] ΑΓ[ριπ]ΠΑ [πρὸς τὴν σύν] ΚΛΗΤΟΝ [καὶ τὸν δ]ΗΜ[ον] · ΡΩΜΑΙΩ[ν] · Κ[αὶ] · ΕΥΜ[μαχία] · ΙΧ '(P · ΧΙ ·) ΑΥ (Mommson, "Num. Zeits." 1872, vol. iii. p. 449, Wien).
6. ΔΗΜ[ος] ΡΩΜΑΙΩ[ν] · Κ[αὶ] · ΕΥΜ[μαχοί] · ΧΙ[λαρχοί] · ΑΥ[τοῦ] · ΒΑΣ[ιλεὺς] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ . . . [σύν]ΚΛΗΤΟΝ · [τιμῇ] (Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 75).

Which of these six readings is correct (if any are), it is difficult to say.¹ Without a more perfect example of this rare coin, one can only make out that the legend bears allusion to some connexion between Agrippa I., the Roman people, and the Senate. It was certainly struck on the alliance of Agrippa I. with Claudius, when all Herod's kingdom was given to him, and a league made, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the Forum of the city of Rome.²



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 2. Æ. 7. C ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Ε . . . Head of Claudius to the right, laureated? | ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ . . . Two figures within a distyle temple; between them a figure seated. |
|---|--|

("Trésor," pl. lx. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 110; De Saulcy, "Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, p. 27, No. 5; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 76, No. 2.)

This coin probably represents a ceremony taking place in the temple of the god Marna at Gaza. We read in the Life of St. Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza,³ "that there were in Gaza eight temples, of the Sun, of Venus, of Apollo, of Proserpine, and of Hecate; that

¹ Fuller particulars concerning these various readings will be found in my papers—"Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. pp. 69-76; 1879, vol. xix. pp. 20-21. An electrotyp in Dr. Babington's collection, and one of the best that I have seen, seems to give the following words and letters; *outer circle*—ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΚΛΗΤΟΝ . . . Α';

inner circle—ΗΜ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ · Κ · ΕΥΜ · ΧΙ · ΑΥ.

² "Ὁρκὶς τε αὐτῇ τέμνεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει. Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 5, 1.

³ "Acta Sanctorum," vol. v. p. 655, quoted by Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 450.

which is called Hieron, or of the Priests,¹ that of Fortune of the city, called *Τυχέιον*, and that of *Marnion*, which, they say, is the *Cretan-born Jupiter*, and which they consider to be more glorious than any other temple in existence. . . . They also call *Marna* the rain-producing god. Indeed, they say *Marna* is *Jupiter*." Stephanus also states² "there is a temple of the Cretan Jove among them, which in our time also they call *Marna*, that is, born in Crete (*Κρηταγενή*)."³

There cannot, therefore, be much doubt that there was at Gaza a temple dedicated to the god *Marna*, who, according to the statements of the writers above quoted, was the same as the Cretan Jupiter.⁴

OBVERSE.

3. Æ. II. Head of Claudius.

REVERSE.

ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ. ΑΓΡΙΠ. ΤΙΒΕΡΙΕΩΝ within a wreath.

(Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 492, from Vaillant; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 110; De Saulcy, "Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, p. 27, No. 8; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 78, No. 3.)

Tiberias was the name of the city built on the Lake of Gennesareth by Herod Antipas.⁵ It came to Agrippa I. in A.D. 40, when Caius conferred upon him the dominions of Herod Antipas.

This piece is not alluded to by De Saulcy in his work on the "Num. de la Terre Sainte."

HEROD AGRIPPA I. AND AGRIPPA II.



OBVERSE.

* Æ. . . . ΛΕΥΣ ΑΓ Head of Agrippa I. to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΥΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Agrippa II. on horseback, cantering to right. In the field, under the belly of the horse, L. B.

(De Saulcy, "Rev. Num." 1864, p. 394, pl. xvi. No. 9; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 111; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 78.)

¹ De Saulcy, who quotes this passage ("Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 209), gives this sentence as "celui qu'on appelait Hieron ('*Ἱέρων* (?) ou '*Ἱραίων* (?) de Junon)."

² In Γδζα.

³ The title ΖΕΥΣ ΚΡΗΤΑΓΕΝΗΣ occurs on the Greek Imperial coins of Crete (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. ii. p. 301).

⁴ *Marna* is identified with the Syrian *mar* (ܡܪ), found scores of times in the Talmud in the signification of Lord with the Arabic suffix *na* (ن) instead of the Chaldee *on*, "our." It means therefore "our Lord," and would thus be only another name for Baal (בעל), and consequently a fit Syriac rendering of Jupiter ("Jewish Chronicle," Feb. 9th, 1866). On several of the coins of Hadrian struck at Gaza there is the legend ΓΑΖΑ ΜΑΡΝΑ, with the type "Apollo and Diana

in a distyle temple" (De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," pp. 216-222, pl. xi. No. 4), and on other coins of Gaza there is a Phœnician *mem*, evidently the initial of the Phœnician name of the god *Marna*. De Saulcy has published (*op. cit.* p. 210, note) a very curious passage on this subject, which was pointed out to him by M. François Lenormant. The passage, which is taken from the fragment of Damascius (ed. Ruelle, p. 97, Fragm. 3), runs as follows:—Τό τε ὀνομαζόμενον, ὃ ἐστὶν εὐθεῖα ὁρῆ μία, καὶ τρεῖς πλάγιοι ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ἥ τε κορυφαία καὶ δύο μετ' αὐτὴν . . . παρὰ Γαζαίους τοῦ Διός, and De Saulcy adds, "on voit que c'est la description rigoureusement exacte du *mem* phénicien, initiale du mot *Marna*, dont le sens littéral est 'notre seigneur.'" ⁵ See p. 118, Sect. C. HEROD ANTIPAS.

This coin is described by Wise,¹ who saw it in the hands of a friend, David Bosanquet. There is a woodcut given of it, and it somewhat resembles the coins of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, king of Commagene, on which his two sons (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΥΙΟΙ) Epiphanes and Callinicus are represented on horseback.² Agrippa I. appears to have entertained this Antiochus and other kings at Tiberias.³ A similar coin is described by Mionnet⁴ from Sestini,⁵ and attributed to Anthedon-Agrippias.⁶ This rare piece is in the collection of M. A. Parent.⁷

The date L. B refers to Agrippa I. The second year of Agrippa I. would be A.D. 38–39. We know from Josephus⁸ that Agrippa II. was seventeen years of age on the death of his father in A.D. 44, so that at the time when this coin was issued he must have been a boy of about twelve years of age.

G. HEROD, KING OF CHALCIS, A.D. 41—A.D. 48.

There are no coins of Herod, king of Chalcis, struck in Judæa,⁹ those given to him in my "Jewish Coinage" having, as we have seen (under Sect. A. HEROD I., No. 22), been restored to Herod I.

He died in A.D. 48;¹⁰ and his kingdom was given to his nephew Agrippa II. by the Emperor Claudius.

H. AGRIPPA II., A.D. 48—A.D. 100.

Agrippa II. was the son of Herod Agrippa I. and Cypros. At the time of his father's death, in A.D. 44, he was only seventeen years of age, and was at Rome, being educated under the Emperor Claudius. At first, Claudius was disposed to send the young Agrippa to succeed his father in the kingdom, but being persuaded that he was too young to undertake the cares of a large kingdom, he decided to commit the government of Agrippa II. to the supervision of a procurator, Cuspius Fadus.¹¹

In the eighth year of Claudius, which fell between the 25th of January, A.D. 48, and the 25th of January, A.D. 49, the uncle of Agrippa II., Herod, King of Chalcis, died, leaving

¹ "Catalogue of Coins in the Bodleian Library," Oxford, 1750, p. 118.

² Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. pp. 258, 492.

³ Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 8, 1.

⁴ "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 364, No. 21.

⁵ "Lett. Num. Cont." t. vi. p. 103, No. 2.

⁶ See a coin of Agrippa I. p. 134.

⁷ De Saulcy, "Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, p. 27, No. 9.

⁸ Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 9, 1.

⁹ On his coins struck in Chalcis he calls himself ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΣ (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 492).

¹⁰ Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 5, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6.

¹¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 9, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6.

three sons: Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife Mariamne, daughter of Joseph (nephew of Herod), and of Olympias (the daughter of Herod I. by Malthace); and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, both of whom he had by his second wife Bernice, his niece (daughter of Agrippa I.). Claudius set aside these children and conferred the kingdom of Chalcis on Agrippa II.¹

Four years later Claudius, having completed the 12th year of his reign (25th January, A.D. 53), took from Agrippa II. the kingdom of Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof for four years, and gave him instead the tetrarchy of Philip II., Batanea, Trachonitis, and Abila, which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias.² This took place about February, A.D. 53.

On the 13th October, A.D. 54, Claudius died and Nero succeeded him.

Nero in the first year of his reign (A.D. 54-55) gave to Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, the government of Lesser Armenia, and bestowed upon Agrippa II. a certain part of Galilee, the cities of Tiberias and Taricheæ, with Julias, a city of Peræa, and fourteen villages near it.³

About A.D. 60, Agrippa II. and Bernice his sister—concerning the nature of whose equivocal intercourse with each other there had been some grave animadversions, resulting in Bernice persuading Polemo, king of Cilicia, to marry her⁴—paid a visit to the Roman governor Festus, at Cæsarea. It was before them that Paul made his famous speech which drew forth the ironical and contemptuous answer, "Thou wilt *soon* persuade me to be a Christian."⁵

After the decease of Festus, which took place probably about the end of A.D. 61,⁶ Albinus was sent to Judæa as Procurator, and, according to Josephus,⁷ it was about this time that Agrippa II. much enlarged the city of Cæsarea-Philippi, calling it *Neronias*, in honour of the Emperor Nero.

The first Jewish war commenced in the second year of the government of Gessius Florus and the twelfth year of Nero,⁸ and Josephus states⁹ that the twelfth year of Nero was the seventeenth year of Agrippa II.

It will therefore be necessary to examine here the question of the dates recorded in the passages of Josephus, as there is evidently some confusion in their details.

Agrippa II. is king of Chalcis in the eighth year of Claudius. The eighth year of Claudius commenced 25th of January, A.D. 48, and ended 25th of January, A.D. 49.

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 5, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 1.

² Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 7, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 8.

³ Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 8, 4; "Bell. Jud." ii. 13, 2. In this last passage Josephus mentions Abila, but it had already been given to Agrippa II. by Claudius (see note 2).

⁴ Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 7, 3. Cf. Juvenal, "Sat." vi. 158.

⁵ The Authorized Version (Acts xxvi. 28) has—"Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian" (see Conybeare and Howson, "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 367, note; T. Lewin, "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 178, note; Dr. Jacobson, "Speaker's Com." N.T. vol. ii. p. 520). Dr. Farrar ("Life and Work of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 359, note) writes, "You are trying to

persuade me off-hand to be a Christian—ἐν ὀλίγῳ 'in brief,' 'in few words,' (cf. προέγραψα ἐν ὀλίγῳ, Ephes. iii. 3), 'tout d'un coup.' It cannot mean 'almost,' which would be πᾶρ ὀλίγον or ὀλίγου δεῖ."

⁶ See CHAPTER VII.

⁷ Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 9, 4.

⁸ Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 11, 1.

⁹ Προσελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, ἑπτακαίδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππας βασιλείας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 4. The month *Artemisius* here alluded to corresponds to April—May, A.D. 66.

The first year of Nero commenced 13th of October, A.D. 54, and ended 13th of October A.D. 55. Consequently the *twelfth year* of Nero commenced 13th of October, A.D. 65, and ended 13th of October, A.D. 66.

If then the month of April, A.D. 66, was included in the seventeenth year of Agrippa II., we shall find by counting back that the month of April of the first year of Agrippa II. would be the month of April, A.D. 50, from which it is clear that the first year of Agrippa II. *could not be* the eighth of Claudius, which was included between 25th of January, A.D. 48, and 25th of January, A.D. 49.

We should therefore perhaps read in Josephus "in the ninth year," instead of "in the eighth."

Chalcis was, however, taken away from Agrippa II. when he had been governor *four years*. This took place, as we have already shown, about February, A.D. 53, at the commencement of the thirteenth year of Claudius. The thirteenth year of Claudius commenced 25th of January, A.D. 53, and four years anterior to that would give us A.D. 49 for the commencement of the reign of Agrippa II. at Chalcis.

Were we then to retain the words of Josephus "in the *eighth year* of Claudius" in one passage, we should perhaps read in the other "the *eighteenth year* of Agrippa," instead of "the seventeenth."

A comparative table¹ will better elucidate the bearings of the above statements:—

	A.D.	
25th January,		
8th year of Claudius—	48—1	Agrippa II. succeeds Herod, king of Chalcis, at the close of A.D. 48.
9th " "	49—2 1	
10th " "	50—3 2	
11th " "	51—4 3	
12th " "	52—5 4	
13th " "	53—6 5	—end of the royalty of Chalcis after four years' government.
	54	
13th October,		
1st year of Nero —	—7 6	
2nd " "	55—8 7	
3rd " "	56—9 8	
4th " "	57—10 9	
5th " "	58—11 10	
6th " "	59—12 11	
7th " "	60—13 12	
8th " "	61—14 13	
9th " "	62—15 14	
10th " "	63—16 15	
11th " "	64—17 16	
12th " "	65—18 17	April, A.D. 66 (Ἀπριμίου μηνός) Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 4.
	66	

¹ See also the GENERAL TABLE at end of this section.

All circumstances considered, it seems better to correct the words of Josephus, "in the eighth year of Claudius," to "the *ninth year* of Claudius," and to assume that the ninth year of Claudius, *i.e.* between January, A.D. 49, and January, A.D. 50, was the first year of Agrippa's reign at Chalcis. This era ended four years after, in A.D. 53. The seventeenth year of Agrippa II. would in this case correspond to the twelfth year of Nero.¹

About February, A.D. 53, commenced the era of the tetrarchy of Philip.

The era of the actual kingdom of Agrippa II. (or, as I called it in my "Jewish Coinage," the "era of Tiberias") commenced, according to De Saulcy, in A.D. 55, when the addition was made to his territory. Whether Agrippa II. did commence counting this era in A.D. 55, or at a later date, will be discussed presently in these pages.

In A.D. 67, Vespasian conducted the Jewish war which Nero had committed to him. In the month of Artemisius (April—May), A.D. 67,² he entered Galilee, and after forty-eight days' siege took Iotapata, on the fifth day of the month Panemus (June—July), in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, A.D. 67.³ On the fourth day of the same month Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, and from thence proceeded to Cæsarea. Joppa was then taken.⁴ Shortly after Vespasian removed from Cæsarea and went to Cæsarea-Philippi, where he spent twenty days with Agrippa II.⁵

Tiberias and Tarichææ, both of which cities formed part of the kingdom of Agrippa II., were next attacked by Vespasian "for the sake of Agrippa," as Josephus says.⁶ Tiberias soon surrendered, and Tarichææ yielded on the 8th of Gorpæus (August—September).⁷ Vespasian made a present of many of the prisoners to Agrippa II.⁸

Agrippa II. had for seven months been laying siege to Gamala when Vespasian came to his assistance. Shortly after Agrippa II. was wounded in the right elbow by a sling-stone.⁹ Gamala was taken the 23rd of the month Hyperberetæus (September—October), A.D. 67.

No place in Galilee now remained but the small city of Gischala, and this surrendered to Titus.

About February, A.D. 68, Vespasian entered Gadara,¹⁰ and about May, Jericho.¹¹ Vespasian then returned to Cæsarea, where he heard of the death of Nero and of the accession of Galba.¹² Vespasian immediately sent his son Titus to Galba, to receive his commands as to the Jewish war; Agrippa II. accompanied him. On their way, at Corinth, they heard of the death of Galba¹³ and that Otho had succeeded him. Titus returned to his father, and Agrippa II.

¹ De Saulcy ("Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, p. 37) has arrived at very similar conclusions. See Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 105, *note*. The Rev. H. Browne, writer of the article "Chronology," in Kitto's "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature" (ed. Alexander), referring to the succession of Agrippa II. to his uncle's dominions and to the passage in Josephus ("Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 4), says that "for *ἐπτακαίδέκατος* we must read *ἐννεακαίδέκατος*;" but if any alteration should be made in this passage of Josephus, it should surely be to "*δωδεκαίδέκατος*," as the TABLE shows.

² Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iii. 7, 3.

³ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iii. 7, 36.

⁴ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iii. 9, 1-4.

⁵ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iii. 9, 7.

⁶ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." *loc. cit.*

⁷ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iii. 10, 10.

⁸ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." *loc. cit.*

⁹ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iv. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁰ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iv. 7, 3.

¹¹ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iv. 8, 1.

¹² Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iv. 9, 2.

¹³ Galba was killed January 15, A.D. 69 (Clinton, "F. R." vol. i. p. 52).

continued his journey to Rome.¹ During this year (A.D. 69) the Jewish war was partially suspended and Jerusalem was left to the factions of John and the Zealots, and of Simon.²

Otho, who reigned only ninety-five days, died, and Vitellius, who was in Gaul, was chosen emperor.³ He reigned only eight months and five days, and was slain on December 22nd, A.D. 69.

Meanwhile Vespasian, on the fifth day of the month Dæsius (May—June), A.D. 69, marched against those places which were not yet overthrown, and left nothing to the Jews but Herodium, Masada, Machærus, and Jerusalem.⁴ After these successes, Vespasian again returned to Cæsarea, and there heard of the troubles at Rome and of the election of Vitellius.⁵

Of the election of Vespasian, it is necessary to say more than simply to record the fact.

According to the testimony of Tacitus,⁶ Vespasian was elected emperor at Alexandria on the 1st of July (*Kal. Jul.*), A.D. 69, and in Judæa, where he then was, on the 3rd of July (*quinto nonas Julias*), and shortly after, before July 15 (*ante idus Julias*), through all Syria. Suetonius⁷ makes the same statement as regards the election at Alexandria on the *Kal. Jul.*, but with respect to the election in Judæa, says *quinto idus Julias* (July 11). The date given by Tacitus (July 1) is considered to be the correct one.⁸ Josephus, on the other hand, relates⁹ that when Vespasian had overthrown all the places near to Jerusalem he returned to Cæsarea, and there heard that Vitellius was elected emperor. Vespasian and his army were indignant, and the soldiers at a large meeting declared Vespasian emperor, threatening him with death if he refused to accept the dignity. Upon this he wrote to Tiberius Alexander, the governor of Egypt and Alexandria (who had formerly—from A.D. 46 to A.D. 48—been procurator of Judæa¹⁰), asking his support, and the day on which Tiberius Alexander administered the oath to the soldiers, namely, the Kalends of July, A.D. 69, is considered to be the beginning of the reign of Vespasian.

The Jewish war, ending with the destruction of Jerusalem, was concluded by Titus in A.D. 70.

Agrippa II., who resided at Rome after the destruction of Jerusalem, is said to have received the honours of the prætorship and an accession of territory from Vespasian.¹¹ He died at Rome in the third year of the reign of the Emperor Trajan, A.D. 100.¹²

Agrippa II. was the last Jewish prince of the Herodian line.

¹ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iv. 9, 2; Tac. "Hist." i. 10; ii. 1, 2, 4. Whether Agrippa II. saw Otho or Vitellius who succeeded him, I cannot say, and he returned to Syria to join Vespasian some time in A.D. 69 ("Mox per occultos suorum nuntios excitus ab urbe Agrippa, ignaro adhuc Vitellio, celeri navigatione properaverat."—Tac. "Hist." ii. 81).

² Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 155, *seq.* See CHAPTER VIII.

³ Vitellius entered Rome before 18th July, A.D. 69 (Tac. "Hist." ii. 91; Suet. "Vitell." 11).

⁴ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iv. 9, 9.

⁵ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iv. 10, 2.

⁶ "Hist." ii. 79-81.

⁷ "Vesp." 6.

⁸ See notes by Lipsius, Ernestius and Pagius to passages quoted; Clinton, "F. R." vol. i. p. 56; Lewin, "Fasti Sacri," p. 355.

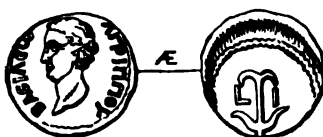
⁹ "Bell. Jud." iv. 10, 1-6.

¹⁰ See CHAPTER VII. This Alexander was afterwards a great friend of Titus and was made a general of the army under him (Joseph. "Bell. Jud." v. 1, 6), and was present at the capture of Jerusalem (Joseph. "Bell. Jud." vi. 4, 3).

¹¹ Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," 4th ed. 1866, vol. ii. p. 394; Mason, in Smith's "Dict. of Biog." vol. i. p. 78.

¹² Παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, ἠβέηθη δὲ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιάνου, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἔτει τρίτῳ Τραϊάνου

AGRIPPA II. WITHOUT THE NAME OF EMPEROR.



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

* Æ. 4. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ. Head of L. I (year 10). An anchor.
Agrippa II. to the left, laureated(?).

(Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 178; Madden, "Num. Chron." 1876, vol. xv. p. 110; cf. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 274; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 115; and De Saulcy, "Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num." 1869, p. 28, A. No. 1.)

Remarks on the Coins of Agrippa II. without the name of Emperor.

The year 10 of the "era of Chalcis" answers to A.D. 58-59.

The year 10 of the "era of Philip" corresponds to A.D. 62-63.

The year 10 of the "kingdom of Agrippa" (De Saulcy) is A.D. 64-65, or of the "era of Tiberias," A.D. 70-71.

To which of these years shall the coin be assigned?

Mr. Reichardt,¹ when he first published this coin, assumed that Agrippa II. counted the years of his reign from his father's death in A.D. 44, but that he did not take the government at once till Claudius, in A.D. 53 (being the tenth year of his, Agrippa's, reign), bestowed upon him the title of king, on which occasion he thought himself entitled to cause coins to be struck in his name as king.

I have already stated² that I do not agree with the date given by Mr. Reichardt, and that I did not consider that Agrippa II. commenced counting the years of his reign till he succeeded his uncle Herod, king of Chalcis, at the close of A.D. 48.

—Phot. "Cod." 33. Trajan, when in Germany, was adopted by Nerva in A.D. 97 (Victor, "Epit." p. 370; Plin. "Paneg." c. 8). Nerva died three months after, January 25, A.D. 98, when Trajan succeeded him. In A.D. 99 Trajan returned to Rome. His third year of government will therefore be A.D. 100. Froelich ("Reg. Vet." p. 95) is also of opinion that Agrippa II. died about A.D. 100. He says: "Enimvero . . . ex alio Josephi ipsius testimonio Lib. xviii. Antiquit. C. V. pag. 885 [xviii. 5, 3] satis certo deducimus; proxime circa annum æræ Christi 100, Agrippam II. vitam finisse; ita habet de Herodis Magni posteris, Εἴγε ἐπὶ τὸς ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν ἐξέδου συνέβη, πλὴν ὀλίγων, πολλοὶ δ' ἦσαν, διαφθερῆναι τοὺς Ἡρώδου ἀπογόνους. Herodes obiit anno ante æram Christi quarto; si igitur posterius Herodis,

præter paucos, intra sæculum obiere; inter paucos illos utique Agrippa II. fuit, quem ὁστρετον (postremum) Herodiadum regnantium appellat Justus Tiberiensis, . . . qui itaque post sæculum, ab Herodis obitu, decessit; igitur circa annum centesimum æræ Christianæ." De Saulcy ("Num. de la Terre Sainte," 1874) in one passage (p. 316) says that Agrippa II. died in A.D. 99, and in another (p. 335) in A.D. 100. Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 356, No. 2111) assigns his death to A.D. 99. Tillemont (quoted by Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 496) places his death in A.D. 93. I do not know on what authority.

¹ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 274.

² "Jew. Coinage," p. 115.

Of the four different dates to which this piece could be assigned, I am inclined to think, as I thought in 1864,¹ that the year 10 refers to the tenth year of the "Chalcian era," A.D. 58, for the reason, that the right of striking coins with the head of Agrippa II. must have been peremptorily put a stop to, as in the next year, A.D. 59, and in all future years, his coins bear either the head of a town or the head of a reigning emperor.

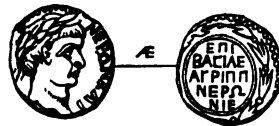
I do not, therefore, think that this coin was issued as late as A.D. 62-63, A.D. 64-65, or A.D. 70-71.

Still, this opinion is purely conjectural.

AGRIPPA II. WITH OR WITHOUT THE NAME OF NERO.

- | OBSERVE. | REVERSE. |
|---|--|
| 1. Æ. 6. Legend lost. Head of Nero to the right, laureated; in front, the <i>lituus</i> . | ΕΠΙ-ΒΑΣΙΛΕ-ΑΓΡΙΠΠ-ΝΕΡΩ-ΝΙΕ (Νερωιδεύς)
within an olive crown. |
| ("Trésor," pl. lx. No. 13; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 116, No. 1; De Saulcy, ² p. 28, B. No. 1; Madden, "Num. Chron." <i>loc. cit.</i> p. 112, No. 1.) | |

- | OBSERVE. | REVERSE. |
|--|-----------------------|
| 2. Æ. 4. ΝΕΡΩΝ. Head of Nero to the right, laureated. | Same legend and type. |
| ("Trésor," pl. lx. No. 14; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 116, No. 2; De Saulcy, p. 28, B. No. 2; Madden, "Num. Chron." <i>loc. cit.</i> No. 2. De Saulcy adds that he cannot see on this coin, as I had formerly given, the word CEBACTOC). | |

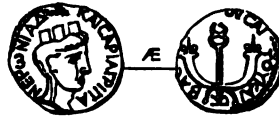


- | OBSERVE. | REVERSE. |
|--|-----------------------|
| 3. Æ. 2½. ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ . . . Head of Nero to the right, laureated. | Same legend and type. |
| (British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 116, No. 3; De Saulcy, p. 28, B. No. 3; Madden, "Num. Chron." <i>loc. cit.</i> No. 3.) | |

¹ "Jew. Coinage," p. 116.

² References, except when otherwise stated, are to De Saulcy's paper, "On the Coins of the Agrippas," in the "Mém. de la

Soc. Franç. de Num. et d'Arch." p. 26 *seq.* Paris, 1862; cf. Madden, "Supplement to Hist. of Jewish Coinage," in "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 101 *seq.*



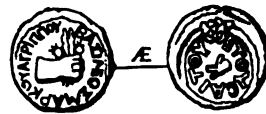
OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

4. Æ. 3. ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑΔ . . ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΑΓΡΙΠΑ.

BAC. [ΑΓΡ. ΕΤ]ΟΥΣ ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣ. Two
cornua-copiae; between them a caduceus.

Turreted female head to the right.

(Formerly in the Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 117, No. 4; De Saulcy, p. 28, A. No. 2; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 4.)

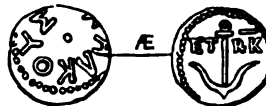
OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

5. Æ. 3. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ (sic) ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΙ ΤΟΥ within a circle, and around
the monogram ΚΑ (ΚΑ = ΚΑΙ ΚΑ).

Hand holding ears of corn and poppy-heads.

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 117, No. 5; "Trésor," pl. lx. No. 15; Cavedoni, "Num. Bibl." [Italian work], pl. i. No. 6; De Saulcy, p. 28, A. No. 3; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 5; Coll. of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

6. Æ. 3. ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ round a dot.

ΕΤ. ΚΑ. Anchor.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 120, No. 6.)

Remarks on the Coins of Agrippa II. with or without the name of Nero.

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are undated. Nos. 4 and 5 bear a double date ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣ.,—i.e. "year XI., which is also VI."

Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 were struck at Cæsarea-Philippi, a town, as we have already mentioned, to which Agrippa II. gave the name of *Neronias* about A.D. 60-61.

No. 5 has not the name of the town in which it was struck. In all probability it was also issued at *Neronias*. From this coin we learn that Agrippa II. assumed the name of *Marcus* from Marcus Agrippa.

With respect to the date of issue of Nos. 4 and 5, De Saulcy, (p. 48) says:—"Il n'y a pas à hésiter, l'an XI. de l'ère de Chalcis se répartit sur les années 59 et 60; l'an VI. de la royauté définitive sur les années 60 et 61. C'est donc dans l'année 60 que nos deux jolies

petites monnaies d'Agrippa II. ont été frappées à Césarée de Philippe," and adds in a *note*:—"Il ne peut être ici question, comme le croit Madden, d'une année de Néron et d'une année d'Agrippa II."

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are consequently also classed by De Sauley to A.D. 60.

It may now be as well to say a few words respecting the "ère de la royauté définitive d'Agrippa II.," which De Sauley makes to commence in A.D. 55, when Agrippa II. received from Nero Galilee, Tiberias, Taricheæ, Julias of Peræa, with other villages of Peræa.

It will be remembered that from certain coins of Domitian bearing the date ET. KS (year 26), and the designation of the twelfth consulship (Cos. XII.), it was thought that the true commencement of the era "*de la royauté définitive*" (or, as I called it, "*the era of Tiberias*") was in the eighth year of Nero, A.D. 61.¹

These coins of Domitian, which will be found described in their proper place,² are, however, considered by De Sauley to have no connexion with the "*era of Agrippa II.*," but with a "*special era of the town of Neronias*," and he has consequently based his arrangement of a portion of the series on the commencement of Agrippa's era from A.D. 55.

But the coins, with or without the name of Nero, above described (Nos. 1 to 5), although *undoubtedly struck at Neronias*, are not assigned by De Sauley to the *special era of Neronias*, but to the *era of Chalcis*. And why?

Because the "year XI., which is also VI.," could not possibly belong to an era the eleventh year of which would be in A.D. 71.

I quite agree with De Sauley that the "year XI." refers to the Chalcian era, A.D. 59-60, but if the coins of Domitian above alluded to can be considered as fixing the correct period of commencement of the "*era of Agrippa*," then I am still of opinion that the "year VI." is the *sixth year* of Nero, A.D. 59-60.³

Further discussion of the dates on these coins of Domitian will be given *in loco*.

As to No. 6, this interesting little coin has been assigned by Cavedoni⁴ to Agrippa II. He says, "The year R K, that is 26,⁵ of this Χαλκοῦς coin, if it denotes a year of the reign of Agrippa II., coincides with A.D. 73 [read A.D. 74], at which time nothing but ruins remained of the Temple, but this small piece of money might very well have served for the offerings which the Jews were compelled to bring every Sabbath to the synagogue during the reign of Agrippa." This attribution, though not proved, is not improbable, as the type of

¹ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 131.

² See under Domitian, Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14.

³ The double date receives some confirmation from the tetradrachms of Antioch marked with the year of the reign of Nero below those of the Cæsarean era (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 281; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 118, *note* 8). Prof. Mommsen is of opinion ("Num. Zeits." vol. iii. p. 449, 1872, Wien) that the ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ Ω (6) may be referred to the "sixth year of Agrippa II.," dating from the era commencing in A.D. 61, and therefore that it is equivalent to A.D. 66. For the other date, he supposes that it may be reckoned from an

"unknown era," commencing in A.D. 56, in which year he suggests that the change of name from Cæsarea to Neronias may have taken place, and therefore that the ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΙ (11) is also equivalent to A.D. 66. Cf. Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1879, vol. xix. p. 21.

⁴ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 39. Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." iii. p. 286) has suggested that it may belong to Commagene.

⁵ The proposal of Mr. Conder ("Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 99; cf. "Handbook to the Bible," p. 25) to read this date ΡΚ=120 of the Seleucid era, cannot be entertained (Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1874, vol. xiv. p. 301).

the anchor is of common occurrence on the coins of Herod I., and may even be found on a coin of Agrippa II. without the name of Emperor (p. 144). The word ΧΑΛΚΟΥΞ has been supposed by Sestini¹ to indicate rather the name of a magistrate than the name of a coin, since, says this writer, we ought to have ΧΑΛΚΟΝ and not ΧΑΛΚΟΥΞ in the nominative case, but Eckhel² has rightly argued that χαλκοῦς is the proper nominative, and quotes the authority of Pausanias,³ who, speaking of the people of Pharæ (on the left bank of the *Kamenitsa*, near *Prevezó*⁴), says that they have a country coinage and call it *chalcus* (νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον, καλεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς τὸ νόμισμα). There cannot be the slightest doubt that the word χαλκοῦς on this coin indicates the name of the piece.⁵

AGRIPPA II. WITH THE NAME OF VESPASIAN.



OBVERSE.

1. Æ. 8. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΒΑΣΤΩ
(sic). Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

- ΕΤ. ΔΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Deity with *modius* on head standing to left, holding ears of corn and cornucopiae.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 121, No. 1; cf. "Trésor," pl. lxi. No. 1; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 114, No. 1. The specimen published by De Saulcy, p. 28, C. No. 1, has the obverse legend ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑ. ΣΒΑΣΤΩ.)



OBVERSE.

2. Pot. 7. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ
ΣΒΑΣΤ. Type as No. 1. Small head as countermark on neck.

REVERSE.

- ΕΤΟΥ. ΗΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Type as No. 1.

("Trésor," pl. lxi. No. 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 122, No. 3; De Saulcy, p. 29, C. No. 2, who says that the piece is of *potin* and not Æ.; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 115, No. 2.)

¹ "Lettre," vol. i. p. 53.

² "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 286.

³ Lib. vii. c. 22.

⁴ Smith's "Dict. of Geography," s.v. Pharæ.

⁵ Another specimen of this coin is in the Hunter Museum. Three other coins are known with the word χαλκοῦς on them,

and they probably belong to Antioch in Syria (Pellerin, "Lettre," ii. pl. iv. 2; Hunter, pl. 68). Two of them have on the obverse a female head and one a male laureated head (perhaps Nero); two of them have the date ΔΙΡ, and all three have on the reverse a quiver and bow (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 286).



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

3. Æ. 8. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙ ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΣ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠ[Α]. Type as No. 1.
ΑΤΩ. Type as No. 1.

(Cabinet des Médailles, Paris; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 122, No. 4, from an impression received from M. Cohen; cf. De Saulcy, p. 29, C. No. 3; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 3; a second example in Paris has the obverse legend ΑΥΤ . . ΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ., and on the reverse a crescent above the right arm of the goddess; a third in the British Museum reads ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

4. Æ. 8. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΖ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Type as No. 1.
ΣΕΒΑΣΤ. Type as No. 1. Star above the right arm of the goddess.

("Trésor," pl. lxi. No. 4; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 123, No. 5; De Saulcy, p. 29, C. No. 4; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 4.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

5. Æ. 7. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑ ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ (*sic*). Type as No. 1.
ΑΤΩ. Type as No. 1.

("Trésor," pl. lxi. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 123, No. 6; De Saulcy, p. 29, C. No. 5, who adds: "Un exemplaire entre mes mains porte ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ;" Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 5.)

With respect to this coin, De Saulcy says that "Le No. 3 de Madden, p. 125, attribué à Titus, doit être notre No. 5 [the coin No. 5, above described] de Vespasien.—('Trésor,' pl. lxi. No. 6, avec L. ΚΘ ΒΑ. Nous ne savons d'où sort cette pièce)."

The No. 3 to which De Saulcy makes allusion was published by me from a specimen in the British Museum. There are no traces on it either of ΤΙΤΩ or ΟΥΕC. Nor can anything certain be gathered from the portrait, though I was of opinion that it was more like the face of Titus. Moreover, I felt corroborated in my views from the fact of a similar coin being engraved in the "Trésor" (pl. lxi. No. 6), but with the legend L. ΚΘ ΒΑ. *The obverse legend of this coin is clearly drawn* ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC., but the reverse legend, which is given as L. ΚΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ, is so obscure, that it is quite impossible to distinguish any portion of it with certainty.

The *reverse type*, though, of both these coins—i.e. that described by me, and that described in the "Trésor"—is "*Victory to the right, holding wreath and palm-branch*," whilst the type given by De Saulcy (No. 5) is *the goddess with modius*.

Moreover, there is no reason why coins of Titus with the date L. ΚΘ, or ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ should not exist, as we shall see later [see under ΤΙΤΟΥS, Nos. 9 and 10].

Remarks on the Coins of Agrippa II. with the name of Vespasian.

DE SAULCY'S ARRANGEMENT (p. 49).—No. 1, with the date ΕΤ. ΔΙ, year 14 of the "ère définitive," was struck immediately after the election of Vespasian—i.e. in the month of July, A.D. 69, probably at the metropolis of one of Agrippa's tetrarchies.

No. 2, with the date ΕΤΟΥ. ΗΙ, year 18 of the same era, was struck at the same town between the years A.D. 72 and 73.

No. 3, bearing the date ΕΤΟΥ. ΚS (year 26), in the same town, and certainly during the lifetime of Vespasian; but it cannot be dated from the "ère définitive," but from the "era of Chalcis," and represents A.D. 74–75.

No. 4, dated ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΖ (year 27), is also dated from the "era of Chalcis," and was struck in A.D. 75–76.

No. 5, ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ (year 29), dated from the same era, and was issued in A.D. 77–78, the year that preceded the death of Vespasian.

De Saulcy also observes that the two groups are distinct in the manner of marking the dates. In the former the units precede the tens, in the latter the tens precede the units.

MY ARRANGEMENT.—No. 1, date ΕΤ. ΔΙ (year 14). Similar coins with this date are known of Titus (L. ΙΔ) and Domitian (L. ΙΔ), which are described *in loco*.

All are attributed by De Saulcy to A.D. 69.

It may be remarked that on the coin of Titus there are the titles of *Autokrator* and *Sebastos*, which might lead one to suppose that it was not issued till after the death of

Vespasian in A.D. 79, but there is no era giving that date to which it could possibly be assigned, and it is more than likely that, as Titus was associated with his father in the tribunitian power, and made *Imperator* in A.D. 71,¹ that he was considered in Syria to be the real colleague of Vespasian, and to participate in all the Imperial honours.

I am not, however, of De Sauley's opinion respecting the date of issue of these pieces.

In A.D. 68, on the death of Nero, as I have above shown, Agrippa II. accompanied Titus on their way to Rome to receive orders from Galba about the prosecution of the war against the Jews. On the road they heard of the death of Galba and of the accession of Otho, and whilst Agrippa II. continued his journey to Rome, Titus returned to his father.

Did Agrippa II. return to Vespasian without seeing Otho or Vitellius, and could he have been with him so early as July, A.D. 69, when Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor? I cannot with certainty say.²

In any case it seems to me excessively improbable that coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, with the name of Agrippa II., should have been issued at the very moment when Vespasian was elected Emperor, and in the very midst of the excitement taking place at this time.

When the Jewish war was concluded, in A.D. 70, and matters were more settled in Palestine and at Rome, Vespasian is said to have presented Agrippa II. with additions to his territory, and I am therefore the more inclined to think that the coins of Domitian with the dates ET. KS and COS. XII., and to which I shall allude in their proper place, give us the standard of an era to which many of the coins of Agrippa II. may be assigned.

Assuming this to be the case, the coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, with the dates ET. ΔI, and L. ΙΔ were struck in A.D. 74-75.

I do not think that anything can be gathered from the difference of the expression for the word "year"—ET. and L.

No. 2. Date ETOY. HI (year 18). This belongs to the same era as the previous coins, and, according to my theory, should be assigned to A.D. 78-79.

No. 3. Date ETOY. KS (year 26). I agree with De Sauley that this date must be reckoned from the "Chalcian era," and that the coin was issued in A.D. 74-75.

No. 4. Date ETOY. KZ (year 27). Also "Chalcian era." Issued in A.D. 75-76.

No. 5. Date ETOY. KΘ (year 29). Also "Chalcian era." Issued in A.D. 77-78.³

¹ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vi. p. 351.

² See page 143, note 1.

³ It may be mentioned that Prof. Mommsen ("Num. Zeits." vol. iii. pp. 453-457, 1872, Wien) is of opinion, and so agrees with Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 495), that the coins of Vespasian and Titus, with the years 26, 27, and 29,

are *apothecastic* coins, and must have been coined *after their deaths*. "In fact," he writes, "he who could in the year 87 entitle Domitian *Δομετιανὸς Καῖσαρ* [see under Domitian], could conveniently place *divus Vespasianus* from heaven again upon earth." I do not, however, agree with this hypothesis. Cf. Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1879, vol. xix. p. 22.

AGRIPPA II. WITH THE NAME OF TITUS.



OBSERVE.

1. Æ. 7. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

L. ΙΔ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ. Deity (without modius) standing to left, holding ears of corn and cornu-copiae.

(De Saulcy [from his own collection], p. 29, D. No. 1; he adds, "No. 2 de Madden, 'Jew. Coinage,' p. 121 et 122, qui attribue faussement cette pièce à Vespasien."—"Trésor," pl. lxi. No. 2. The drawing in the "Trésor" is very indistinct, but the description given in the text of that work is ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. I do not doubt that De Saulcy's attribution is correct; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 119, No. 1.)



OBSERVE.

*2. Æ. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

L. ΙΔ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ. Victory walking to the right, holding a palm and a crown.

(Reichardt, "Numismatische Zeitschrift," 1871, p. 83 *seq.* Wien; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 2. De Saulcy, p. 29, D. No. 2, describes a variety with the legend L. ΙΔ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ. The coin is also published by Mionnet, vol. v. p. 572, No. 110; and in the "Trésor," pl. lxi. No. 7; cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 126, 127. De Saulcy publishes a barbarous piece of the same type, D. No. 3.)

OBSERVE.

3. Æ. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

ΕΤ. ΗΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ. Type as No. 2.

(Coll. of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.)



OBSERVE.

4. \AA . 7. ΑΥΤΟ ΑΣΤΟΣ. Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

ΕΤΟΥ. ΙΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Deity with modius on head standing to the left, holding ears of corn and cornucopia.

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 124, No. 1, from the specimen in Paris; De Saulcy, p. 29, D. No. 4, who reads the obverse legend ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 120, No. 3.)

OBSERVE.

5. \AA . 7. ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣ. Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

ΕΤΟΥ. Κ. ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠ. Victory walking to the right holding a crown and a palm-branch.

(Mionnet, vol. v. p. 573, No. 113; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 123, note 3; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 4; Collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, but with the date ΕΤΟ. Κ.)



OBSERVE.

6. \AA . 7. ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑ. Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

ΕΤΟ. ΚΣ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Type as No. 5; before the Victory, a star.

(Formerly Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan; British Museum; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 125, No. 2; cf. "Trésor," pl. lxi. Nos. 10, 11; De Saulcy, p. 30, D. No. 6; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 5.)

OBSERVE.

7. \AA ΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣ. Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

ΕΤΟ. ΚΣ Β. . . ΓΡΙΠΠ. Type as No. 5; a crescent above the arm which holds the crown.

(De Saulcy, p. 30, D. No. 5; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 6.)

OBSERVE.

8. \AA . 6½. ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. Τ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣ. Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

ΕΤΟ. ΚΖ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Type as No. 5; in the field, a crescent.

(Mionnet, vol. v. p. 573, No. 117; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 126, note 3; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 7.)

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
| 9. Æ . ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC. | Λ. ΚΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Type as No. 5. |
| Type as No. 1. | |

(“Trésor,” pl. lxi. No. 6; Madden, “Jew. Coinage,” p. 125; “Num. Chron.” *loc. cit.* No. 8.)



- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
| 10. Æ . 7. ΑΥΤΟΚ. CΕΒΑCΤΥ. Type | ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Type as No. 5. |
| as No. 1. | |

(British Museum: Madden, “Jew. Coinage,” p. 125, No. 3; “Num. Chron.” *loc. cit.* p. 121, No. 9.)

I have already made some remarks on Nos. 9 and 10, under “Vespasian, No. 5.” No. 9 is certainly a coin of Titus. No. 10 may be a Vespasian.

Remarks on the Coins of Agrippa II. with the name of Titus.

DE SAULCY'S ARRANGEMENT (p. 50).—No. 1, with the date Λ. ΙΔ (year 14), was struck in A.D. 69 [De Saulcy has a misprint of 79], counting from the “era of Agrippa.”

No. 2, with the same date, but a different type, belongs to the same year.

No. 4, with the date ΕΤΟΥ. ΙΘ (year 19), was struck in A.D. 73–74.

De Saulcy here remarks that perhaps we should read ΚΘ (29), and that then we should have a piece struck at the same time as the No. 5 of Vespasian, and issued at Chalcis in A.D. 77–78. He, however, modifies this view later, as specimens of the coins of Domitian, with the date ΕΤΟ. ΙΘ, are in existence.

Nos. 6 and 7, with the date ΕΤΟ. ΚS (year 26), were struck on the “Chalcian era” in A.D. 74–75.

De Saulcy observes that the “year 26” of the “era of Agrippa” corresponds to A.D. 80–81, and that one might attribute these coins to that year after the death of Vespasian. He however adds that the existence of coins of Vespasian with the same date makes him doubt the value of this last hypothesis.

MY ARRANGEMENT.—Nos. 1 and 2. Date L. ΙΔ (year 14).

I have given under Vespasian my reasons for assigning the date A.D. 74-75 to Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 3. Date ET. ΗΙ (year 18). No. 4. Date ETOY. ΙΘ (year 19). For the same reasons the coins with these dates would have been struck in A.D. 78-79 and A.D. 79-80.

No. 5. Date ETO. or ETOY. Κ (year 20). Not mentioned by De Sauley.

The coin with this date must be assigned to the same era as the previous ones, and would have been issued in A.D. 80-81, and on Sept. 13th, A.D. 81, Titus died.

Nos. 6 and 7. Date ETO. ΚΣ (year 26).

No. 8. Date ETO. ΚΖ (year 27). Not mentioned by De Sauley.

No. 9. L. ΚΘ (year 29). No. 10. ETOY. ΚΘ (year 29). See the remarks on this date under the coins of Vespasian, No. 5, and Titus, Nos. 9 and 10.

I may here remark that the arrangement of the coins of Titus (Nos. 6-10), previously adopted by me,¹ was founded upon the supposition that coins of Titus, with Agrippa II., were not issued till after the death of Vespasian in A.D. 79, and that consequently they were struck on the era commencing from the time when Agrippa II. received the tetrarchy of Philip from Claudius in A.D. 53. I at the same time suggested that it was possible they might have been issued on the "Chalcian era" during the lifetime of his father.

De Sauley gives no coins whatever to the era of the "tetrarchy of Philip."

I am now disposed to accept my former suggestion, and to consider that these coins are cotemporary with the coins of Vespasian bearing the same dates, and issued on the "Chalcian era."

ETO. ΚΣ (year 26) will therefore represent A.D. 74-75.

ETO. ΚΖ (year 27), A.D. 75-76.

L. ΚΘ (year 29), or ETOY. ΚΘ (year 29), A.D. 77-78.²

AGRIPPA II. WITH THE NAME OF DOMITIAN.



OBVERSE.

1. \mathcal{A} . 4. ΔΟΜΙΤΙ . . ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

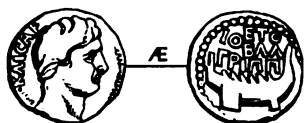
L. ΙΔ ΒΑΚ. ΑΓΡΙΠΟΥ. Victory standing to the left, writing on a shield.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 127, No. 1; cf. "Trésor," pl. lxi. No. 12; De Sauley, p. 30, E. No. 1; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 123, No. 1.)

¹ "Jew. Coinage," p. 126, and TABLE II. p. 324.

² See p. 151, note 3.

2. **OBVERSE.** Æ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟ. Type as No. 1. | **REVERSE.** ΕΤΟΥ. ΗΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Type as No. 1.
(Collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.)



3. **OBVERSE.** Æ . 3. ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Type as No. 1. | **REVERSE.** ΕΤΟ. ΙΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠ. Galley.
(“Trésor,” pl. lxi. No. 13; Madden, “Jew. Coinage,” p. 128, No. 2; De Saulcy, p. 30, E. No. 2; Madden, “Num. Chron.” *loc. cit.* No. 2.)

4. **OBVERSE.** Æ . ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Type as No. 1. | **REVERSE.** ΕΤΟ. ΚΓ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Victory standing, writing on a shield which is placed on her knee.
(Mionnet, vol. v. p. 574, No. 122; Madden, “Jew. Coinage,” p. 131, *note* 9; “Num. Chron.” *loc. cit.* No. 3.)¹



5. **OBVERSE.** Æ . 6. ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Bust of Domitian to the right, laureated, with ægis. | **REVERSE.** ΕΤΟ. ΚΔ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Victory flying to right.
(“Trésor,” pl. lxi. No. 14; Madden, “Jew. Coinage,” p. 128, No. 3; De Saulcy, p. 30, E. No. 3; Madden, “Num. Chron.” *loc. cit.* No. 4.)



6. **OBVERSE.** Æ . 4. ΔΟΜΙΤ. ΚΑΙC. ΓΕΡΜΑ. Type as No. 1. | **REVERSE.** ΕΤΟ. ΔΚ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Victory standing to right, placing left foot on helmet, and writing on shield. In *field*, to left, a crescent.
(“Trésor,” pl. lxi. No. 15; Madden, “Jew. Coinage,” p. 128, No. 4; De Saulcy, p. 30, *note* to E. No. 4; Madden, “Num. Chron.” *loc. cit.* No. 5.)

¹ De Saulcy, p. 31, in a *note* says, “Je doute fort de l’existence de cette pièce;” but he gives no reasons for his opinion.

7. Æ. A similar piece. In *field*, to right, a star. Date illegible.

("Trésor," pl. lxi. No. 9; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 129; De Saulcy, p. 30, *note* to E. No. 4; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 124, No. 6)

OBSERVE.

8. Æ. ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΓΕΡΜΑ. Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

. . Ο. ΚΔ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Type as No. 6.

(De Saulcy, p. 30, E. No. 4; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 7.)



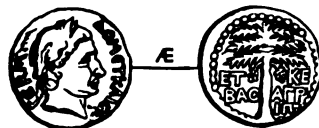
OBSERVE.

9. Æ. 4½. ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝ. Type as No 1.

REVERSE.

ΕΤΟ. ΚΔ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ within a wreath.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 129, No. 5; De Saulcy, p. 30, E. No. 6; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 8.)



OBSERVE.

10. Æ. 3½. ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΚΑΙC. ΓΕΡΜ. Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

ΕΤ. ΚΕ ΒΑC. ΑΓΡΙΠ. Palm-tree.

("Trésor," pl. lxii. No. 1; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 129, No. 6; De Saulcy, p. 30, E. No. 7; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 9. A similar piece is given by De Saulcy, p. 30, E. No. 5.)

OBSERVE.

11. Æ. 6. IMP. CAES. DIVI VESP. F. DOMITIAN . . . XII. Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

ΕΠΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡ.; in the *field*, ΕΤ. ΚΕ; below, S. C. In the *field* one side SALVTI, and on the other AVGVST. Large square altar with ornaments on the compartments of the door.

(Sestini, "Descriz. d. Med. Ant. Gr. del Mus. Hederv." t. iii. p. 120, No. 10; Mionnet, Suppl. viii. p. 380, No. 5; De Saulcy, p. 55; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 10.)

OBSERVE.

12. Æ. IM. CA. D. VESP. F. DOM. AV. GER. COS. XII. Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

SALVTI AVGVST. S.C. ΕΠΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙ. ΕΤ. KS. Altar.

(Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 494; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 11.)



OBSERVE.

13. \mathcal{A} . IM. CA. D. VES. F. DOM. AV. GER. COS. XII. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated, with ægis.

REVERSE.

- ΕΠΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙ. Two cornua-copiae; between them a caduceus. In field, ET. KS. At foot of the cornua-copiae, S. C.

(Formerly Cab. of the late Mr. Wigan; British Museum; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 130, No. 8; cf. "Trésor," pl. lxii. No. 3; De Saulcy, p. 31, E. Nos. 13 and 14; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 575, No. 130; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 12.)



OBSERVE.

14. \mathcal{A} . Legend and type as No. 13.

REVERSE.

- ΕΠΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙ. In field, S. C. In exergue ET. KS.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 130, No. 9; cf. "Trésor," pl. lxii. Nos. 4 and 5; De Saulcy, p. 31, E. No. 15; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 125, No. 13.)



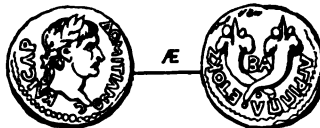
OBSERVE.

15. \mathcal{A} . 5. ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Type as No. 1. Two countermarks.

REVERSE.

- ΕΤ. ΚΣ ΒΑCΙ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Victory standing to right, placing left foot on helmet, and writing on shield.

("Trésor," pl. lxii. No. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 129, No. 7; De Saulcy, p. 31, E. No. 11, who states that he has a specimen with ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΣ ΒΑCΙ. ΑΓΡΙΠ.; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 14. De Saulcy also publishes some other varieties of this coin, E. Nos. 8 (?), 9, 10, 12, without the countermarks, one of which has a star placed between the legend ΕΤΟ. ΚΣ ΒΑ. *ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ (*sic*). There is a similar piece in the Collection of Dr. Babington.)



OBSERVE.

16. \mathcal{A} . ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

- ΕΤΟ. ΚΖ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Two cornua-copiae.

("Trésor," pl. lxii. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 131, No. 10; De Saulcy, p. 31, E. No. 16; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 15.)

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| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>17. \AA. $\Delta\text{OMITIANOC KAICAP.}$ Type as No. 1.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>$\Theta\chi .\text{YOT}\epsilon \text{ AΠΠΙ} \rho \tau \text{A .A}\theta .$ Type as No. 15.</p> |
|--|---|
- (Reichardt, "Numismatische Zeitschrift," 1871, p. 83, *seq.* Wien; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 16.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>18. \AA. $\Gamma \text{ERMANI.}$ Bust of Domitian to right.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>$\text{ETO. A}\Lambda (?) \text{BA. A}\Gamma \text{ΡΙΠΠA.}$ Victory walking to right.</p> |
|---|---|
- ("Trésor," pl. lxii. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 132; De Saulcy, p. 31, E. No. 17; Mionnet, Supp. viii. p. 380, No. 6, gives the obverse legend $\Delta\text{OMET. KAIC. ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ}$; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 17.)



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|---|---|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>T. 19. \AA. $2\frac{1}{2}$. $\dots \text{TO } \Delta\text{OM.}$ Type as No. 1.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>$\text{BA. A}\Gamma \rho . \text{ET. E}\Lambda$ within a crown.</p> |
|---|---|
- ("Trésor," pl. lxii. No. 8—it is impossible to trace any legends from the drawing; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 132, No. 12; De Saulcy, p. 32, E. No. 18, who says that he possesses a specimen with $\Delta\text{OMI.}$ on obverse, and the reverse legend readable; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 18. The cut of the reverse here given is from the coin in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 496, describes a similar but larger coin (\AA . II.) from Hardouin, with the reverse legend $\text{ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙ. A}\Gamma \rho \text{ΙΠ. ET. A}\epsilon .$)

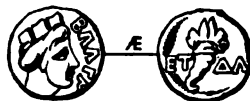


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|---|--|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>20. \AA. 7. $\text{AΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ. KAICAPA}$ (<i>sic</i>) $\Gamma \text{ERMANI.}$ Type as No. 1.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>$\text{ΕΤΟΥ. E}\Lambda \text{BA. A}\Gamma \rho \text{ΙΠΠA.}$ Turreted female standing to left on the prow of a vessel(?), holding in right hand ears of corn (?) and in left a cornu-copiae.</p> |
|---|--|

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 132, No. 14; Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 276, pl. vi. No. 6; De Saulcy, p. 32, E. No. 19; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 126, No. 19.)

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| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>21. \AA. $5\frac{1}{2}$. $\text{AΥΤΟΚΡ. . . . CAP ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ.}$ Type as No. 1.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>$\text{ΕΤΟΥ. E}\Lambda \text{BA. A}\Gamma \rho \text{ΙΠΠΟΥ.}$ Victory marching to the right, holding crown and palm-branch.</p> |
|--|---|
- (Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 275; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 132, No. 13; De Saulcy, p. 32, E. No. 20; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 20.)

AGRIPPA II. WITHOUT THE NAME OF DOMITIAN.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

22. Æ. 2. BA. AΓP. Turreted head to the right. | ET. ΔΛ. Cornu-copiæ.

("Trésor," pl. lx. No. 12; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 132, No. 11; De Saulcy, p. 28, A. No. 4; Madden, "Num. Chron." loc. cit. No. 21.)

Remarks on the Coins of Agrippa II. with the name of Domitian.

DE SAULCY'S ARRANGEMENT (p. 51).—No. 1, with the date L. ΙΔ (year 14), was struck in A.D. 69, on the "era of Agrippa."

No. 3, with date ETO. ΙΘ (year 19), in A.D. 73-74, on the same era.

No. 4, with date ETO. ΚΓ (year 23), is, as already stated, doubted by De Saulcy.

No. 5, with date ETO. ΚΔ (year 24).

Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, with the date ΔΚ or ΚΔ (year 24).

On Nos. 6, 7, and 8, appears the type of Victory standing to the right, similar to No. 5; on No. 9 the legend is within a wreath;¹ on all the title of *Germanicus* occurs.

It is necessary here again to quote De Saulcy's own words (p. 52):—"Mais ici se présente une difficulté; Domitien porte le titre de Germanique. Or il est certain que ce prince n'a pris officiellement ce titre, à Rome, qu'en l'an 84, lorsqu'il était seul sur le trône. Nous devons pour expliquer la présence de ce titre, avoir recours à une hypothèse tout-à-fait analogue à celle qui seule a pu nous faire comprendre pour Titus l'emploi des titres Autokrator et Sebastos, du vivant de son père. Nous savons qu'en 70 Domitien entreprit contre les Germains une guerre que son père n'avait pas ordonnée, et que cette conduite un peu inconsidérée lui valut un blâme sévère de la part de Vespasien. Quelque flatteur, et il y en avait sûrement en Syrie, aura profité de cela pour faire donner à Domitien un titre qu'il n'avait pas mérité, mais qui devait lui plaire fort, puisqu'il se l'appliqua plus tard."

¹ No. 9, though given in De Saulcy's list (p. 30), under E. No. 6, is not alluded to by him in his remarks (p. 52). The whole of the numerical references in De Saulcy's paper, from this

point to the end of the paper (pp. 52-54) are incorrectly printed; for instance, No. 6 should be No. 7, No. 7 should be No. 8, and so on up to No. 19, which should be No. 20.

De Saulcy, therefore, classes these coins with the date "year 24" to A.D. 72-73 of the "era of Chalcis."

No. 10, with date ET. KE (year 25), is given to the same era, and was struck in A.D. 73-74.

No. 15, with date ET. KS (year 26), to A.D. 74-75.

No. 16, with date ETO. KZ (year 27), to A.D. 75-76.

We thus have, says De Saulcy, for Domitian an uninterrupted series of coins from KΔ to KZ, i.e. from A.D. 72 to A.D. 76.

Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14. No. 11, with date ET. KE (year 25); Nos. 12, 13, 14, with date ET. KS (year 26).

The date of these coins is fixed by the Cos. XII. on the obverse. Domitian was consul for the twelfth time in A.D. 86. The coins in question must then, of necessity, have been struck in this year.

But says De Saulcy (p. 53):—"Que devient la date ET. KS, l'an xxvi.? elle ne rentre dans aucune des ères employées par Agrippa II. Il faut donc nécessairement admettre que cette année représente celle d'une ère particulière de ville. On a cru que le type des cornes d'abondance et du caducée, qui se rencontre sur des impériales de Tibériade, classait à la même ville la monnaie dont nous nous occupons; mais c'est là une attribution bien hasardée. N'avons-nous pas en effet rencontré plus haut une pièce de Néronias offrant précisément le même type? Or, si la pièce était de Néronias, ville dont nous avons fixé à l'an 60 l'inauguration sous ce nouveau nom, l'an xxvi. de l'ère, dont le point de départ a pu coïncider avec cette inauguration, serait précisément l'an 86, année du douzième consulat de Domitien. On ne trouvera pas mauvais, j'imagine, que je m'en tienne à cette solution, que je n'abandonnerai, qu'à la condition qu'on m'en offrira une plus probable et plus naturelle. Il est vrai que cela n'explique pas la présence de la formule S. C., mais je n'ai pas la prétention de tout deviner."

With respect to the date KE, De Saulcy adds (p. 56), "Cette fois, nous nous trouvons en face de la date L. KE (l'an xxv.) [*read* ET. KE] correspondant au même 12^e consulat de Domitien, c'est-à-dire à l'an 86 de J.-C. Nous en devons forcément conclure que ce 12^e consulat a été réparti sur les deux années xxv. et xxvi. de l'ère de Néronias."

No. 18 with date ETO. AA (year 31).

This reading is doubtful. The date may be ΔA (34).

De Saulcy says that if it is the year xxxi. of Chalcis, then the piece was struck in A.D. 79-80; if year xxxi. of the "era of Agrippa," then in A.D. 84-86 [*read* 85-86]. If xxxiv. is the correct date, the coin, according to the "era of Chalcis," would have been issued in A.D. 82-83, the year in which Domitian would have taken the titles Autokrator and Sebastos; and if on the "era of Agrippa," in A.D. 86-87 [*read* 88-89].

De Saulcy believes that ETO. AA is the correct reading.

Nos. 19, 20, 21, with date ET. or ETOY. EA (year 35), De Saulcy considers to have been struck on "the Chalcian era" in A.D. 83-84.¹

No. 22 with date ET. ΔA (year 34).

This coin, though mentioned by De Saulcy in his list (p. 28, A. No. 4), is not alluded to by him in his remarks.

MY ARRANGEMENT.—No. 1. Date L. ΙΔ (year 14).

I have given, under Vespasian, my reasons for assigning these coins to A.D. 74-75.²

No. 2. Date ETOY. ΗΙ (year 18). No. 3. Date ETO. ΙΘ (year 19).

For the same cause these coins were issued in A.D. 78-79 and A.D. 79-80.

No. 4. Date ETO. ΚΓ (year 23).

Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Date ETO. ΔΚ or ΚΔ (year 24).

No. 10. Date ET. ΚΕ (year 25).

No. 15. Date ET., ETO. or ETOY. ΚΣ (year 26).

No. 16. Date ETO. ΚΖ (year 27).

With the exception of No. 4, ETO. ΚΓ (which is doubted by De Saulcy, but for no specific reason), De Saulcy, as above shown, has attributed all these coins to the "Chalcian era," placing the issue of the earliest of them in A.D. 72-73.

This attribution is made notwithstanding that there are *no coins* of Vespasian and Titus of so early a date that can be given to this era, and that on the pieces with the date ΔΚ or ΚΔ the title *Germanicus* occurs.

It is quite true, as De Saulcy observes, that in A.D. 70 Domitian made an expedition with Mucianus against the Germans,³ and numismatists have not been wanting⁴ in assigning coins bearing the title of *Germanicus* to dates earlier than A.D. 84, in which year Domitian assumed the title at Rome. But these coins have in all cases been misread. There are certainly no coins issued at Rome with this title earlier than A.D. 84, and there are none issued after this year without it. The coins of Domitian struck at Alexandria help to cor-

¹ It will be seen that De Saulcy is not certain about the date of No. 18, but that he positively assigns Nos. 19, 20, and 21 to the "era of Chalcis." I have failed to discover the distinction which led to this opinion.

² Cavedoni ("Princ. Quest. riguardanti la Num. Giud." p. 16, *note*; "Nuovi Studi sopra le Ant. Mon. Giud." p. 26, *note* 5) thinks that the coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian with the type of Victory standing writing on a shield, as also the coins with the legend ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ, were probably struck at Nicopolis in Judæa. Nicopolis was founded after the capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 71. It was formerly called Emmaus, and when Judæa was put up for sale, Titus assigned this place for the habitation of 800 men whom he had dismissed from the army (Joseph. "Bell. Jud." vii. 6, 6). He is therefore of opinion that the dates ΙΔ (14), ΔΚ (24), and ΚΣ (26), correspond to A.D. 83, 93, 95, and were struck

during the long reign of Domitian. I do not think that this suggestion (as regards the coins of Agrippa II.) is tenable. Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 441) considers the coins with the legend ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ were struck in some Greek city; and De Saulcy ("Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 79) is of opinion they were certainly struck in Palestine, and probably at Cæsarea. See CHAPTER IX.

³ Suet. "Dom." 2; Tac. "Hist." 68, 85, 86.

⁴ See Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vi. p. 396. Martial (Lib. ii. "Epig." 2), as Eckhel has observed, who was most fulsome in his praise of Domitian, only intended to hint that Domitian was worthy of the title of *Germanicus*. The same poet, in the dedication of his eighth book, gives Domitian the name of *Dacicus*, but this title is not found on his coins (Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 268).

roborate this. The title ΓΕΡΜ. first occurs on his Alexandrian coins of the third year struck at the close of A.D. 83.¹

Is it then at all probable that in Syria—and in Syria only—coins of Domitian would have been struck with the title of *Germanicus* as early as A.D. 72-73? I think not.

Besides, in my opinion, to corroborate De Saulcy's arrangement, it will be necessary to find coins of Vespasian and Titus with the dates ΚΓ and ΚΔ, and these at present have not been discovered.

To what date then shall these pieces be assigned? Here is the difficulty.

In the system adopted by me,² based on the dates of the coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian with the twelfth consulship, to which I shall presently allude, I assigned these coins to the "era of Tiberias," and in this era the dates of these coins, with the date ΔΚ and ΚΔ (24), exactly fell in the year A.D. 84-85, the very time of the assumption of the title of *Germanicus* by Domitian.

The objection that may be raised against my attributions is this, that on the coins assigned by me to the years from A.D. 83 to A.D. 96, there is only the title of *Cæsar*, and Domitian succeeded to the Empire in A.D. 81.

This objection, however, is not a very serious one, and even De Saulcy in his system has been compelled to give the coins with date ΕΑ (35) to the year A.D. 83-84. For I find that coins of Domitian are existing issued after his accession at various cities of Palestine and Syria *without* the title of *Sebastos*. At Neapolis, with the legend ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, and date Λ. ΑΙ (year 11) = A.D. 82-83;³ at Sebaste, with the legends IMP DO . . . CAESAR or CAESAR IMP. DOMITIAN, and date Λ. ΘΡ (year 109) = A.D. 84;⁴ and at Canata with the legend ΔΟΜΙΤΙ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ and date ΖΝΡ (157) = A.D. 93;⁵ and Domitian died in A.D. 96.

It may be mentioned (1) that the kingdom of Chalcis, at some period after it was taken away from Agrippa II., was given to the rightful heir, Aristobulus, son of Herod, king of Chalcis, and that he was still king of Chalcis about the years A.D. 74-75, during the reign of Vespasian,⁶ and (2) that under Domitian it was added to the Roman Empire, and then received the name of *Flavia*.⁷

I am, therefore, inclined to think that no coins bearing the name of Domitian were issued on the "Chalcian era."

Though, after the Jewish war, Judæa, Galilee, and a great part of Idumæa were wasted, the dominions of Agrippa II. were for the most part respected,⁸ and though Domitian demanded the payment of the Jewish tribute with the utmost severity,⁹ and allowed the most

¹ Eckhel, *op. cit.* vol. iv. p. 60.

² "Jew. Coinage," p. 131.

³ De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 244.

⁴ De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 276.

⁵ De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 400.

⁶ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." vii. 7, 1.

⁷ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 265.

⁸ Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," 4th ed. 1866, vol. ii. p. 400.

⁹ "Judaicus fuscus acerbissime actus est." Suet. "Dom." 12.

See CHAPTER X. and APPENDIX B. II.

horrible atrocities to be committed,¹ it seems likely, as we possess coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian undoubtedly struck in A.D. 86, that Agrippa II. was left in peace.

The latest dated Jewish coin, i.e. ET. or ETOY. EA (year 35), attributed by De Saulcy to A.D. 83-84 of the "Chalcian era," falls, in my arrangement, in the year A.D. 95-96, the year previous to the death of Domitian, and there is not much doubt that in this year the Jews were included in the persecution of the Christians.²

The dates of the coins, according to my arrangement, will therefore be:—

KΓ (23) = A.D. 83-84.

KΔ
or } (24) = A.D. 84-85.
ΔK

KE (25) = A.D. 85-86.

KS (26) = A.D. 86-87.

KZ (27) = A.D. 87-88.

I have shown my reasons for disagreeing with the attribution of these coins to the "Chalcian era," and I have recapitulated my original theory as to their arrangement. I am, however, able to make another suggestion.

De Saulcy, as I have previously stated,³ assigns no coins to the "era of the tetrarchy of Philip."

Could these coins be given to that era?

It commenced in A.D. 53, and, consequently, coins with the dates—

KΓ (23) would correspond to A.D. 75-76.

KΔ
or } (24) " " A.D. 76-77.
ΔK

KE (25) " " A.D. 77-78.

KS (26) " " A.D. 78-79.

KZ (27) " " A.D. 79-80.

and would all have been struck previous to his accession in A.D. 81. There still, however, remains the difficulty of the title *Germanicus*, and I am not disposed to press this suggestion.

We may now pass on to examine the curious and important coins of the 12th consulship of Domitian.

¹ Suet. *in loc.*

² Dion Cass. lxxvii. 13, 14.

³ See remarks on the coins of Titus, p. 155.

No. 11. Date ET. KE (year 25).

No. 12. Same type. Date ET. KS (year 26).

Nos. 13, 14. Date ET. KS (year 26).

No. 11, with the date ET. KE and with the legend SALVTI AVGVST., is published, as above stated, by Sestini and Mionnet; also by De Saulcy,¹ and is there described as "une pièce frottée, passée de la Collection Wigan dans celle de M. le Comte Cahen d'Anvers." I do not remember seeing this piece in the Wigan Collection.

It has, however, escaped the notice of De Saulcy, as it had already escaped mine when I issued my "Jewish Coinage," that Eckhel,² from Hardouin³ and Froelich,⁴ publishes a similar piece (see No. 12), but with the date ET. KS (year 26).

I should have been inclined to doubt the reading of the piece given in Sestini and Mionnet (No. 11), but suppose that we must accept as correct the description of the same piece from the Wigan Collection.

It is, therefore, necessary to conclude with De Saulcy that the 12th consulship of Domitian extended over two years (25 and 26) of the era of the town in which these pieces were struck.

We have already seen that the date of all these coins is fixed by the Cos. XII. to A.D. 86, that De Saulcy, in order to corroborate his theory of the coinage of Agrippa II., shows that they could not belong to any of the eras of Agrippa II. as given by him, and that he therefore assigns them to a special "era of the town of Neronias," commencing about A.D. 60-61.

A corroboration of this theory would seem to be found in the remarkable coin of Domitian published by De Saulcy.⁵

The following is the description:—

OVERSE.	REVERSE.
IMP. CAE. DIVI VESP. F. DOMITIAN. AVG . . . COS. XII. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.	MONETA (CAES) (P) AVGV. S.P. Deity to the left, holding in right hand a balance and in left a cornu-copiae; above, in the <i>field</i> , to right and left, ET.—KS; below S. C. (The S is placed between the two basons of the balance.)

The letters S. P. on the reverse are interpreted by De Saulcy as *Sub Panio*, and are taken to be the Latin equivalent of the words ΥΠΟ ΠΑΝΕΙΩ, which occur on the coins of Panias from the time of Aurelius.

De Saulcy gives a woodcut of this rare coin, which differs considerably from

¹ "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 316.

² "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 494.

³ "Num. Herod."

⁴ "Reg. Vet." p. 111.

⁵ "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 315.

his description. On the obverse the word CAE. is CAES., and the legend stops at AVG. Whether COS. XII. is on the coin it is impossible to say from the cut, whilst on the reverse the word CAES., which De Saulcy has queried, is drawn quite distinctly. With these errors in view, ought one to accept as *quite certain* the letters S. P.? Can they not have been mistaken for S. T., the last two letters of the word AVGVST.? I suppose, however, that there is no other course but to receive as correct De Saulcy's description and attribution.¹

In these circumstances there seems much probability in De Saulcy's argument, that the coins of Agrippa II. with the dates ET. KE and ET. KS and COS. XII. were struck at Neronias (Panias), and in this case would have been issued in a different place to that of the other coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian (Nos. 10 and 15), also with the dates ETO. KE and ETO. KS, to which I have previously alluded in the earlier portion of these remarks.

I have already observed² that whilst De Saulcy has assigned the above coins to the "era of Neronias," he has not assigned, and for very good reasons, to the same era those pieces issued under Nero which were undoubtedly struck at this town.

For the absence of the name of Agrippa II. on this coin of Domitian, De Saulcy is unable to account, but he adds,³ "ce que nous pouvons affirmer, c'est que jusqu'ici on n'a pas retrouvé une seule pièce d'Agrippa II. postérieure à cette date. Aurait-il donc été décidé qu'à partir de cette année 86, le nom de l'Empereur seul paraîtrait désormais sur les monnaies émises dans le royaume d'Agrippa II.? Cela est fort possible." In my arrangement, however, the coins of Agrippa II., as at present existing, were issued till A.D. 96.

It has been suggested⁴ that these coins of Domitian and Agrippa II. were struck at Tiberias, firstly, because the legend SALVTI AVGVST. receives some corroboration from a coin of Trajan bearing the type of *Salus*,⁵ and, secondly, because the type of the two cornua-copiae also occurs on the coins of this Emperor issued in this town.⁶ But in the face of the rare coin published by De Saulcy, it would seem as if this theory could not be supported.

Be it as it may, there is not the slightest doubt that the pieces in question were struck in A.D. 86, which date would equally apply to the "era of Neronias," or to the "era of Tiberias."⁷

¹ I had hoped to obtain some time since from M. de Saulcy a cast of the coin, but this gentleman informed Mr. Head that he had sold his collection to Hoffmann, who in his turn had disposed of it to some Russian nobleman.

² See the coins of Agrippa II. under Nero, p. 147.

³ "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 316.

⁴ "Trésor," p. 129; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 131; Cavedoni, "Principali Questioni rig. la Num. Giud." p. 16, *note*.

⁵ Mionnet, vol. v. p. 484, No. 56; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 335.

⁶ The description in Mionnet (vol. v. p. 484, No. 54) is in-

correct in respect to the date ET. IS. This should be ET. 4 [year 90=A.D. 110] (De Saulcy "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 336, No. 6).

⁷ It will be observed that the "era of Neronias" and the "era of Tiberias" commence at the same time (see the TABLE). It may be that all the coins assigned by me to the "era of Tiberias" were really struck on "that of Neronias." If De Saulcy has read a coin of Marcus Aurelius *Cæsar* correctly, it would appear that the name "Neronias" was borne by Cæsarea Panias up to his time, but it was abandoned on Aurelius succeeding to the Empire ("Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 316).

With respect to Tiberias, it is certain that this town belonged to Agrippa II. from the time when it was given to him by Nero till his death in A.D. 100, and that immediately on his decease it again formed part of the Roman Empire, coins of Trajan being extant bearing the dates 80 and 81 of Tiberias, corresponding to A.D. 100 and A.D. 101.¹

On the peculiar legends on these coins various surmises have been made.² De Saulcy,³ in speaking of the letters S. C., thinks that they may probably refer to a local senate, i.e. to a decision of the college of *Decuriones*.

The legend SALVTI AVGVST. (or AVGVSTI) here found on the coins of the 12th consulship occurs on the coins issued at Rome in the 10th and 11th consulship (A.D. 84, A.D. 85), and on a very rare coin of the 12th consulship.⁴ Whether Domitian had any serious illness in these years justifying this legend, it is impossible to say; but it would seem as if he was constantly fearing his death, and he may perhaps have wished frequent prayers to be made for his health and safety.⁵

No. 17. Date ETOY. KΘ (year 29). This coin was not known to De Saulcy; had it been, I presume he would have attributed it to A.D. 77-78 of the "era of Chalcis." According to my arrangement it may either belong to A.D. 89-90 of the "era of Tiberias," or to A.D. 81-82 of the "era of Philip" (?).

No. 18. Date ETO. AA (year 31). It may either belong to A.D. 91-92 of the "era of Tiberias," or to A.D. 83-84 of the "era of Philip" (?).

Nos. 19, 20, 21. Date ET. and ETOY. EA (year 35). These may either belong to A.D. 95-96 of the "era of Tiberias," or to A.D. 87-88 of the "era of Philip" (?).

No. 22. Date ET. ΔA (year 34). De Saulcy would, I suppose, have attributed this coin either to A.D. 82-83 of the "era of Chalcis," or to A.D. 88-89 of the "era of Agrippa." It may either belong to A.D. 94-95 of the "era of Tiberias," or to A.D. 86-87 of the "era of Philip" (?).

The turreted female head on this coin, instead of the head of the Emperor, may be compared with that on the coin of Agrippa II. under Nero (No. 4), struck at Neronias.

In order to exemplify the different dates that may be assigned to the coins of Agrippa II., I have drawn up a TABLE showing the various proposed arrangements, which I trust will much assist the student of this interesting series of coins.

I must, however, confess that the whole question is most difficult, and I should be unwilling to speak positively as to the actual correctness of many of the dates.

¹ De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 335.

² Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 495; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 130.

³ "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 316.

⁴ Cohen, "Méd. Imp." 2nd ed. No. 420.

⁵ "Annum diemque ultimum vitæ jam pridem suspectum habebat; horam etiam, necnon et genus mortis. Adolescentulo Chaldæi cuncta prædixerant."—Suet. "Dom." 14. For some peculiarities of this would-be "God and Lord," see my paper in the "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 266, *seq.*

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE

		DE SAULCY'S ARRANGEMENT.															
REMARKS.	A.D.	Chalcian Era.				Era of the Tetrarchy of Philip II.				Era of Kingdom of Agrippa.				Era of Neronias.			
Death of Herod Agrippa I.	44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	46	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Death of Herod, king of Chalcis, in the 8th year of Claudius; Agrippa II. succeeds at close of A.D. 48.	47	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	48	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	49	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	50	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	51	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	52	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chalcis taken away from Agrippa II. He is appointed to Tetrarchy of Philip, when 12th year of Claudius was completed, about February, A.D. 53.	53	5	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Death of Claudius. Nero. Agrippa II. receives from Nero Galilee, Tiberias, Tarichese, Julias of Persea, etc.	54	6	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	55	7	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	56	8	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	57	9	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	58	10	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sixth year of Nero.	59	11 ETOTC AI TOT KAI (and H)	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Agrippa II. enlarges Cæsarea Philippi, and calls it <i>Neronias</i> .	60	12	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	6 ETOTC AI TOT KAI (and H)	...	...	...	...	...	...
	61	13	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	1	...	...
	62	14	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	2	...	...
	63	15	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	3	...	...
	64	16	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	4	...	...
Twelfth year of Nero; 17th year of Agrippa II. Jewish war begins.	65	17	...	...	...	13	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	5	...	...
Capture of Jotapata. Surrender of Tiberias.	66	18	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	6	...	...
	67	19	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	13	...	...	...	7	...	...
Death of Nero. Galba. Otho. Vitellius.	68	20	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	14 { ET. AI Vespasian Aug. L. IA Titus Aug. L. IA Domitian Cæs.	...	...	...	8	...	...
Vespasian Emp. Titus and Domit. Cæsars.	69	21	...	...	...	17	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	9	...	...
Domit. expedition in Gaul and Germany.	70	22	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	10	...	...
[Conquest of Judæa.	71	23	...	...	...	19	...	...	...	17	...	...	...	11	...	...
	72	24 ETO. { KA Domitian Cæs.	...	...	...	20	...	...	...	18 ETOT. HI Vesp. Aug	...	...	...	12	...	...
	73	25 ET. KE Domitian Cæs.	...	...	...	21	...	...	...	19 { ETOT. IO Titus Aug. ETO. IO Domitian Cæs.	...	...	...	13	...	...
Aristobulus; son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was about this time still king of Chalcis.)	74	26 { ETOT. K _r Vespasian Aug. ETO. K _r Titus Aug. ET. K _r Domitian Cæs.	...	...	...	22	...	...	...	20	...	...	...	14	...	...
	75	27 { ETOT. KZ Vespasian Aug. ETO. KZ Domitian Cæs.	...	...	...	23	...	...	...	21	...	...	...	15	...	...
	76	28	...	...	...	24	...	...	...	22	...	...	...	16	...	...
	77	29 ETOT. KΘ Vespasian Aug.	...	...	...	25	...	...	...	23	...	...	...	17	...	...
	78	30	...	...	...	26	...	...	...	24	...	...	...	18	...	...
Death of Vespasian. Titus.	79	31 ETO. AA Domitian Cæs.	...	...	...	27	...	...	...	25	...	...	...	19	...	...
Death of Titus. Domitian.	80	32	...	...	...	28	...	...	...	26	...	...	...	20	...	...
	81	33	...	...	...	29	...	...	...	27	...	...	...	21	...	...
	82	34	...	...	...	30	...	...	...	28	...	...	...	22	...	...
	83	35 ET. or ETOT. EA Domitian [Imp. and Cæs.	...	...	...	31	...	...	...	29	...	...	...	23	...	...
Domitian takes the name of <i>Germanicus</i> .	84	36	...	...	...	32	...	...	...	30	...	...	...	24	...	...
	85	37	...	...	...	33	...	...	...	31 ETO. AA Domitian Cæs.	...	...	...	25	...	...
Cos. XII. (twelfth consulship) of Domit.	86	38	...	...	...	34	...	...	...	32	...	...	...	26 { ET. KE Cos. XII. Dom. Aug. ET. K _r Cos. XII. Dom. Aug.	...	...
	87	39	...	...	...	35	...	...	...	33	...	...	...	27	...	...
	88	40	...	...	...	36	...	...	...	34	...	...	...	28	...	...
	89	41	...	...	...	37	...	...	...	35	...	...	...	29	...	...
	90	42	...	...	...	38	...	...	...	36	...	...	...	30	...	...
	91	43	...	...	...	39	...	...	...	37	...	...	...	31	...	...
	92	44	...	...	...	40	...	...	...	38	...	...	...	32	...	...
	93	45	...	...	...	41	...	...	...	39	...	...	...	33	...	...
	94	46	...	...	...	42	...	...	...	40	...	...	...	34	...	...
Death of Domitian. Nerva.	95	47	...	...	...	43	...	...	...	41	...	...	...	35	...	...
	96	48	...	...	...	44	...	...	...	42	...	...	...	36	...	...
Death of Nerva. Trajan.	97	49	...	...	...	45	...	...	...	43	...	...	...	37	...	...
	98	50	...	...	...	46	...	...	...	44	...	...	...	38	...	...
Death of Agrippa II. in 3rd year of Trajan.	99	51	...	...	...	47	...	...	...	45	...	...	...	39	...	...
	100																

NOTE.—The queries placed against certain dates in my arrangement do not mean that the reading

COINAGE OF AGRIPPA II.

MY ARRANGEMENT.					A.D.	REMARKS.
Chalcian Era.	Era of the Tetrarchy of Philip II.	Era of Tiberias or Kingdom of Agrippa.	Era of Neronias.			
...	44	Death of Herod Agrippa I.
...	45	
...	46	
...	47	
...	48	Death of Herod, king of Chalcis, in the 8th year of Claudius; Agrippa II. succeeds at close of A.D. 48.
1	49	
2	50	
3	51	
4	52	
5	53	Chalcis taken away from Agrippa II. He is appointed to Tetrarchy of Philip, when 12th year of Claudius was completed, about February, A.D. 53.
6	54	Death of Claudius. Nero. Agrippa II. receives from Nero Galilee, Tiberias, Tarichee, Julius of Persea, etc.
7	55	
8	56	
9	57	
10 L. I.	58	
11 ETOTC AI TOT KAI (and 5/8)	59	Sixth year of Nero.
12	60	
13	61	Agrippa II. enlarges Cæsarea Philippi, and calls it <i>Neronias</i> .
14	62	
15	63	
16	64	
17	65	
18	66	Twelfth year of Nero; 17th year of Agrippa II. Jewish war begins.
19	67	Capture of Jotapata. Surrender of Tiberias.
20	68	
21	69	Death of Nero. Galba. Otho. Vitellius.
22	70	Vespasian Emp. Titus and Domit. <i>Cæsars</i> .
23	71	Domit. expedition in Gaul and <i>Germany</i> .
24	72	[Conquest of Judæa.
25	73	
26 { ETOT. K _r Vespasian Aug. ETO. K _r Titus Aug.	74	
27 { ETOT. K _r Vespasian Aug. ETO. K _r Titus Aug.	75	Aristobulus, son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was about this time <i>still</i> king of Chalcis.
28	76	
29 { ETOT. K _o Vespasian Aug. L. or ETOT. (?) K _o Titus Aug.	77	
30	78	
31	79	Death of Vespasian. Titus.
32	80	
33	81	Death of Titus. Domitian.
34	82	
35	83	
36	84	Domitian takes the name of <i>Germanicus</i> .
37	85	
38	86	Cos. XII. (twelfth consulship) of Domit.
39	87	
40	88	
41	89	
42	90	
43	91	
44	92	
45	93	
46	94	
47	95	
48	96	Death of Domitian. Nerva.
49	97	
50	98	Death of Nerva. Trajan.
51	99	
	100	Death of Agrippa II. in 3rd year of Trajan.

is doubtful, but that the coins may perhaps belong to the era of the Tetrarchy of Philip II.

CHAPTER VII.

COINS STRUCK BY THE PROCURATORS OF JUDÆA.

ON the banishment of Archelaus, in A.D. 6, Judæa was made a Roman province, and Augustus appointed Publius Sulpicius Quirinus¹ proprætor of Syria, and sent Coponius, a man of the Equestrian order, as the first procurator of Judæa, under him, with the power of life and death.² About the end of the year A.D. 9, or the commencement of A.D. 10, Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius succeeded him in the government. He does not, however, appear to have remained very long in office, as we find that Annus Rufus was procurator of Judæa at the death of Augustus in A.D. 14,³ and that Tiberius, on his accession, sent Valerius Gratus to succeed him in A.D. 15.⁴ Gratus remained in Judæa eleven years,

¹ This Quirinus is the same as the Cyrenius governor of Syria mentioned by St. Luke (ii. 2). I have already pointed out in another place ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 208, note) that the late Abbé Cavedoni suggested ("Principali Questioni," p. 7, note) that I should have written *Quirinius* and not *Quirinus*, and principally on the authority of an inscription given by Marini ("Atti e Monumenti degli Arvali," pp. 782, 787), and I showed that no reliance could be placed on it as regards correct orthography; moreover that there was another inscription, certainly authentic, having the form *Quirinus*, and that Quirinus was the correct Latin form of Cyrenius. The arguments *pro* and *con* of these inscriptions, and their importance as regards "the taxing of Cyrenius," have been carefully collected together by Mr. W. R. A. Boyle ("The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel," p. 573, seq. London, 1863), and he certainly proves that there is not the slightest ground for considering the inscription with *Quirinus* a forgery, but that the inscription in Marini with *Quirinius* and the "Fasti Verriani" both afford internal evidence that their authority and general correctness are not to be depended on. Cf. Dr. Meyer ("Krit. Exeg. Komm. über das N.T." vol. ii. p. 222, Göttingen, 1844) and Alford ("Greek Test." Luke ii. ver. 2).

² Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 1, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 8, 1. The procurators were, however, responsible to the governors of Syria (Joseph. *passim*; Tac. "Ann." xii. 54). The proper Greek rendering for procurator is *ἐπιτροπος*, and many of the procurators are so called by Josephus (Cumanus, "Antiq." xx. 6, 2; Felix, "Antiq." xx. 7, 2; 8, 5; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 8; Florus, "Antiq." xx. 11, 1), and the office *ἐπιτροπή* ("Antiq." xx. 5, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 1); on the other hand Josephus ("Antiq." xviii. 2, 2; xx. 8, 11; 9, 1) calls Gratus, Festus and Albinus by the title of *ἐπαρχος* (Lat. *præfectus*), but the

terms are used by Josephus indiscriminately (cf. "Antiq." xix. 9, 2; xx. 5, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6). Pilate is called ("Antiq." xviii. 3, 1) *ἡγεμὼν* (Lat. *præses*), and this term is used in the New Testament (A.V. "governor") of Pilate (Matt. xxvii. 2; Luke xx. 20; cf. Luke iii. 1); of Felix (Acts xxiii. xxiv.); and of Festus (Acts xxvi. 30). The Roman Imperial government is called *ἡγεμονία* (Luke iii. 1; cf. Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 6, 9). The word *ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΑ* occurs on a coin of Nero struck at Perperene in Mysia (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. ii. p. 474; vol. iv. p. 243), and the title *ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ* is found only once in the whole series of Greek Imperial coins on a coin of Vespasian struck in Bithynia *in genere* (Eckhel, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 404; vol. iv. p. 249). A specimen of this coin is in the British Museum. It was coined by L. Antonius Naso, who may perhaps be identified with Antonius Naso, a tribune of the prætorian troops, A.D. 69 (Tac. "Hist." i. 20; Smith's "Dict. of Biog." vol. ii. p. 1142). The word *ἐπιτροπος* occurs in Luke viii. 3, for Herod Antipas's "steward" (cf. Matt. xx. 8), and in Gal. iv. 2 it is translated "tutor." Cf. Joseph. "Bell. Jud." i. 30, 5; "Antiq." xvii. 4, 2; 2 Maccab. xi. 1; xiii. 2; xiv. 2.

³ *Διαδέχεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτον Ἀννίος Ῥοῦφος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καῖσαρ.*—Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 2, 2.

⁴ Joseph. "Antiq." *loc. cit.* It seems probable, as also Mr. Lewin has observed ("Fasti Sacri," p. 150, No. 1033), that Augustus employed the same policy as regards the tenure of office of the procurators as he did with the proprætors (Dion Cass. lii. 23), namely, to keep them in office three years, and so, if Coponius was appointed in A.D. 6, his term of three years would end in A.D. 9; his successor, Ambivius, would be recalled in A.D. 12, and Annus Rufus in A.D. 15.

and was succeeded by Pontius Pilate about the end of A.D. 26.¹ Pilate held the government ten years, when he was deposed by Vitellius, and sent to Rome in A.D. 35 or A.D. 36.²

Vitellius then appointed a friend of his, Marcellus, to take charge of the affairs of Judæa.³

The death of Tiberius took place on March 16th, A.D. 37, and Caligula succeeded him.

Marullus was then sent by the new emperor as procurator of Judæa,⁴ and in the same year Agrippa I. received the tetrarchy of Philip,⁵ and in A.D. 40 Galilee and Peræa,⁶ and on the accession of Claudius, in A.D. 41, Judæa and Samaria and the tetrarchy of Lysanias II.⁷ Marullus was probably recalled in A.D. 41 by Claudius, who succeeded to the empire in this year, when the kingdom of Agrippa I. was as large as that of his grandfather, Herod I.

In the summer of A.D. 44 Agrippa I. died, and Claudius nominated Cuspius Fadus, a Roman knight,—Agrippa II. being considered too young to undertake the government of his father's kingdom.⁸

In A.D. 46 Tiberius Alexander⁹ succeeded Cuspius Fadus, but the former did not long retain his appointment, for in the eighth year of the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 48) Ventidius Cumanus was nominated procurator.¹⁰ A quarrel having arisen between the Jews and the Samaritans, the causes of dispute were eventually submitted to Quadratus, the President of Syria, who ordered both parties, as well as Cumanus, to go to Rome to lay the case before the Emperor.

Agrippa II. was at this time at Rome, and exerted himself on behalf of the Jews, to such effect that Claudius condemned the Samaritans and exiled Cumanus.¹¹

This took place about A.D. 52.

¹ Ἐνδεκά ἔτη διατρέψας ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, Πόντιος δὲ Πιλάτος διίδρυτος αὐτῷ ἦκεν.—Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 2, 2; cf. "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 2.

² Πιλάτος δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρέψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἦνελ- γετο.—Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 4, 2. The actual date of Pilate's recall is a matter of controversy. Clinton ("F. R." vol. ii. p. 236), adopting Lardner's opinion ("Credibility," vol. i. pp. 94-96, 371-377), thinks that Pilate's tenth year ended in September or October, A.D. 35. Norisius (vol. iii. pp. 516-517) places it at the end of A.D. 36, and this latter view is taken by Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 172, No. 1160; p. 247, No. 1493). The arguments *pro* and *con* are of too lengthy a nature to be produced here. De Sauley ("Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 69) assigns the deposition of Pilate to A.D. 38.

³ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 4, 2. He is styled ἐπιμελητής, "manager."

⁴ With the title of *Hipparch*. Ἰππάρχην δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπέμπευε Μάρουλλον.—Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 6, 10. Josephus ("Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 5) gives the same title to Jucundus, an officer in Judæa in the time of Gessius Florus. Mr. Lewin ("Life of St. Paul," vol. i. p. 25 *note*) thinks that the *Marcellus* sent by Vitellius has been confounded with the *Marullus* sent by Caligula, and if so the Jews, on the deposal of Pilate, would have been left without a governor until the arrival of Marullus. Lardner ("Credibility," vol. i. p. 92) is of opinion that there was no procurator between the removal of Pilate and the reign of Agrippa.

⁵ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 6, 10; "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 6.

⁶ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 7, 2.

⁷ Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 5, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 5. See CHAPTER VI. p. 129, under Sect. F. HEROD AGRIPPA I.

⁸ Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 9, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6. See CHAPTER VI. p. 139, under Sect. H. AGRIPPA II.

⁹ Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 5, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6. Tiberius Alexander was the son of Alexander the Alabarch of Alexandria and nephew of Philo (Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 8, 1; xx. 5, 2). Alexander, the father, appears to have been the same as Alexander Lysimachus the Alabarch, who was imprisoned by Caligula and set at liberty in A.D. 41 by Claudius. Another of his sons, Marcus, was the first husband of Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa I. (Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 5, 1). He has also been identified by some as the "Alexander" mentioned in the Acts (iv. 6). Tiberius Alexander was a renegade (Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 5, 2), and under Nero became procurator of Egypt (Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 15, 1; Tac. "Ann." xv. 28; "Hist." i. 11; ii. 74). He was the first Roman governor to acknowledge the emperor Vespasian (see CHAPTER VI. p. 143, Sect. H. AGRIPPA II.), and was made general of the army under Titus (Joseph. "Bell. Jud." v. 1, 6).

¹⁰ Ὁ γὰρ τῆς Κλαυδίου Καισαρος ἀρχὴς ἔκει.—Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 5, 2. Cf. "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 1, where the appointment of Cumanus is placed after the death of Herod of Chalcis.

¹¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 6, 1, 2, 3; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 1-7.

The period of the actual dismissal of Cumanus and the appointment of Felix¹ is difficult to determine. Josephus seems to place the removal of Cumanus in the twelfth year of Claudius (A.D. 52), and names Felix as his successor;² whilst Tacitus³ speaks of Felix in A.D. 52 as *jampridem Judææ impositus*, and states that Cumanus and Felix were joint procurators, Cumanus having Galilee and Felix Samaria, which may perhaps receive some corroboration from the testimony of St. Paul:⁴ "Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years (*ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν*) a judge unto this nation." This cannot, however, be accepted as positive proof of the correctness of the statement of Tacitus,⁵ and the "many years" probably extend from A.D. 52 to A.D. 58, the year when Paul was speaking.⁶ Felix was still procurator under Nero, who, at the time when he gave to Agrippa II. Julius of Peræa, Taricheæ and Tiberias of Galilee in A.D. 55, made Felix procurator over the rest of Judæa.⁷

Felix was superseded about A.D. 60.

Porcius Festus was sent by Nero to Judæa as the successor of Felix about A.D. 60.⁸ This procurator died about the end of A.D. 61, and Nero, when the news reached Rome, sent Albinus in his place early in A.D. 62.⁹

In A.D. 64 Albinus, who had been one of the most unjust of the Roman procurators, was superseded,¹⁰ and Gessius Florus was appointed procurator of Judæa.¹¹ "Duravit tamen," says Tacitus,¹² "patientia Judæis usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem; sub eo bellum ortum."¹³

¹ *Antonius Felix* (Tac. "Hist." v. 9); *Claudius Felix*, (Suidas in *Κλαύδιος*). Felix only (Josephus; Acts; Tac. "Ann." xii. 54; Suet. "Claud." 28). Suetonius (*loc. cit.*) says that he was the husband of three queens. According to Tacitus ("Hist." v. 9) he married (*first*) Drusilla, the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra. It is known that he married Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa II. (Acts xxiv. 24). Of his third wife nothing is known.

² Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 6, 3; 7, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 8.

³ "Ann." xii. 54.

⁴ Acts xxiv. 10.

⁵ According to Suetonius ("Claud." 28) and Victor ("Epit." Lugd. Bat. 1648, p. 361) it would seem as if Felix had held a military command, perhaps during the procuratorship of Cumanus. Whiston, in his note to the passage of Josephus ("Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 8), throws doubts on the statement of Tacitus, and Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 297, No. 1777) considers it "a palpable error."

⁶ Lewin, "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 159, note 87; "Fasti Sacri," p. 316, No. 1865.

⁷ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 13, 2. With respect to Abila, mentioned in this passage as part of "the gift of Nero," see CHAPTER VI. p. 140, under Sect. H. AGRIPPA II.

⁸ Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 8, 9; "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 1; Acts xxiv. 27, xxv., xxvi. The dates here given are wholly at variance with those recently laid before Biblical students by Mr. Conder ("Bible Educator," vol. iv. p. 27 *seq.*) This writer states that Festus succeeded Felix in the second year of Nero, A.D. 56, and Albinus to Felix in A.D. 58. The fixing of the

date A.D. 56 for the succession of Festus is considered by Mr. Conder to be proved by the clear statement of St. Jerome in his "In Evangelistas ad Damasum præfatio," that this took place in the second year of Nero, and that the point is decisive unless conflicting evidence as yet unknown can be brought against it.

⁹ Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 9, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 1; vi. 5, 3.

¹⁰ It has been suggested (Smith's "Dict. of Biog." s.v. Albinus) that this procurator afterwards received further appointments, and may be identified with Lucceius Albinus made by Nero procurator of Mauretania Cæsariensis, to which Galba (A.D. 68) added Tingitana. A report obtained that he disdained the title of procurator (*spretu procuratoris vocabulo*), and had usurped the diadem and the name of Juba (Tac. "Hist." ii. 58). He was shortly after, together with his wife, assassinated, but Vitellius took no notice of these transactions (Tac. *loc. cit.* 59).

¹¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 9, 5; 11, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 2.

¹² "Hist." v. 10.

¹³ The Jewish war broke out in the second year of the government of Florus and the twelfth year of Nero (Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 11, 1). The twelfth year of Nero, which, as we have seen under Sect. H. AGRIPPA II. (CHAPTER VI. pp. 140-142), corresponded to the seventeenth year of Agrippa II., was current between the 13th of October, A.D. 65, and 13th of October, A.D. 66, and it was in the month of April, A.D. 66, that the war began (Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 4). Florus was therefore made procurator before April, A.D. 65.

The list of the procurators of Judæa will therefore be as follows:¹—

					A.D.	A.D.
1st Procurator	COPONIUS	..	..	..	6—	$\frac{9}{10}$
2nd	„	MARCUS AMBIVIVUS	..	..	$\frac{9}{10}$ —	$\frac{12}{13}$
3rd	„	ANNIUS RUFUS	..	..	$\frac{12}{13}$ —	$\frac{14}{15}$
4th	„	VALERIUS GRATUS	..	..	15—	$\frac{25}{26}$
5th	„	PONTIUS PILATE	..	..	26—	$\frac{35}{36}$
6th	„	MARCELLUS	..	..	36—	37
7th	„	MARULLUS	..	..	37—	41
		[Agrippa I. King of Judæa 41—44.]				
8th	„	CUSPIUS FADUS	..	..	44—	46
9th	„	TIBERIUS ALEXANDER	..	..	46—	48
10th	„	VENTIDIUS CUMANUS	..	..	48—	52
11th	„	CLAUDIUS or ANTONIUS FELIX	..	..	52—	60
12th	„	PORCIUS FESTUS	..	..	60—	61
13th	„	ALBINUS ²	..	..	62—	64
14th	„	GESSIUS FLORUS	..	..	64—	66

REIGN OF AUGUSTUS FROM THE EXPULSION OF ARCHELAUS, A.D. 6—A.D. 14.

The copper coins struck in Judæa by the Roman procurators, from the expulsion of Archelaus, do not exhibit any sign or symbol that might be offensive to the religious feelings of the Jews, thus departing from the usual Roman custom; and though some of the Procurators, as in the case of Pontius Pilate, attempted to introduce images and other symbols

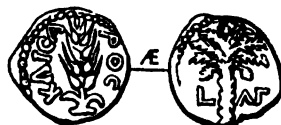
¹ Sabinus, who is called by Josephus ("Antiq." xvii. 9, 3), "Cæsar's steward (*ἐπιτροπος*) for Syrian affairs," and again ("Bell. Jud." ii. 2, 2) "the procurator of Syria," has by some been counted among the procurators. It has been suggested by the Rev. Dr. Farrar (Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s.v.* Procurator) that the passage in Josephus ("Antiq." xviii. 2, 2), in which it is stated that "Tiberius *sent* Valerius Gratus to be procurator," is probably the reason for this, as *πεμπτός* (*sent*) has been read *πέμπος* (*flth*). It would seem, however, that Sabinus was only a temporary procurator after the death of Herod I. until affairs were settled.

² Annas was *not* a procurator and successor of Albinus, as erroneously stated by Mr. Grove (Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," *s.v.* Jerusalem vol. i. p. 1010), and by me ("Jew. Coinage," p. 135), but was high-priest during the *interim* before the arrival of Albinus (Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 9, 1). He assembled the Sanhedrin and brought before them James the brother of Jesus and other Christians. For this he was deposed, after a rule of three months. The words "brother of Jesus" are supposed to be interpolations (Rev. F. Meyrick, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. i. p. 925; J. E. Ryland, Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, vol. ii. p. 459; cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 158, *note* 9). See CHAPTER VIII.

of abhorrence to the Jews,¹ yet they forbore from placing such emblems on the coins. This may be accounted for by the coins being under the surveillance of the Emperor and Senate, whereas the actions of the Procurators could not always be looked into, and they doubtless thought that they could introduce the forbidden symbols without the matter getting to the ears of the Emperor. Their folly more than once caused their recall. The coins bear, accordingly, as a rule, the representation of a plant, the name of the reigning Cæsar, and the year of his reign in Greek characters.

The dates on the coins of the procurators struck during the reign of Augustus are calculated on the era of the "Anni Augusti," which commenced in B.C. 27.²

COPONIUS, FIRST PROCURATOR, A.D. 6—A.D. $\frac{9}{10}$.



1st year, A.D. 6-7.

OBVERSE.

1. Æ. 3. KAIKAPOC. An ear of corn.

REVERSE.

A palm-tree, from which hang bunches of dates.
In *field*, to right and left, L. ΛΓ (year 33).

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 136, No. 1; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xv. p. 179, No. 1.)

M. de Saulcy states³ that he is only acquainted with two examples of this rare piece, one in the "Cabinet des Médailles" at Paris,⁴ the other which was formerly in the Collection of the late Mr. Wigan, and which was so published by myself.⁵ But Mr. Reichardt has stated⁶ that he also possesses a specimen of this coin.

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 3, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 3.

² Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas and De Witte, vol. iii. p. 326, *note* 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 138; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xv. p. 176. The coins of the type employed during the reigns of Augustus described by Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 65, No. 1; vol. ii. p. 39, No. 1; p. 40; cf. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 497) with the dates L. A (year 30) and L. AA (year 31) must consequently be misread. See TABLE at end of CHAPTER.

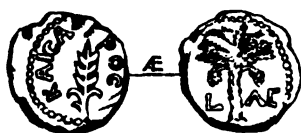
³ "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 71.

⁴ "Rev. Num." 1853, pl. xi. fig. 3, and p. 193 *note*. In this paper De Saulcy wrote that the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris contained a specimen on which it might be fancied that one could read L. ΛΓ, but owing to the bad preservation of the piece it was doubtful if this reading could be received. The engraving however clearly shows ΛΓ.

⁵ "Jew. Coinage," p. 136, No. 1.

⁶ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 274; 1876, vol. xvi. p. 316. Mr. Reichardt further states that he possesses a coin with the date ΛΕ (35) = A.D. 8-9. Cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 137, 138.

MARCUS AMBIVIVUS, SECOND PROCURATOR, A.D. $\frac{9}{10}$ —A.D. $\frac{12}{13}$.



A.D. 9-10.

OBVERSE.

2. AE . 3. Same legend and type as No. 1.

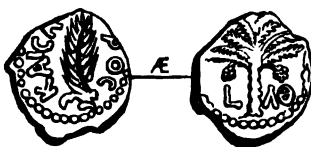
REVERSE.

Same type as No. 1. In *field*, to right and left,
L. ΛE (year 36).

(Formerly in the Coll. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 136, No. 2; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 138, pl. viii. No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 72, pl. iii. No. 1; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 2.)

This coin may have been issued by Coponius, who was removed at the latest at the commencement of A.D. 10.

ANNIUS RUFUS, THIRD PROCURATOR, A.D. $\frac{12}{13}$ —A.D. $\frac{14}{15}$.



A.D. 12-13.

OBVERSE.

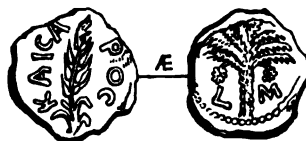
3. AE . 4. Same legend and type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

Same type as No. 1. In *field*, to right and left,
L. $\Lambda\Theta$ (year 39).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 139, pl. viii. No. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 136, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 72, pl. iii. No. 2; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 3.)

This coin may have been struck under Marcus Ambivivus, who was removed at the end of A.D. 12.

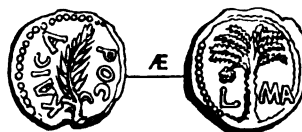


A.D. 13-14.

OBSERVE.

4. Æ . 4. Same legend and type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

Same type as No. 1. In *field*, to right and left,
L. M (year 40).(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 139, pl. viii. No. 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 136, No. 4; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 72, pl. iii. No. 3; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 4.)

A.D. 14-15.

OBSERVE.

5. Æ . 4. Same legend and type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

Same type as No. 1. In *field*, to right and left,
L. MA (year 41).(Formerly in the Coll. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 137, No. 5; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 139, pl. viii. No. 4; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 72, pl. iii. No. 4; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 5.)

These two coins were undoubtedly struck by Annus Rufus, who was superseded immediately on the accession of Tiberius in A.D. 14.

The type of the palm-tree on these coins commemorates the groves of palm for which Judæa was famous, and from which Herod I. derived a large revenue.¹

The six coins described in my "Jewish Coinage" (pp. 139-141), after Sestini and Cavedoni, are now omitted, as I distrusted their attribution at the time, and now finally reject their claims to a Jewish origin.

REIGN OF TIBERIUS, A.D. 14—A.D. 37.

Augustus died the 19th of August, A.D. 14,² and the "Anni Augusti," which we have seen were computed from January the 1st, B.C. 27, ceased in the forty-first year,—the latest date of which we possess procuratorial coins struck during the reign of this emperor.

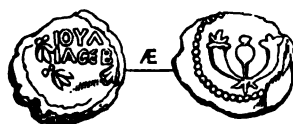
The new coins issued under Tiberius (as far as at present known) bear dates from 1 to 18 (L. A to L. IH), *i.e.* from A.D. 14-15 to A.D. 31-32.

¹ "Herodis palmetis pinguibus." Hor. "Epist." ii. 2, 184. See CHAPTER VI. p. 108.

² XIV. *Kal. Sept.* (Suet. "Aug." 100).

It is almost certain that the regnal years of Tiberius were computed from the 19th of August (xiv. *Kal. Sept.*), A.D. 14, after the death of Augustus, and his tribunitian years from June 27th (v. *Kal. Jul.*), A.D. 4, the year of his adoption.¹ His second year would therefore commence on the 19th of August, A.D. 15, and Valerius Gratus, as we have seen, was sent by Tiberius as procurator in A.D. 15.

VALERIUS GRATUS, FOURTH PROCURATOR, A.D. 15—A.D. $\frac{25}{26}$.



1st year, A.D. 14-15.

OBVERSE.

1. Æ. 3. IOYA.—CEB. (?) in two lines within a wreath.

REVERSE.

Two cornua-copiae, between which a poppy-head; above, L. A (year 1) (?).

(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." p. 102, pl. iv. No. 1; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 150; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 73, pl. iii. No. 5; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 183, No. 1.)

¹ Cf. Lewin, "Fasti Sacri," p. liii, and p. 143, No. 994. Dr. Thomson (Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Jesus Christ, vol. i. p. 1074) says, "The rule of Tiberius may be calculated either from the beginning of his sole reign after the death of Augustus, A.U.C. 767 [A.D. 14], or from his joint government with Augustus, i.e. from the beginning of A.U.C. 765 [A.D. 12]. In the latter case the fifteenth year of Tiberius [Luke iii. 1] would correspond with A.U.C. 779 [A.D. 26];" and Dr. Farrar considers ("Life of Christ," illustr. ed. App. p. 735) "that there is good ground to believe that St. Luke dates the year of the reign of Tiberius from his association with Augustus as joint emperor in A.U.C. 765 (A.D. 12)."

The Rev. H. Browne (Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Chronology, vol. i. p. 515) on the contrary states, "St. Luke's date 'fifteenth of Tiberius' (iii. 1) interpreted by the constant rule of the Imperial annals (and also of the Canon), denotes the year beginning August, A.D. 28, and ending in the same month of A.D. 29. Referred to the current consular year, it may mean either A.D. 28 or 29. Taken in the Jewish sense, it may be the year beginning either 1 Nisan or 1 Tisri, A.D. 28, or even 1 Tisri, A.D. 27. The hypothesis of a dating of the years of Tiberius from an epoch earlier by three years than the death of Augustus, which, from the sixteenth century downward, has found favour with many learned men, will not bear examination; it is unknown to the early ecclesiastical writers, and nowhere in histories, on

monuments, or coins, is a trace of any such epoch of Tiberius to be met with."

With respect to Dr. Thomson's and Dr. Farrar's theory, one which has been adopted by Norisius, Pagi, Ussher, Lardner, Hales, Greswell, and others, Clinton ("F. R." vol. ii. p. 237) writes, "they have no other reason for selecting that particular year [A.U.C. 765 = A.D. 12] as the epoch than because it is adapted to their own dates for the ministry of the Baptist."

With reference to the Rev. H. Browne's remark about coins, it appears that certain coins of Tiberius, struck at Antioch, with the legend ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ and dating from A.D. 12-14, have been described by Morell, Vaillant, and other numismatists, but their authenticity has been doubted by Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 277); whilst other genuine coins of Tiberius, issued also at Antioch, bear the date EM (45) of the Actian era, i.e. A.D. 14-15, with the letter A for the first year of his reign, and the date ZM (47), i.e. A.D. 16-17, with the letter Γ for the third year of his reign (Eckhel, *op. cit.* p. 278; cf. Lewin, "Fasti Sacri," pp. liv, 154, No. 1044).

I may add that Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. liii) is of opinion "that the reign of Tiberius as beginning from 19th August, A.D. 14, was as well known a date in the time of Luke as the reign of Queen Victoria in our own day, and that no single case has ever been or can be produced in which the years of Tiberius were reckoned in any other manner."

This coin was at one time ascribed by De Saulcy¹ to Judas Aristobulus, but the attribution was objected to by Cavedoni,² who considered that it should be attributed to Julia Augusta.³ De Saulcy⁴ did not at first accept this suggestion, with which, however, he now concurs.⁵

The piece above described appears to be in the British Museum, and I presume that it is from a careful examination of the piece itself that De Saulcy has read the date L. A. I may remark that he describes⁶ the obverse legend as IOYA.—CEB. (?), whilst his engraving⁷ shows the legend as IOYA—IAC in two lines. The date L. A is also clearly given. It is, however, uncertain how the coin may be truly described, as it is in a very imperfect state of preservation. The most that can be seen on the obverse is IOYI within a wreath, and on the reverse L. A (*very doubtful*).

It is possible that this coin may have been struck by Annus Rufus, who was still in office on the 19th of August, A.D. 14, and Valerius Gratus did not arrive till A.D. 15. I may add that it would be desirable to find a more perfect specimen of this piece.

2nd year, A.D. 15-16.

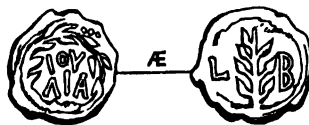
OBVERSE.

2. Æ. 3. KAI—CAP in two lines within a laurel wreath.

REVERSE.

Two cornua-copiae, between which L. B (year 2); above TIB.

(Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 66, No. 11; vol. ii. p. 48, No. 1, from the Ducal Museum at Parma; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 142, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 73, pl. iii. No. 6; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 184, No. 2. Specimens also exist in the Cabinets of Dr. Churchill Babington and the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.)



OBVERSE.

3. Æ. 4. IOY—AIA in two lines within a wreath.

REVERSE.

Ear of corn; in *field*, to right and left, L. B (year 2).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 141, pl. viii. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 142, No. 2; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 73, pl. iii. No. 7; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 3.)

¹ "Num. Jud." pp. 102, 103, pl. iv. No. 1. De Saulcy here described the legend on the obverse as IOYΔA—BAΣIA. (?) —A (?). Mr. Poole (Art. *Money* in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. ii. p. 413), as I have elsewhere stated ("Jew. Coinage," p. 150, note 3), adopted De Saulcy's opinion only as a "probable attribution," and describes the coin under "copper

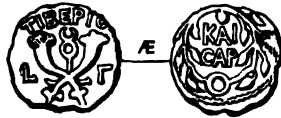
coins with Greek inscriptions, 'Judah the King' and A for Antigonus (?)." ² "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 48, No. 5, p. 50.

³ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 150. This Julia is the mother of Tiberius and *not* the wife. ⁴ "Rev. Num." 1857, p. 297.

⁵ "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 73.

⁶ *Op. cit.*

⁷ *Op. cit.* pl. iii. No. 5.



3rd year, A.D. 16-17.

OBVERSE.

4. Æ. 3. TIBEPIO[Y] above two cornua-copiae, between which a caduceus; in *field*, to right and left, L. Γ (year 3).

REVERSE.

KAI-CAP in two lines within a wreath.

(De Saulcy, "Bull. Arch. de l'Athen. Franç." 1855, pp. 5, 6; Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 274; Babington, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 67, pl. ii. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 143, No. 5; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 73, pl. iii. No. 8; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 4. Similar coins in the British Museum and former Wigan Collection read TIBEIPOC (*sic*).)

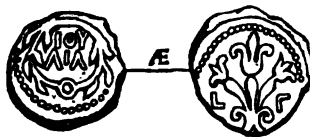
OBVERSE.

5. Æ. 3. KAI-CAP in two lines within a wreath.

REVERSE.

A triple lily; in *field*, to right and left, L. Γ (year 3).

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 74, pl. iii. No. 9. This variety was unknown till published by De Saulcy; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 185, No. 5.)



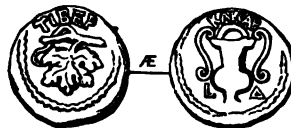
OBVERSE.

6. Æ. 4. IOY-ΛΙΑ in two lines within a wreath.

REVERSE.

Same type and date as No. 5.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 142, pl. viii. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 142, No. 4; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 74, pl. iii. No. 10; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 6.)



4th year, A.D. 17-18.

OBVERSE.

7. Æ. 3. TIBEP[IOY] above a vine-leaf.

REVERSE.

KAICAP above a diota; in *field*, to right and left, L. Δ (year 4).

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 145, No. 8; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 74, pl. iii. No. 11; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 7.)



OBVERSE.

8. Æ. 3. IOYΛΙΑ above a vine-leaf.

REVERSE.

Diota; in *field*, to right and left, L. Δ (year 4).

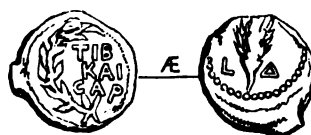
(Formerly in the Coll. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 144, No. 7; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 74, pl. iii. No. 12, a very imperfect engraving; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 8.)

Eckhel¹ and Cavedoni² describe the second of these coins (No. 8) with the date L. A (year 1). De Saulcy³ gave them both (Nos. 7 and 8) to the "year 1"; but a few years later he corrected this date to "year 4."⁴

Cavedoni⁵ has published similar pieces to No. 8, with the dates L. A and L. Δ, and the legend IOYΛΙΑ *within a wreath*. He states⁶ that he has taken their description from Mionnet;⁷ but I have shown⁸ that these coins are *not* described by Mionnet as having the name IOYΛΙΑ *within a wreath*, but *above a vine-leaf*.

The date L. Δ (year 4) is no doubt the correct one for these coins. The piece ascribed to Augustus by Cavedoni,⁹ with similar type to No. 7 and the date L. A (year 30), should certainly be read L. Δ, and should be ascribed to Tiberius.¹⁰

Cavedoni has suggested¹¹ that the diota on these coins may probably represent one of the wine-cups, which Julia and her husband Augustus presented to the Temple at Jerusalem, and which in the First Revolt was melted with other sacred utensils by order of John of Gischala.¹²



OBVERSE.

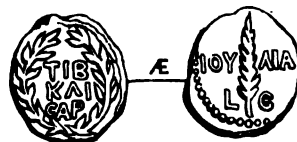
REVERSE.

9. Æ. 4. TIB—KAI—CAP in three lines within a wreath.

[IOY—ΛΙΑ.] A palm. In *field*, to right and left, L. Δ (year 4).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 143, pl. viii. No. 3 [read 9]; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 144, No. 6. The name IOYΛΙΑ is wanting in these descriptions. Perfect examples exist in De Saulcy's Collection and in the British Museum. De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 75, pl. iv. No. 1; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 186, No. 9. Examples sometimes have the legend retrograde, De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," pl. iv. No. 2.)

Eckhel¹³ and Cavedoni¹⁴ cite this coin with the date L. A (year 1), but probably incorrectly.



5th year, A.D. 18–19.

10. Æ. 3. Same obverse and reverse as No. 9. Date L. Ε (year 5).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 143, pl. viii. No. 10; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 146, No. 10; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 75, pl. iv. No. 3; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 10. The piece published by Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 497, and Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 65, No. 8; vol. ii. p. 49, No. 2, with the legend IOYΛΙΑ CE is probably misread, and the letters CE should be L. Ε. Cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 142; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 146, No. 9.)

¹ "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 498.

² "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 65, No. 5; vol. ii. p. 47, No. 2.

³ "Num. Jud." pp. 140, 141, pl. viii. Nos. 5, 6.

⁴ "Bull. Arch. de l'Athénæum Français," Jan. 1856, pp. 5, 6.

⁵ "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 65, No. 4; vol. ii. p. 47, No. 1.

⁶ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 47, *note*.

⁷ "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 377, Nos. 67, 68.

⁸ "Jew. Coinage," p. 339.

⁹ "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 65, No. 2; vol. ii. p. 39, No. 3.

¹⁰ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 139.

¹¹ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 49.

¹² Ἀπέχετο δ' ὁὐδὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναῖκος αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντων ἀκρατοφόρων. "Bell. Jud." v. 13, 6.

¹³ "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 498.

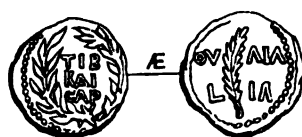
¹⁴ "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 66, No. 10; vol. ii. p. 49, No. 1.

6th year, A.D. 19-20.

Eckhel¹ and Cavedoni² have both described a piece similar to the type employed in the third year (see No. 6) with the date L. S (year 6). De Saulcy³ has always doubted the reading, and is convinced that the date should be L. Γ (year 3). I am of his opinion.⁴

7th year, A.D. 20-21, to 10th year, A.D. 23-24.

No coins of these years have been up to the present time discovered.



11th year, A.D. 24-25.

11. *Æ*. 3. Same obverse and reverse as No. 9. Date L. ΙΑ (year 11).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 144, pl. viii. No. 11; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 146, No. 12; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 75, pl. iv. No. 4; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 11. A piece formerly in the late Mr. Wigan's Cabinet has the date L. ΑΙ.)

The coin of this type with the date L. ΙΔ (year 14), published by Eckhel⁵ and Cavedoni,⁶ is most likely misread.

De Saulcy attributes this coin to Pontius Pilate. He says: "Après un intervalle de six ans, nous voyons reparaître une monnaie à Jérusalem. On ne peut guère se rendre compte de cette réapparition qu'en admettant l'arrivée en Judée d'un nouveau procurateur, désireux de rendre hommage à l'empereur régnant. Or Valerius Gratus fut remplacé par Pontius Pilatus en l'an 26 de J.-C., dont la première moitié appartient à l'an 11 de Tibère."

It is quite true, as De Saulcy states, that Pontius Pilate succeeded Valerius Gratus in A.D. 26; the first portion of the eleventh year of Tiberius does *not*, however, happen to fall in this year, but in the year A.D. 24. Moreover, though no coins have as yet been discovered of the years "6" to "10," there is no reason why they should not exist. Eckhel⁷ and Cavedoni⁸ have both published pieces of similar type to No. 9, with the date L. Θ (year 9).⁹

This coin, therefore, should be attributed to Valerius Gratus.

12th year, A.D. 25-26.

No coins of this year up to the present time discovered.

¹ "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 497.

² "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 65, No. 6; vol. ii. p. 47, No. 3.

³ "Num. Jud." p. 142; "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 75.

⁴ Cf. "Jew. Coinage," p. 146, No. 11.

⁵ "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 498.

⁶ "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 66, No. 10; vol. ii. p. 49, No. 1.

⁷ "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 498.

⁸ "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 66, No. 10; vol. ii. p. 49, No. 1.

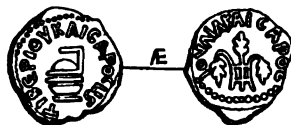
⁹ See my note in "Jew. Coinage," p. 147, note 3.

PONTIUS PILATE, FIFTH PROCURATOR, A.D. 26—A.D. $\frac{35}{36}$.

13th year, A.D. 26–27, to 15th year, A.D. 28–29.

No coins of these years up to the present time discovered.

*This type also of Valerius Gratus
dated L. IA (L. IA = year 11)
as Eckhel see note below **
16th year, A.D. 29–30.



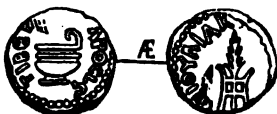
OBVERSE.

12. Æ. 3. TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC L. IS (year 16). *Simpulum*.

REVERSE.

IOYAIA KAICAPOC. Three ears of corn bound together.

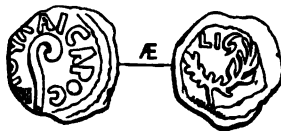
(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 144, pl. ix. Nos. 1, 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 147, No. 13; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 75, pl. iv. No. 5. The example given by De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 144, pl. ix. No. 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 147, with the date L. S, should doubtless read L. IS. De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 75; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 12.)



*

Eckhel¹ and Cavedoni² have given coins of the same types, with the dates L. H and L. IA. They probably do not really exist.³

Julia, the mother of Tiberius, died in A.D. 29.



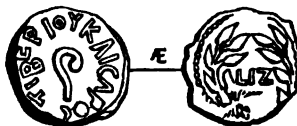
OBVERSE.

13. Æ. 3. [TIBEP]IOY KAICAPOC. *Litus*.

REVERSE.

L. IS (year 16) within a wreath.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 145, pl. ix. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 149, No. 14; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 76, pl. iv. No. 6; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 13.)



17th year, A.D. 30–31.

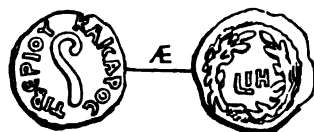
14. Æ. 3. Same obverse and reverse as No. 13, excepting that the date is L. IZ (year 17).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 146, pl. ix. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 149, No. 15; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 76, pl. iv. No. 7; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 189, No. 14.)

¹ "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 498.

² "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 65, No. 9; vol. ii. p. 49, No. 3.

³ See my note in "Jew. Coinage," p. 147, note 3.



18th year, A.D. 31-32.

15. *Æ*. 3. Same obverse and reverse as No. 13, excepting that the date is L. IH (year 18).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 146, pl. ix. Nos. 4 and 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 149, No. 16; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 76, pl. iv. No. 8; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 15.)

Cavedoni¹ gives a coin of this type with the date L. IA (year 11), and quotes one from Sestini² with the same date. Both are probably misread.

The new type of the last three coins was evidently adopted by Pontius Pilate after the death of Julia, the mother of Tiberius,³ in A.D. 29, and may have been suggested by the strong weakness Tiberius is known to have had for augurs and astrologers.⁴

MARCELLUS, SIXTH PROCURATOR, A.D. 36—A.D. 37.

There are no coins up to the present time known struck by Marcellus.

REIGN OF CAIUS (CALIGULA), A.D. 37—A.D. 41.

MARULLUS, SEVENTH PROCURATOR, A.D. 37—A.D. 41.

There are no coins in existence struck by Marullus. In all probability none were ever issued, as in April, A.D. 37, Agrippa I. received from Caligula the tetrarchy of Philip II., and in A.D. 40 Galilee and Peræa, and struck coins in his own name as king.⁵

REIGN OF CLAUDIUS, A.D. 41—A.D. 54.

CUSPIUS FADUS, EIGHTH PROCURATOR, A.D. 44—A.D. 46.

Agrippa I. reigned till the summer of A.D. 44, when he died, and his son being considered too young to undertake the government, Cuspius Fadus was appointed procurator. No coins, have, however, been discovered that could have been issued during his procuratorship.

¹ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 48, No. 2.

² "Descr. Num. Vet." p. 647, No. 7.

³ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 148, 149.

⁴ Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 6, 9; Suet. "Tib." 69. Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 48; cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 150) has supposed that the following coin, taken from

Hardouin, was struck in Judæa—*Obv.* ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ-
ΚΑΡΟC *Rev.* ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟC. Three ears
of corn growing on the same stalk. *Æ*. But it is most likely of
Alexandrian origin.

⁵ See CHAPTER VI. p. 129, Sect. F. HEROD AGRIPPA I.

TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, NINTH PROCURATOR, A.D. 46—A.D. 48.

No coins up to the present time discovered.

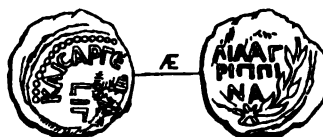
VENTIDIUS CUMANUS, TENTH PROCURATOR, A.D. 48—A.D. 52.

No coins up to the present time discovered.

CLAUDIUS or ANTONIUS FELIX, ELEVENTH PROCURATOR, A.D. 52—A.D. 60.

Felix, as we have seen, was appointed procurator about A.D. 52, in the twelfth year of Claudius, but no coins have been found of this year.

Those discovered are of the thirteenth and following year.



13th year, A.D. 53-54.

OBVERSE.

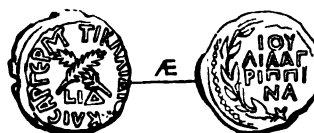
1. \mathcal{A} . 4. KAICAP ΓΕ . . . Two palm-branches placed crosswise; below, L. Γ (year 13).

REVERSE.

. . . ΛΙΑ ΑΓ-ΡΙΠΠΙ-ΝΑ in four lines within a wreath.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 149, pl. ix. No. 9; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 151, No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 76; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 190, No. 1.)

This coin is very rare, and is the only example that M. de Saulcy has ever seen. It was formerly in the Wigan Collection.



14th year, A.D. 54-55.

OBVERSE.

2. \mathcal{A} . 4. TI. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC KAICAP ΓΕPM. Two palm-branches placed crosswise; below, L. Δ (year 14).

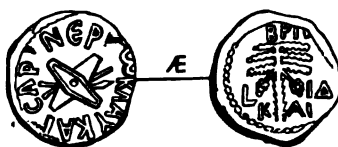
REVERSE.

ΙΟΥ-ΛΙΑ ΑΓ-ΡΙΠΠΙ-ΝΑ in four lines within a wreath.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 149, pl. ix. No. 10; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 152, No. 2; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 76, pl. iv. No. 9; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 191, No. 2.)

These two coins are probably the only ones which represent the family name of Agrippina—*Julia*. Cavedoni¹ quotes an inscription of *Ilium* from the "Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum,"² which is dedicated ΙΟΥΛΙΑΙ ΞΕΒΑΣΤΗΙ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΗ[Ι] by Claudius and his sons, the Cæsars Nero and Britannicus, about the year A.D. 53 or 54.

Nero and Britannicus Cæsars.



14th year, A.D. 54-55.

OBVERSE.

Æ. 4. ΝΕΡΩ. ΚΑΛΥ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ round two shields and two small javelins placed crosswise.

REVERSE.

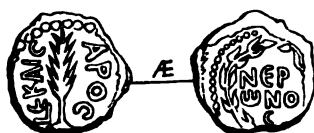
Palm-tree; above, BPIT.; below, KAI.; to right and left, L. ΙΔ (year 14).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 150, pl. ix. No. 11; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 152; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 77, pl. iv. No. 10; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 191.)

Specimens of this coin with the date L. ΙΑ (year 11) are given by Eckhel³ and Cavedoni,⁴ but have been probably misread.

REIGN OF NERO, A.D. 54—A.D. 68.

CLAUDIUS OR ANTONIUS FELIX, ELEVENTH PROCURATOR (*continued*).



5th year, A.D. 58-59.

OBVERSE.

Æ. 4. L. Ε ΚΑΙCΑΡΟC. Palm.

REVERSE.

ΝΕΡ-ΩΝΟ-Σ in three lines within a wreath.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 150, pl. ix. No. 12; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 153; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 77, pl. iv. No. 11. Varieties of this coin read ΝΕΡΟΝΟC [sometimes retrograde] and ΝΕΡΩΝ, De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. ix. Nos. 13, 14; "Num. de la Terre Sainte," pl. iv. Nos. 12, 13, 14; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 192.)

¹ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 52, *note*.

² No. 3610. Quoted incorrectly by me in "Jew. Coinage," p. 152, *note* 9, from "Gruter" (Cavedoni, "Principali Questioni, etc.," p. 7).

³ "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 498; vol. vi. p. 254.

⁴ "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 66, No. 14; vol. ii. p. 52.

This coin M. de Saulcy has assigned to Porcius Festus.

In any case the coin was issued in A.D. 58-59, and these years were current during the procuratorship of Felix (see our TABLE).

6th year, A.D. 59-60.

No coins up to the present time discovered.

PORCIUS FESTUS, TWELFTH PROCURATOR, A.D. 60—end of A.D. 61.

7th year, A.D. 60-61, to 8th year, A.D. 61-62.

No coins of these years up to the present time discovered.

ALBINUS, THIRTEENTH PROCURATOR, A.D. 62—A.D. 64.

9th year, A.D. 62-63, to 10th year, A.D. 63-64.

No coins of these years up to the present time discovered.

GESSIUS FLORUS, FOURTEENTH PROCURATOR, A.D. 64—A.D. 66.

11th year, A.D. 64-65, to 12th year, A.D. 65-66.

No coins of these years up to the present time discovered.

A TABLE is appended to illustrate the coinage of the Procurators of Judæa.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE COINS OF THE PROCURATORS OF JUDÆA.

"Anni Augusti," era commencing 1 Jan. A.C. 27.	Dates on Coins of Procurators.	Actual Years of Procurators.	Remarks.
May, A.D. 6	L. ΔΓ	1	Archelaus banished. Judæa becomes a Roman province.
7-33		2	
8-34		3	
9-35	L. Δϵ	1	Ambivius
10-36	L. Δζ	2	
11-37		3	
12-38	L. Δθ	1	Rufus
13-39	L. Μ	2	
14-40	L. ΜΑ	3	
15-41			19th August, A.D. 14, death of Augustus. End of "Anni Augusti." Accession of Tiberius.
A.D.			
14-1st year of Tiberius	L. ΑΡ	1	19th August, A.D. 14, Rufus still in office. Valerius Gratus arrives in A.D. 15.
15-2nd "	L. Β	2	
16-3rd "	L. Γ	3	
17-4th "	L. Δ	4	Valerius Gratus
18-5th "	L. ε	5	
19-6th "		6	
20-7th "		7	Gratus
21-8th "		8	
22-9th "		9	
23-10th "		10	Gratus deposed. Pontius Pilate appointed towards the end of A.D. 26.
24-11th "	L. ΙΑ	11	
25-12th "		12	
26-13th "		1	Pontius Pilate
27-14th "		2	
28-15th "		3	
29-16th "	L. ΙΓ	4	Pontius Pilate
30-17th "	L. ΙΔ	5	
31-18th "	L. ΙΗ	6	
32-19th "		7	Pilate
33-20th "		8	
34-21st "		9	
35-22nd "		10	Marcellus
36-23rd "		1	
37-24th "		2	
37-1st year of Caligula		1	Caligula. Marullus procurator.
38-2nd "		2	
39-3rd "		3	
40-4th "		4	Marullus
41-5th "		5	
42-6th "		6	
Jan. 25th 41-1st year of Claudius		1	Jan. 24th, A.D. 41, Caligula killed. Claudius began to reign the next day. Marullus recalled.
42-2nd "		2	
43-3rd "		3	
44-4th "		1	Cuspius Fadus
45-5th "		2	
46-6th "		3	
47-7th "		1	Tib. Alexander
48-8th "		2	
49-9th "		3	
50-10th "		1	Cumanus
51-11th "		2	
52-12th "		3	
53-13th "		1	Felix
54-14th year of Claudius	L. ΙΓ	2	
55-1st year of Nero.	L. ΙΔ	3	
55-2nd "		4	Felix
56-3rd "		5	
57-4th "		6	
58-5th "		7	Festus
59-6th "		8	
60-7th "		9	
61-8th "		1	Albinus
62-9th "		2	
63-10th "		3	
64-11th "		1	Florus
65-12th "		2	
66-13th "		3	

CHAPTER VIII.

MONEY STRUCK DURING THE FIRST REVOLT OF THE JEWS.

GESSIUS FLORUS, who, as previously stated,¹ succeeded Albinus in A.D. 64, proved even a greater tyrant than his predecessor. Already, under former Procurators, had the enmity of the Jews towards their oppressors found vent in many outbreaks, which lasted for only a short time. These insurrections were always quickly subdued, and the Jews only postponed their attempts for attaining independence to a suitable time. The conduct of Florus in oppressing the people helped to drive them to insurrection. It was owing to certain events happening at Cæsarea, that the Jews were brought into direct hostility with Rome. Two parties laid claim to the city, the Greeks and the Jews. The claim of the former finding favour with the Romans, and the religion of the Jews having been in several instances insulted by the inhabitants of Cæsarea, the Jews broke out into open rebellion. Florus, instead of hastening to Cæsarea to quell the flame of the war, further insulted the oppressed Jews by attempting to obtain seventeen talents from the treasure in the Temple, pretending "that Cæsar wanted them." We must pass over the account of the fearful tumult that ensued, of Queen Bernice's pleading barefoot before Florus, and only allude to the famous speech that Agrippa II. made to the Jews,² entreating them to pause ere they made war with Rome. It was of no avail. Hitherto it had been customary for the governor of the Temple to offer sacrifices for the welfare of the Roman Empire; but Eleazar, the captain of the Temple,³ the son of the high-priest Ananias,⁴ refused to do so, massacred the Roman

¹ See CHAPTER VII. p. 172.

² He is styled by St. Paul as "expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews" (Acts xxvi. 3), and Josephus ("Contra Ap." i. 9) calls him "a most wonderful man" (θαυματολόγος, cf. "Antiq." xviii. 5, 3, θαύματος ἀξιότατον).

³ Στρατηγὸς . . . παῖς Ἀνάνου [read Ἀναβίου] τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 9, 3; "Bell. Jud." ii. 17, 2. He is not the same as Eleazar, son of Ananus, high-priest under Gratus, A.D. 15 (Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 2, 2; see p. 190, note 4). This was a Jewish and not a Roman officer, who had the command of the priests and Levites employed to keep watch over the Temple. A στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ is spoken of by St. Luke (xxii. 4, 52) and in the Acts (iv. 1; v. 24). "The priests that kept the door" (2 Kings xii. 9; xxv. 18) are mentioned by Josephus (τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὰ ἱερὰ ἡγεμόνας, "Antiq." x. 8, 5); and when, before the taking of Jerusalem, the gate of the Temple opened of its own accord, those who kept watch in the Temple ran and told the captain (δραμόντες δ' οἱ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φύλακες ἡγγεῖλαν τῷ στρατηγῷ, "Bell. Jud." vi. 5, 3). Ananus, another of the sons of Ananias, also held this office (Joseph.

"Antiq." xx. 6, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 6). [See note 4.] The προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, in 2 Maccab. iii. 4, rendered "governor of the Temple," was doubtless the same officer as the στρατηγός of the New Testament and Josephus [see CHAPTER IV. p. 55, note].

⁴ This Ananias is the high-priest before whom St. Paul was tried, and of whom he said, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall" (Acts xxiii. 3). He was the son of Nebedæus, and was appointed to the high-priesthood by Herod, king of Chalcis, in the place of Joseph, son of Camydus (Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 5, 2). In A.D. 52 he and his son Ananus [see note 3] were sent bound to Rome by order of Quadratus to answer charges brought against them by the Samaritans, but were soon released ("Antiq." xx. 6, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 6). He appears to have been high-priest with Jonathan, who was killed by order of Felix ("Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 6; "Antiq." xx. 8, 5). He must have been deposed just before the departure of Felix to Rome ("Antiq." xx. 8, 8), but from his wealth obtained great influence at Jerusalem ("Antiq." xx. 9, 2). He was eventually killed at the commencement of the Jewish war ("Bell. Jud." ii. 17, 9). He must not be confounded with Ananus (see p. 190, note 4).

garrison, and remained master of the town for some time.¹ His principal act after this was the war he waged against Manahem, the youngest son of Judas of Galilee, whom he eventually defeated and killed. Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, who had been much harassed at Beth-horon by Simon, son of Gioras, encamped at Scopus. Thence, after three days' delay, he advanced towards Jerusalem and laid siege to it; and, after several days' fighting, at last attempted to break into the Temple, but was vigorously repulsed by the Jews. Suddenly, calling off his troops, he retreated to his camp, whither he was followed by the insurgents, and eventually retiring to Beth-horon, the Roman army was completely defeated. This took place in A.D. 66. The part that Eleazar, son of Ananias, took in the history of which we are treating, was not of very long duration. Immediately after the defeat of Cestius Gallus, he was sent with others into Idumæa in military command, and nothing more is known of him.²

Already in these early struggles had Eleazar, the son of Simon,³ signally distinguished himself among the Zealots, and especially when he returned to Jerusalem with a great part of the treasures taken from Cestius and the Romans. Yet as he was of a tyrannical spirit, the office of governor of the city was not granted to him, but this post was given jointly to Joseph, the son of Gorion,⁴ and Ananus the high-priest. The Zealots, however, were devoted to Eleazar, for the "want of money, and the artful tricks used by him, brought all so about, that the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to his authority in all public affairs." Generals were also chosen for the provinces, and amongst them, for the two Galilees and the city of Gamala, Josephus the Historian, who afterwards assumed the name of Flavius. He fulfilled his arduous duty with great prudence and energy, and was continually engaged in thwarting the plots of his rival John, the son of Levi, of Gischala. Josephus neglected nothing in order to place Galilee in a proper condition for resistance, but his devices—with all their ingenuity—failed to hinder the efforts of the Romans; and at last, after a wearying siege of 48 days, the city of Jotapata fell. On the capture of this city, A.D. 67, Josephus surrendered himself to Vespasian, who, though putting his prisoner in chains, still treated him with considerable distinction. In quick succession the cities of Tiberias, Taricheæ, Gamala, and Gischala, which the above-mentioned John held in possession, also were captured.

After the fall of Gischala, John, son of Levi, escaped to Jerusalem, where he was received in the most flattering manner, for being a man of subtle powers, he soon obtained a very influential position. The character given of him by Josephus, with whom he was at enmity, is by no means favourable, and though after-circumstances went far to justify the correctness of the Historian's views, it is not unlikely that personal antipathy may have sharpened his invectives. In the mean time dissensions were predominant at Jerusalem between

¹ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 17, 2.

² Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 20, 4.

³ Though not the son of a high-priest, he was still of priestly race (*γένος ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων*, Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iv. 4, 1).

⁴ This Joseph, son of Gorion (Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 20, 4), is called in another place Gorion, the son of Joseph ("Bell. Jud." iv. 3, 9). He was slain at the commencement of the tumults by the Zealots ("Bell. Jud." iv. 6, 1).

the factions and their leaders, which had no doubt contributed much to the fall of the Galilæan cities. The fugitives from these cities were very bitter against the cautious Moderate party, who were still very powerful at Jerusalem, and had banished Simon, son of Gioras, who had previously distinguished himself in the overthrow of the Romans under Cestius Gallus. He had, in consequence, with his bandits, taken up his abode at Acrabattine, but an army having been sent against him by Ananus, he retired and leagued himself with the robbers (*Sicarii*¹) who had taken possession of the fortress of Masada.

Affecting to join the party of Ananus, John of Gischala was in frequent correspondence with the Zealots, who continued mercilessly to oppress the people and to make them victims of their extortions. All power in the people to resist these harpies—enemies more deadly than the Romans—seemed paralyzed, and it was not till "Gorion the son of Joseph,"² and Simeon the son of Gamaliel,³ had encouraged them, and Jesus son of Gamala, and Ananus the son of Ananus, had long and eloquently harangued them, that they were moved, and that they demanded to be led to battle against them. The result was a civil war in the city, into which the Idumæans, by request of Simon, soon entered, making the contests of the factions still more dreadful. Ananus, against whom the animosity of the Zealots was particularly directed, was slain,⁴ and a general massacre of the people followed. With the death of Ananus, of whose justice and vigilance Josephus speaks in high terms, all hopes of peace died out. At length most of the Idumæans left the city, and the Zealots, who now found themselves masters, did not cease to practise their iniquities. While the Holy City was the scene of continual and fatal dissensions, and the Romans were advancing to subdue it, another enemy appeared, in the person of Simon, son of Gioras. As cruel, as relentless as John of Gischala, he was, however, a man of less ability. He had, during the insurrection in Jerusalem, collected a considerable army, and encamping before its walls made war upon the city from

¹ The *Sicarii* were so named from using small swords (*ἐπιβία*), not much different in length from the Persian *acinaces*, but somewhat crooked and like the Roman *sica* (Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 8, 10). They used to murder people in the daytime, and in the midst of the city, with these weapons, which they concealed under their garments. Jonathan the high-priest, in A.D. 57, was slain by them, and they were so cunning, that when those they had stabbed fell down dead, they themselves took part in the indignation against the murderers! ("Bell. Jud." ii. 13, 3). They are called *סיקרין* and *סיקרין* in the Talmud (Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 85, note).

² See p. 189, note 4.

³ "Bell. Jud." iv. 3, 9. Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, was perhaps President of the Jewish Sanhedrin (see p. 194). He was a friend of John of Gischala, and attempted to persuade the high-priest Ananus, and Jesus, son of Gamala, to get rid of Josephus ("Vit." sect. 38 seq.). Nevertheless, Josephus speaks of him "as of a very noble family, of the sect of the Pharisees, excelling others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country," and holds him up as "a man of great wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs, by his prudence, when they were in an ill posture" (*δυνάμενός τε πρᾶγματα κακῶς κείμενα φρονήσει τῇ*

αὐτοῦ διορθέσασθαι, "Vit." loc. cit.). His father Gamaliel was the celebrated Jewish doctor, "the Beauty of the Law," and grandson of Hillel. He it was who pleaded the cause of St. Peter and the other Apostles (Acts v. 34-40), and was the preceptor of St. Paul (Acts xxii. 3). He is said to have died eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem. His son Simeon, of whom we here speak, perished in the ruins of the city.

⁴ Ananus was the last of the five sons of the high-priest Ananus (or Annas, St. John xviii. 13; Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 2, 1), all of whom had held the high-priesthood ("Antiq." xviii. 2, 2; 4, 3; 5, 3; xix. 6, 4; xx. 9, 1). He was accused before Agrippa II. of the murder of James the brother of Jesus, and deprived of the priesthood (Joseph. "Antiq." xx. 9, 1). [See CHAPTER VII. p. 173, note 2.] He must, however, in the constant changes have been re-appointed, as we find him high-priest and governor of the city ("Bell. Jud." ii. 20, 3), and, with Jesus, son of Gamala, the most esteemed of the high-priests ("Bell. Jud." iv. 3, 7, 9). He is said to have plotted with John of Gischala against Josephus ("Vit." sect. 38 seq.). His speech to the people is given in Josephus ("Bell. Jud." iv. 3, 10); and his death, together with Jesus, the son of Gamala, in "Bell. Jud." iv. 5, 2.

without, as John of Gischala from within. To quote the words of Milman,¹ "those who stayed were tyrannized over by John, those who fled, massacred by Simon." The party of John, however, soon divided, and the Idumæans, who had remained in Jerusalem, and the Zealots again quarrelled. Dreading the power of the latter, the Idumæans assembled a council of the chief priests, at which it was resolved that Simon should be invited to enter the city, even though they introduced "a second tyrant" within its walls. Accordingly Simon granted them "his lordly protection" and entered Jerusalem.² The people, upon this, made joyful acclamations and hailed him as their deliverer and preserver. It was about this time that Galba, after the death of Nero, was saluted as Emperor, but before he could establish himself on the throne, he was murdered, and Otho, who had opposed him, committed suicide. The German legions then set up Vitellius, whilst the legions at Alexandria named their general Vespasian. Vitellius was killed, and Vespasian was decreed by the Senate Emperor at Rome. Amidst such fluctuating circumstances, Vespasian did not think it advisable to prosecute the war against the Jews, but despatched his son Titus to effect the conquest of the capital of Palestine, and so complete the subjugation of the entire country.

In the city there were now three great factions, headed respectively by Eleazar, John of Gischala, and Simon, son of Gioras.³ Eleazar still held his position in the Temple, while John of Gischala remained in the Tower of Antonia. Simon, whose head-quarters were in the Tower Phasaelus, held the district north of the Temple. While John enjoyed an advantage over Simon, Eleazar enjoyed a similar advantage over John. It is worthy of remark, that while the contests of these three factions were raging in Jerusalem, the usual sacrifices were being made upon the altar in the Temple, and that the inhabitants and even strangers still wended their way thither, praying and sacrificing as of yore, though their devotions were interrupted by the stones and arrows which the contending parties were discharging at each other. John at last obtained possession of the Temple by stratagem, and, assassinating Eleazar, thus reduced the three factions to two.

It is scarcely to be wondered at, that the intestine troubles at Jerusalem made many pray for the speedy arrival of the Romans. At last, in the spring of A.D. 70, Titus arrived before Jerusalem, thus compelling the two leaders to lay aside their mutual animosities, and to join in opposing their common enemy. The Romans gradually advanced the work of the siege. The Jews abandoned the first wall; the second was then lost and regained. Still the heights of Sion, the Antonia and the Temple, seemed impregnable. But there was a more deadly foe at work in the city, whose stealthy progress helped to accomplish the task which the legions of Titus had yet failed to do. The dearth of provisions, from which the inhabitants

¹ "History of the Jews," 4th ed. 1866, vol. ii. p. 312.

² It is not known whether he entered Jerusalem during the second year, but we do know for certain that he entered it after the 25th of April, in the third year—*Σίμων μὲν οὕτως ἐνιαντίῳ τρίτῳ τοῦ πολέμου ἑαυτοῦ μὴν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο*—Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iv. 9, 12.

³ "Nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, eoque seditiosius agebant. Tres duces, totidem exercitus." Tac. "Hist." v. 12. He erroneously calls John "Bargioras." The text is corrected in Bekker's edition of Tacitus (Leipzig, 1831).

had been suffering, had at last ended in famine. The details of this part of the siege are frightful, and are well known. When the siege had proceeded some little time, Titus tried to persuade the inhabitants to surrender, but his offers were rejected and the siege was again renewed. The Antonia was at length taken; and eventually the Temple, the Jews fighting desperately, contesting the ground inch by inch. It was against the wish of Titus that the Temple should be destroyed, but a Roman soldier thrusting a brand between the hinges of one of its doors, it was soon one mass of flames. A fearful carnage ensued; the treasures were plundered and destroyed, and the fury of the Roman soldiers, as they ran through the city, slaying indiscriminately all who came in their way, was unbounded.

The two leaders, John of Gischala, and Simon son of Gioras, fled for awhile from the Romans. John, pressed by hunger, soon delivered himself up, and his life was spared. Simon son of Gioras was less fortunate, and to complete the triumph of Titus was carried to Rome, exhibited at the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and executed near the Forum.¹ Thus fell Jerusalem, and, to use the words of Josephus, "the whole of it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundation, that no one visiting it would believe it had ever been inhabited."²

ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND REVOLTS OF THE JEWS.

With respect to the coinage of this period, it may perhaps be as well to recapitulate the various classifications that have been suggested.

De Saulcy³ and Cavedoni⁴ assigned to the revolt under Nero only the two small brass coins of the years 2 and 3.⁵

In 1860 M. de Vogüé published⁶ the coins of an Eleazar the Priest, and assigned them to Eleazar, son of Simon.

The late Dr. Levy, of Breslau, in 1862⁷ remodelled the whole classification of the coinage of this period, and attributed coins to Eleazar, son of Simon; Simon, son of Gioras; Simon,

¹ Βαργιόρας ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν καὶ μόνος γε οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις ἐκολάσθη. Dion Cass. lxi. 7; cf. Joseph. "Bell. Jud." vii. 5, 6.

² "Bell. Jud." vii. 1, 1. Josephus says that 97,000 were carried captive during the war, and 1,100,000 perished during the siege ("Bell. Jud." vi. 9, 3), besides the 40,000 who were allowed to go where they pleased ("Bell. Jud." vi. 8, 2). These numbers amount to 1,237,000. It is certain that Josephus has much exaggerated, and that, taking the extreme, there may have been 60,000 or 70,000 in the city when Titus came against

it (Fergusson, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. i. p. 1025; cf. Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," 4th ed. 1866, vol. ii. p. 380).

³ "Num. Jud." p. 163, pl. x. Nos. 1, 2.

⁴ "Biblische Numismatik," vol. ii. p. 53.

⁵ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 180, Nos. 1, 2.

⁶ "Rev. Num." 1860, p. 280 *seq.* pl. xiii. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 161 *seq.*

⁷ "Jüdische Münzen," p. 88 *seq.*

son of Gamaliel; and Ananus (?). All coins not *re-struck* were assigned by him to the "first revolt," the remainder were given to the "revolt under Bar-cohab."

To the theories thus advanced by Dr. Levy in 1862, which were in the main adopted by myself in 1864,¹ M. De Sauley, in 1865,² raised some very strong objections, and having well considered the matter, came to the following conclusions and classifications:—

1. The pieces of small brass with the type of the vase and vine-leaf belong undoubtedly to the first revolt which preceded the siege of Titus.

2. All the other coins without exception belong to the second revolt, that of Bar-cohab.

3. The coins of Eleazar the Priest were issued by the Eleazar whom Bar-cohab put to death, under the pretext that he kept up relations with the Romans, but much more probably because he saw in him a rival.

4. The coins of Simon Nasi were issued by the President of the Sanhedrin, Simon III., son of Gamaliel II., contemporary of Bar-cohab, who did not dare treat this holy person as he had treated Eleazar.

5. All the coins with the name of Simon without the title Nasi belong to Bar-cohab, of whom they reveal the true name, a name which historians have not transmitted to us.

6. As to the anonymous pieces with the legend *ירושלם*, they were probably issued for an exclusively religious purpose, and by the priestly body.

In the same year (1865) the Rev. Padre Garrucci wrote an excellent paper on this subject,³ arranging the coins as follows: A. Coins of the *First Revolt* with the legends *לגאלת ציון* and *לגאלת ציון* (?) and the year written at length *שנת אחת*, *שנת שנים*, *שנת שלוש*, and *שנת ארבע* (?). B. Coins of the *Second Revolt* with the legend *לחרות ישראל* for the first year and no date, and for the second *לחרות ישראל* and the date always in cipher *ש'ב*. With this classification I concurred, with the exception of that of the coins of the fourth year (*שנת ארבע*) usually attributed to Simon Maccabæus.⁴

Dr. Merzbacher next attempted an arrangement:⁵

First Revolt. (1) Coins of Eleazar the priest; (2) Coins of Simon Prince (*נשיא*) of Israel; (3) Coins of Simon, *without the title* "Prince of Israel," and with the legend *לחרות ישראל*; and (4) Coins with the legend *ירושלם*. *Second Revolt.* Coins, either overstruck, or not overstruck, with the legend *לחרות ירושלם*.

He thus nearly reverts to the original arrangement advocated by the late Dr. Levy and myself, in which most of the coins of Simon with the legend *לחרות ישראל* were assigned to the First Revolt, but he adds certain pieces (the tetradrachms with a star bearing

¹ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 161 *seq.*

² "Rev. Num." 1865, vol. i. p. 26 of *tirage à part*; cf. Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. v. p. 210 *seq.*; De Sauley, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 250; cf. Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1872, vol. xii. p. 1.

³ "Dissertazioni Archeologiche di vario Argomento," vol. ii. p. 31.

⁴ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 36; 1875, vol. xv. pp. 304-309. See CHAPTER V. p. 72.

⁵ "Zeitschrift für Num." 1873, vol. i. pp. 219-237; 1877, vol. iv. pp. 350-365.

this legend) which I preferred to consider as belonging to Bar-cohab. Dr. Merzbacher suggests that Simon ben Gamaliel may have suppressed, from some unknown motive, the title *Nasi Israel* on his later coins, and that therefore he struck, not only the coins with the type of the vase and lyre, but all those with the name "Simon" and the date of the "year 2 of the deliverance of Israel." Coins, however, with this legend, super-struck at the time of Vespasian and Trajan, disprove this.¹

The theory of M. de Saulcy that the coins of Eleazar belonged to Eleazar of Modaim, contemporary of Bar-cohab,² was most emphatically denied by the late Dr. Levy, who in a letter addressed to me in 1865 wrote as follows:³—"There is one thing, however, which I must dispute once for all, viz. that Eleazar of Modaim (אלעזר המדעי), the co-temporary of Ben-Cosiba, ever struck coins. Wherever he is mentioned in the Talmud he is always represented as a kind of half-saint, able to subdue his enemies rather by prayer than by the sword, and to this may be added the assertion of this very Rabbi (cf. Synhed. fol. 22, b) "that the square characters (Aschuri) had not been changed" (כתב זה לנשתנה כל עיקר); that is to say, the Thora was from its commencement written in the square character, and that this character had never undergone any modification. This is a strange contradiction to the inscription on his stamped coins."

The late Dr. Levy attributed certain coins to Simon Nasi, son of Gamaliel I., on the authority of "Sabbat 15 a."⁴ That he ever bore the title *Nasi* is contested by M. Derenbourg⁵ as follows:—"Josephus ('Vita,' 38) only says that Simon was of illustrious birth, and that he belonged to the sect of the Pharisees, who seemed to distinguish themselves from others by a rigorous observance of hereditary laws." Hence M. Derenbourg maintains in consequence of Josephus's silence that the passage of the "Sabbat" is not to be depended upon, and that Simon, though having a seat in the Sanhedrin, was certainly not president.

These coins De Saulcy would give to Simon III., the son of Gamaliel II., and he has been supported in this theory by M. Derenbourg,⁶ who fixes the commencement of the patriarchate to the time of Gamaliel II., and considers Simon III. was the first patriarch of this name.

The late Dr. Levy was, however, of opinion⁷ that "it is utterly impossible to ascribe

¹ See CHAPTER X. Nos. 28, 29.

² It has been asserted by M. Derenbourg ("Essai," p. 424) that Bar-cohab was the nephew of Eleazar of Modaim (Midrasch on Echa ii. 2) חביבך' אלעזר ונן "thy uncle (*Chabib*) R. Eleazar," whom he killed whilst praying at Bethar (Gittin, 57a). "Elle explique cependant la présence à Bethar de ce R. Eléazar qui jouait autrement un rôle très insignifiant dans le cercle des docteurs qui entouraient Gamliel II."

³ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 345. The Padre Garrucci ("Mon. delle due Rivolte," in the "Diss. Arch. di vario Argomento," vol. ii. p. 39) says: "But the Thalmud does not attribute to this Eleazar any command in Bethar, and only says that that Rabbi prayed God not to judge that city, which gives no sufficient evidence to those who would make him head of the revolt and colleague of Bar-cohab."

⁴ הלל ושמועון נמליאל ושמועון נהנו נשיאותן לפני הבית מאה שנה, i.e. "Hillel and Simon, Gamaliel and Simon occupied the

presidency before the destruction of the Temple, during one hundred years." "Jüdische Münzen," p. 125. The following list of the presidents of the Sanhedrin is given by Dr. Christian D. Ginsburg, in the Art. *Education*, in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander:—HILLEL I., the Great (B.C. 30—A.D. 10); SIMON I., *δ.* Hillel I. (A.D. 10-30); GAMALIEL I., *δ.* Simon I. (A.D. 30-50); SIMON II., *δ.* Gamaliel I. (A.D. 50-70); JOCHANAN, *δ.* Zakkai, founder of the school of Jamnia (A.D. 68-80); GAMALIEL II. of Jamnia, *δ.* Simon II. (A.D. 80-116); SIMON III., *δ.* Gamaliel II. (A.D. 140-163); JEHUDAH I., *δ.* Simon III. (A.D. 163-193); GAMALIEL III., *δ.* Jehudah I. (A.D. 193-220), in whose presidency the Sanhedrin was transferred from Jamnia to Tiberias.

⁵ "Essai," p. 270, and note 3; p. 199, note 2.

⁶ "Essai," pp. 424, 270.

⁷ In letter of October 23rd, 1865, addressed to me ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 346).

the coins which bear the inscription *שִׁמְעוֹן נָשִׂיא יִשְׂרָאֵל*, 'Simon, prince of Israel,' to Simon III. Nasi; for this Simon probably never came into close contact with Ben-Cosiba, because the Sanhedrin, whose president was the 'Nasi,' held its sittings, after the destruction of Jerusalem, at Jamnia (Jabne), and afterwards in Usha, and there can be no doubt that the entire Sanhedrin, with its Nasi, never had any participation in Ben-Cosiba's revolt."¹

The new city built on the ruins of Jerusalem was without doubt in the hands of Bar-cohab and of the insurgents.² M. Derenbourg, who admits this fact, thereupon accounts for the coins in the following manner:³—

1. Romans beaten in Judæa and independence declared (*שְׁנַת אֶחָת לְגִּבְרִית יִשְׂרָאֵל*).
2. Israel recovers its liberty (*שָׁב לְדָוִד יִשְׂרָאֵל*) and Jerusalem is taken (*לְחִירוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם*).
3. Bar-cohab retreats to Bethar (3rd year).⁴

Among De Saulcy's arguments there is one which is deserving of ample consideration. He writes,⁵ "Comment ne pas donner la même origine à des monnaies identiques, je le répète, de types, de style, de taille, de fabrique, et cela pour la seule raison que les unes ont été frappées sur des flans neufs et les autres sur des flans déjà empreints de types étrangers, surtout quand entre l'émission de celles que l'on considère comme les plus anciennes et l'émission des dernières il s'est écoulé soixante-cinq ans au moins?" And again,⁶ "Connaissez-vous un seul exemple d'une numismatique quelconque qui, après avoir subi une éclipse continue de soixante-cinq ans, se reproduit avec une identité telle, à tous les points de vue, sans en excepter un seul, qu'il soit *a priori* impossible de discerner les produits des deux fabrications que plus d'un demi-siècle sépare?"⁷

De Saulcy's remarks would be of great value if he was speaking of a settled government where art flourished, but seems hardly applicable to the Jews in their disturbed state, and the insurgents in the second revolt would therefore be glad to make use of the old dies which it is possible may have been preserved during the sixty-five intermediate years.

If the first revolt lasted four years, how is it that only coins of the second and third are to be attributed to it? Where are the coins of the first year?⁸

¹ M. Derenbourg ("Essai," p. 426) considers that the Sanhedrin moved to Jamnia on the commencement of the insurrection at the end of the reign of Trajan, and that it moved thence to Usha immediately the insurrection of Bar-cohab broke out. Dr. Ginsburg says (Art. *Sanhedrin*, in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander), "R. JOCHANAN, *b. Zakkai*, transferred the seat of the Sanhedrin to Jabne or Jamnia (A.D. 68-80); it was thence transferred to Usha (*Kethuboth*, 49; *Sabbath*, 15; *Rosh Ha-Shana*, 15 *b*), under the presidency of GAMALIEL II., *b. Simon* II. (A.D. 80-116), conveyed back to Jabne and again to Usha; to Shafran under the presidency of SIMON III., *b. Gamaliel* II. (A.D. 140-163); to Beth-shearim and Sapphoris, under the presidency of JEHUDAH I. the Holy, *b. Simon* III. (A.D. 163-193; comp. *Kethuboth*, 103 *b*; *Nida*, 27 *a*), and finally to Tiberias, under the presidency of GAMALIEL III., *b. Jehudah* I. (A.D. 193-220)." See p. 194, note 4.

² See CHAPTERS X. and XI. ³ "Essai," p. 431, note 2.

⁴ The late Dean Milman ("History of the Jews," 4th ed.

1866, vol. ii. p. 432, note), writes:—"There is no historical account of this event (namely, the possession of Jerusalem by Bar-cohab), though there seems little doubt of the fact. Tychsen and others have concluded from extant coins that he was in possession of Jerusalem for three years; if so, from 132 to 135."

⁵ "Rev. Num." 1864, vol. ix. p. 395.

⁶ "Rev. Num." 1865, vol. x. p. 6, *tirage à part*.

⁷ M. Renan inclines to the view that the Jews struck coins during the First Revolt ("L'Antechrist," p. 273; "Contemporary Review," July, 1879, p. 600), but does not believe that Bar-cohab was ever in possession of Jerusalem. See CHAPTERS X. and XI.

⁸ "It was never doubtful," says Dr. von Sallet ("Zeitschrift für Numismatik," 1877, vol. v. p. 110), "to my numismatic eye that De Saulcy's view is right, that in spite of all counter-arguments, in spite of the extraordinary coincidence of the names of the priests Eleazar and Simon, whose names are on some of these coins, with those of two celebrated

In view of the conflicting statements given above it seems useless to attempt to decide to which Eleazar and to which Simon the coins shall be assigned. The question to be solved is therefore simply reduced to this—what coins shall be ascribed to the first revolt and what to the second?

The first revolt lasted four years, from April—May, A.D. 66, to August—September, A.D. 70.

The second revolt lasted three and a half years, commencing in the spring of A.D. 132 and ending in August, A.D. 135.

The dates (at full length) on the coins are—

לנאלת ישראל (year 1) with legend שנת אחת

A. שנת שנים (year 2) } with legend חרות ציון
שנת שלוש (year 3) }

and in cipher—

No date, with legend לחרות ירושלם

B. ש' ב (year 2) with legend לחרות ישראל

There are thus two distinct series, (1) with the dates at length and the words לנאלת (redemption) and חרות (deliverance); (2) with no date and with date in cipher ש' ב and the word לחרות (deliverance).

Now there is no difficulty in attributing to the second revolt the pieces re-struck on coins of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian, and it is worthy of remark that these re-struck coins seem always to be those bearing the legends לחרות ירושלם or לחרות ישראל.

*It would be of importance to ascertain if any of the coins with the legend לנאלת ישראל have been discovered re-struck on coins of Vespasian, Titus, etc. Up to the present time not one single specimen has ever come to light.*¹

In assigning all these coins (excepting those of the years 2 and 3 at length) to the second revolt, the difficulty of the Eleazar coins must present itself to any student of this portion of Jewish history, and after the positive opinion given by the late Professor Levy, to which I have above referred, I am still inclined to attribute to the first revolt the coins distinguished above under A, and to the second revolt those marked B.

I beg, however, to state that though this arrangement is here adopted, it is by no means certain; there is so little to guide, so much to guess.

party leaders of the first insurrection, whilst an Eleazar at the time of Bar-cohab (whose name was, as is known and as the coins prove, 'Simon') may with more difficulty be proved as coiner—all these coins resembling the *denarius* (and also the *tetradrachms*) must indisputably belong to one period. It is unexampled and impossible in the numismatics of antiquity that coins which fully resemble each other in style, and are so like each other that they could be mistaken one for the other, should have a space of sixty years between them;" and again (*op. cit.* p. 112), "I am of opinion that these coins are followed by the whole class of coins. How to explain Eleazar, who coined together with Simon, is a matter for special inquirers. That

Bar-cohab was called 'Simon' we only know from coins which are partly coined on *denarii* of Trajan, and which surely only belong to Bar-cohab, whilst from the first insurrection several party-leaders with the name of 'Simon' are known to us; in the same way has the name Eleazar been repeated at the time of Bar-cohab, and we are, therefore, not obliged to place the Eleazar-Simon *denarii* in the First Revolt; even De Saulcy has already mentioned the existence of an Eleazar, in which we can recognise the priest Eleazar who coined under Bar-cohab." Cf. Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1879, vol. xix. pp. 3-7.

¹ Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1879, vol. xix. p. 18.

COINS OF THE FIRST REVOLT.

The following tables will be of use in illustrating the coinage of the First Revolt:—

TABLE I.

Year.	Month.	Year A.D.	Events.
I.	April, }	66	Second month of Jewish year and fifth of Roman. Jewish war begins ("Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 4).
	May, }		
	May,	67	Vespasian conducts Jewish war.
II.	Feb.	68	Vespasian enters Gadara.
	May,	68	Vespasian enters Jericho.
	January,	69	Jewish war suspended and Jerusalem left to factions.
III.	April,	69	Simon enters Jerusalem in the third year of the war, and first month of Jewish year ("Bell. Jud." iv. 9, 12).
	May,	69	Factions.
	January,	70	
IV.	May,	70	First wall taken ("Bell. Jud." v. 7, 2).
	August,	70	Temple burnt ("Bell. Jud." vi. 4, 5).
	September,	70	Last wall taken ("Bell. Jud." vi. 8, 5).

TABLE II.

1st year. From May, 66, to May, 67.

The coins of Eleazar, and of Eleazar and Simon together, the shekels with ירושלים, the copper coins with the six-stringed and five-stringed lyres, and the coins of Simon Nasi were issued.

2nd year. From May, 67, to May, 68.

In consequence of the abundance of the previous coinage, and the factions already existing in Jerusalem (πόλις ἀστυλήγῃτος Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iv. 3, 3), only the small copper coins of the year "two" were struck, and these in tolerable abundance.

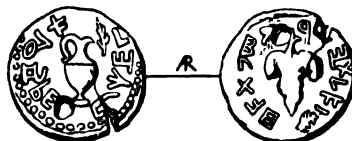
3rd year. From May, 68, to May, 69.

The small copper coins of the year "three," which are *infinitely rarer* than those of the year "two," were struck, which proves that the factions had increased to such an extent from the commencement of January, 69, that no more coins were issued after that date.

4th year. From May, 69, to May, 70.

No coins were issued, owing to the factions and the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. It eventually fell four months after.

a. Eleasar.



OVERSE.

REVERSE.

(De Vogüé, "Rev. Num." 1860, p. 282, pl. xiii. No. 1; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 89, No. 22; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 162, No. 1; Garrucci, p. 37, No. 2; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 43, No. 2; 1876, vol. xv. p. 313, No. 1; Merzbacher, "Zeitschrift für Num." 1877, vol. iv. p. 360, No. 88.)



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

[שנת אחת לגאולת ישראל] "First year of the redemption of Israel." A cluster of grapes.

(De Vogüé, "Rev. Num." 1860, p. 282, pl. xiii. Nos. 3, 4; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 90, No. 24; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 164, No. 3; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 3; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 43, No. 3; 1875, vol. xv. p. 314, No. 2; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 351, No. 89.)

¹ The *Vau* in this word is worthy of notice, as it is not found upon the earlier coins. On most of the copper coins the word is written in the usual way—הכהן, but if the curious letter

on No. 4 and on Dr. Evans's coin, described below, be a *Fau*, this form of the word would also occur on some of the copper.



OBSERVE.

א-לע

*3. A. 4. זכ-רה i.e. *Eleazar Hakkohen*,
ה-י

"Eleazar the Priest," in three lines on either
side of a palm-tree.

REVERSE.

Same legend and type as No. 2.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 179. The letters are in confusion over the *field*.
Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 43, note 30; 1875, vol. xv. p. 314, No. 3; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 351, No. 91.)



OBSERVE.

א-לע

T. 4. A. 4. זכ-רה i.e. *Eleazar Hakkohen*,
ה

"Eleazar the Priest," in three lines on either
side of a palm-tree.

REVERSE.

Same legend and type as No. 2.

(Cab. des Médailles, Paris; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xiii. No. 7; De Vogüé, "Rev. Num." 1860, pl. xiii. No. 5;
Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 163; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 351, No. 90.)

This is the coin that has been transformed by the Messrs. Conder¹ into a coin of "Eliashib the priest," B.C. 447!! They transliterate the legend as follows:—

א-לע

ב-י-ה i.e. *Eliashib Hakkohen*.

ה

But the supposed *Nun* is an *Ain*, and the *Shin* is certainly part of the *Zain*, whilst the *Yod* is clearly *Resh*, and as to the ב-like letter, as shown both in De Saulcy's and De Vogüé's plates, and which doubtless gave rise to the Messrs. Conder's bold assertion, it is most probably

¹ "Handbook to the Bible," 1879, pp. 67, 177, pl. i. No. 1; plate of Alphabets, p. xiii. The coins of our Eleazar are also attributed by the Messrs. Conder to "Eleazar, brother of Simon the Just, high-priest" during the reign of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus (B.C. 285-247); but these coins bear only the legend

הכהן or הכהן, and not חנרל הכהן, "besides, the word הכהן, written *plene* on some of these coins, proves the late date of them, a critical argument of which the authors are probably not aware" ("The Athenæum," 24 Jan. 1880, p. 118). See APPENDIX E. Nos. 60 and 73.

a *Vau*; a view which Dr. Evans and Mr. Neubauer, to whom I have submitted the cast, are also inclined to take. In any case it is *not* a *Beth*.

There is another specimen of the copper coin of Eleazar in the Collection of Dr. Evans, which likewise bears a curious letter. He writes to me:¹ "As to the reading of my Eleazar, I cannot speak with entire confidence. It is—

$\begin{array}{c} O \vee \times \\ \Xi 4 \text{ ב } \text{ב} \\ \Xi \text{ פ} \end{array}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{which I am inclined} \\ \text{to think may be} \\ \text{transliterated thus:} \end{array} \right\}$	$\begin{array}{c} א ל ע \\ ז ר ה \\ ה \end{array}$
--	---	--

The question is about the ב-like letter, and the פ. The former is much like the *Yod* in ש on the reverse. The latter differs from any I know, though it appears in the same form on Bayer's coin, plate i. No. 5. It may be that the ב is a *Caph* and the פ a *Vau*; but I am puzzled and cannot make up my mind on the subject."



T.

From an examination of the electrotpe of this coin in the Collection of Dr. Babington, from which the engraving has been made, I am disposed to transliterate as follows:—

א-ל-ע
ז-ר-ה
ה-ו

The ב-like letter is here a *Caph*, as on Nos. 2 and 3, but the פ, which is very distinct on this coin, is more puzzling; it is somewhat similar to the פ on No. 4, and is probably also a *Vau*.²

We next come to the piece which was attributed by Levy³ to Ananus son of Ananus, but was afterwards restored to Eleazar by Garrucci,⁴ by myself,⁵ and by Dr. Merbacher.⁶ It was originally published by De Saulcy,⁷ from whose work the following cut was taken.

¹ Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 315.

² See CHAPTER III. p. 33; PLATE, col. 18. A piece published by De Saulcy ("Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 87, No. 3) has the letters in no order—

ר-ל-א-ל-ע
ז-ר-ה
ה

forming, according to De Saulcy, the principal elements of the

legend אלעזר הכהן... דל. De Saulcy adds that the letters זר are alone wanting to give the complete sense "Eleazar the high-priest." This reading, however, requires further confirmation.

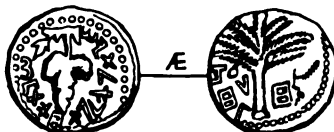
³ "Jüd. Münzen," p. 99; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 182; where I have suggested the probability of its being a coin of Eleazar.

⁴ "Diss. Arch." vol. ii. p. 38, note 1.

⁵ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 43, No. 4.

⁶ "Zeitschrift für Num." 1873, vol. i. p. 230, note.

⁷ "Num. Jud." pl. xiii. No. 6.

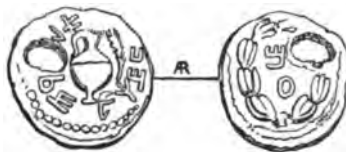


In all probability the two *Cheths* are two *Heths*, and the legend may be thus transliterated:—

ל-רזע
נה-כה

as on No. 2.

β. *Eleazar and Simon.*



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

5. R. 4. אלעזר הכהן *Eleazar Hakkohen*,
"Eleazar the Priest." Vase; in *field*, to right,
a palm-branch.¹

[שמעון] *Simon*, within a wreath.

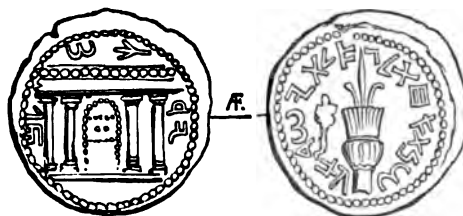
(De Vogüé, "Rev. Num." 1860, p. 282, pl. xiii. No. 2; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 89, No. 23; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 162, No. 2; Garrucci, p. 37, No. 1; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 43, No. 1; 1875, vol. xv. p. 315; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 163, pl. xii. No. 7; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 350, No. 88 *bis*.)

De Vogüé considers this piece to be a forged specimen manufactured in imitation of a genuine one, and thinks that the forger has copied the two sides from two different coins, one of Eleazar's and one of Simon's, taking the obverse from one and the reverse from the other. Levy, on the other hand, suggested that it might have been struck when the two leaders were at peace, and stamped joint coins. De Saulcy² attributes it to Bar-cochab and Eleazar of the Second Revolt, and adds that M. de Vogüé now assures him that he has seen an authentic specimen of this joint coin. In all probability the genuine specimen seen by De Vogüé is that at Berlin, which is vouched for as indubitable by Dr. Friedlaender and Dr. von Sallet.³

¹ Levy ("Jüd. Münzen," p. 135) suggests that the vase and palm-branch, which types occur also on coins of Simon Bar-cochab (CHAPTER X.), bear some connexion to a ceremony in the Temple, with the sprinkling of water, which took place every day, but on the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles was solemnly celebrated with illuminations. A golden pitcher, filled with three Log (a Log equals the contents of six eggs, Gesen. "Thes." s.v. לל), was filled from the spring of Siloam, and when the priests arrived with it at the Water-Gate, they blew jubilant strains, etc. Cf. Ginsburg, Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Tabernacles, Feast of.

² "Rev. Num." 1865, vol. x. p. 25, *tirage à part*.

³ Merzbacher, "Zeitschrift für Num." 1877, vol. iv. p. 350. Von Sallet ("Zeitschrift für Num." 1878, vol. v. p. 111, *note*), who identifies the genuine coin with the cast above engraved, as the hole is in the same place. Cf. De Saulcy, "Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 91, No. 9. He records the existence of a false piece cast from No. 9. Both formed part of a female's necklace, consisting of ten Jewish coins, purchased by the Count Prokesch-Osten at Aleppo, in Syria.

γ. Shekels with legend ירושלם.

OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

6. *R.* 7. ירושלם *Jerusalem*. Tetrastyle temple, showing a conventional figure of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple.

שנת אחת לגאולת ישראל, "First year of the redemption of Israel." *Ethrog* and *lulab*.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 158, pl. xi. No. 1; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 91, No. 25; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 164; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 5; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 43, No. 5; 1875, vol. xv. p. 316, No. 1; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 356, No. 111.)

The coin of the second year of similar type, but with the legend שב לחר ישראל, published by me in my book¹ from De Vogüé,² is, as I have always believed,³ a shekel with the star above the temple, and it is therefore attributed to Bar-cochab.

The type on this shekel and on others struck by Bar-cochab⁴ was at one time considered by Cavedoni⁵ to represent the "Beautiful Gate of the Temple,"⁶ an opinion which was rejected by De Saulcy,⁷ and eventually given up by Cavedoni,⁸ in favour of the idea that the type exhibited the *sacrarium* of a Jewish synagogue, the middle being the *aron* or ark containing the rolls of the sacred books.⁹ With this latter view Dr. Churchill Babington does not agree, as in the glass vessels of the Catacombs, though the book-case takes the form of a Temple, the books are plainly visible inside;¹⁰ whilst it had occurred to him, independently of Cavedoni, that the type on these shekels gives a conventional representation of the Beautiful Gate. On this point Dr. Babington writes to me: "I was led to this opinion by a mere accident. Some years ago I saw at Cambridge a model of Jerusalem executed by Herr Tenz, and he has also published a lithographed plan in conformity with it, of which I have a copy. In the plan of the Temple the Beautiful Gate bears so striking a resemblance to the reverse of the coins, the top being round and the gate having two columns on either side, that I fully supposed that his model and lithograph had been constructed from the coin, and

¹ "Jew. Coinage," p. 165.

² "Rev. Num." 1860, p. 287, note; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xi. No. 3.

³ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 317.

⁴ See CHAPTER X. Nos. 19, 20, 37, 38.

⁵ "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 34.

⁶ ἡ θύρα τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἢ λεγομένη Ὠραία, Acts iii. 2; ἡ Ὠραία πύλη τοῦ ἱεροῦ, Acts iii. 10.

⁷ "Num. Jud." p. 159.

⁸ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 65.

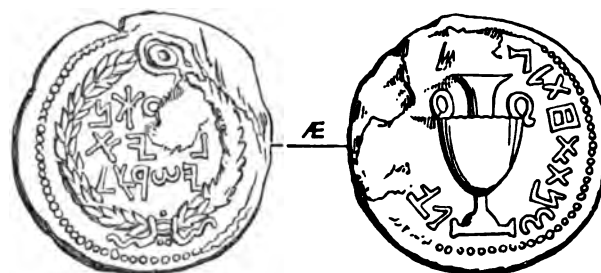
⁹ Buonarrotti, "Vetri," tab. ii. iii.

¹⁰ Garrucci, "Vetri ornati di figure in oro," tab. v.

was very much surprised when he told me that he knew nothing at all about the coin. He refers, in the key to the plan, to Josephus, 'Wars,' B. v. c. 5, §3, besides Acts iii. 2."¹ Dr. Babington further suggests that the object below the Beautiful Gate, which does not occur on the shekels of the first year, but only on those with the *star*,² and which looks like a ladder, but which on one specimen, electrotyped by the late Mr. Borrell (perhaps from Mr. Wigan's former Collection), more particularly resembles a colonnade, gives a conventional representation of Solomon's Porch³ or rather Solomon's Colonnade. A colonnade is represented in a similar manner on certain coins of Neapolis in Samaria, particularly on the medallions of Antoninus Pius.⁴

The reverse type of these shekels—the *Ethrog* and *Lulab*—reminded the Jews of the Feast of Tabernacles. This festival happened to take place at the beginning of the first Jewish war.⁵

δ. Coins of Simon Nasi.



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

7. Æ. 10. [שמן]
[שנ]י
ישראל Simon Nasi Israel, "Simon, prince of Israel," in three lines within a laurel-wreath adorned with a gem.

שנת אחת לנואלת ישראל, "First year of the redemption of Israel," round a vase with two handles.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 165, pl. xiii. No. 8; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 97, No. 30; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 176, No. 1; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 6; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 44, No. 6; 1875, vol. xv. p. 317, No. 1; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 352, No. 92.)

¹ The identification of the Beautiful Gate is somewhat uncertain (Fergusson, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Temple; Dr. Bialloblotzky, Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Temple; Alford, in Acts iii. 2; Dr. Jacobson, "Speaker's Com." N.T. vol. ii. p. 371). Mr. Lewin, however, does not hesitate to identify it ("Fasti Sacri," p. 240, No. 1452; "Life of St. Paul," vol. i. p. 29; vol. ii. p. 133) with the Eastern gate of Corinthian brass, greatly excelling those which were only covered with silver and gold, and having doors of immense height, which required on closing twenty men for the task (Joseph. "Bell. Jud." v. 5. 3; vi. 5. 3), and this gate is in all probability that called in the Talmud the "gate of Nicanor," (Fergusson, "The Temple of the Jews," 1878, p. 108).

² See the shekels of Bar-cohab, CHAPTER X. Nos. 19, 20, 37, 38.

³ John x. 23; Acts iii. 11; v. 12; Joseph. "Antiq." xv. 11, 3; xx. 9, 7; "Bell. Jud." v. 5, 1, 2.

⁴ Akerman, "Num. Ill. of the New Test." 1846, p. 29; Donaldson, "Archit. Numismatica," 1859, No. xxxiii. p. 116; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," pp. 244-274, plate xiii. No. 1.

⁵ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 19, 1, 2. The *ethrog* (אתרוג), it will be noticed, is placed on the *left* of the *lulab* (לולב) on the coins of the Revolts, as if to mark the manner in which they were carried (see CHAPTER V. p. 73; Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 66).

Another specimen of this rare coin is in the British Museum. The handles of the vase are slightly different in shape. It weighs 568 grains. That in Paris weighs only 515 grains. There are no traces of re-striking on either.¹

I have already pointed out² that the form of the *Vau* is χ and not \ast as originally supposed by De Sauley.



OBVERSE.

שם - עון
8. Æ. II. שש - יא Simon Nasi or Sisi Israel,
יש - ראל

"Simon, prince of Israel," on either side of a palm-tree.

REVERSE.

שנת א'תת לנאלת ישראל, "First year of the redemption of Israel." Vine-leaf.

(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." p. 166, pl. xiv. No. 2; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 98, No. 31; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 177, No. 2; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 7; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, p. 44, No. 7; 1875, vol. xv. p. 318, No. 2; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 352; No. 93.)

It will be observed that on this coin there are two *Schins* instead of a *Schin* and a *Nun*, though other examples exist correctly engraved. Garrucci states that a specimen in the "Museo Kircheriano" reads *Sisi*, and suggests that it is perhaps derived from שיש, whence in Ezekiel xxxix. 2, we read שישאני (LXX. καθοδηγήσω; Vulg. adducam) and hence שישא dux. But probably the extra *Schin* is an error of the engraver of the coin.

The coin described and figured by De Sauley,³ and which was also reproduced by Dr. Levy⁴ and by myself,⁵ as a coin of the "second year," is nothing more than a badly-preserved specimen of the "first year"; for on a close examination of the piece, which was formerly in the Collection of Mr. Wigan, every letter can be deciphered. This discovery is due to the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.⁶ I subjoin a woodcut of it and its proper description.

¹ Another is recorded (Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 352, note 1) as being in the possession of His Serene Highness Prince Ernst of Windischgrätz.

² "Jew. Coinage," p. 176, note; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 318.

³ "Num. Jud." pl. xiv. No. 1.

⁴ "Jüd. Münzen," p. 98, No. 32.

⁵ "Jew. Coinage," p. 177, No. 3.

⁶ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 180.



OBSERVE.

*Æ. II. Same as No. 8, but reading נשיא *Nasi*.

REVERSE.

נתא שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל (the letters נתא of the first two words, and לתי of the last two are linked together), "First year of the redemption of Israel." Vine-leaf.



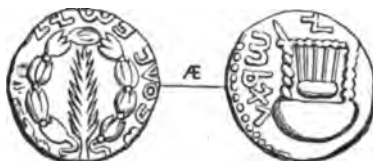
OBSERVE.

9. Æ. 6. שבעון נשיא ראל Simon [*Nasi Israel*], "Simon, prince of Israel." Palm-branch within a wreath.

REVERSE.

שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל "First year of the redemption of Israel." Lyre with six strings.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 178, No. 1; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 8; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, p. 44, No. 8; 1876, vol. xv. p. 319, No. 3; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 353, No. 94; cf. De Sauley, "Num. Jud." p. 160, pl. xi. No. 2; De Vogüé, "Rev. Num." 1860, p. 288, Nos. 3 and 4.)



OBSERVE.

10. Æ. 4½. שבעון נשיא Simon *Nasi Israel*, "Simon prince [of Israel]." Same type as No. 9.

REVERSE.

שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל Lyre of the same shape, but with five strings.

(Formerly in the Coll. of the late Mr. Wigan, now in that of M. le Comte Cahen-d'Anvers; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 178, No. 2; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xv. p. 320, No. 4; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 353, No. 94, *bis*.)

The remaining portion of the legend of the reverse of this coin has been supplied by Dr. Merzbacher, who has ventured to suggest¹ the reading שב לחר, thus making the complete legend שב לחר ישראל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." But this suggestion cannot be accepted without the positive proof afforded by a well-preserved and

¹ "Zeitschrift für Num." 1873, vol. i. p. 231, No. 3; 1877, vol. iv. p. 353, No. 94 *bis*.

legible specimen. I have shown under No. 8 how a supposed coin of the "second year" has been proved to be one of the "first"; so that at present no coins of the "second year," bearing the title of *Nasi*, are known to exist.¹

II. COINS OF THE SECOND YEAR, MAY, A.D. 67, to MAY, A.D. 68.



OBSERVE.

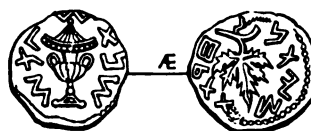
REVERSE.

11. \mathcal{A} . 4. שנת שנים, "Year two." A vessel with two handles.

חירות ציון, "Deliverance of Zion," round a vine-leaf.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 154, pl. x. No. 1; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 100, No. 34; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 180, No. 1; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 9; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, p. 44, No. 9; 1875, vol. xv. p. 320.)

III. COINS OF THE THIRD YEAR, MAY, A.D. 68, to MAY, A.D. 69.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

12. \mathcal{A} . 4. שנת שלוש, "Year three." A vessel with two handles and cover.

Legend and type as the coins of "year two."

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 154, pl. x. No. 2; Levy, "Jud. Münzen," p. 100, No. 35; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 180, No. 2; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 10; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, p. 45, No. 10; 1875, vol. xv. p. 320.)

The coins of the "second" and "third year" are classed by Dr. Merzbacher² as "coins of an undetermined age."

The vessel with two handles and fluted marks on these coins is considered by Cavedoni³ to represent one of the gold and silver vessels presented to the Temple by Ptolemy Philadelphus, which were ornamented in this manner;⁴ and which John of Gischala stole from the Temple and melted.⁵

IV. FOURTH YEAR, MAY, A.D. 69, to MAY, A.D. 70.

No coins.⁶

¹ I have tried to obtain from Paris a cast of this coin, in order to thoroughly examine it again, but my efforts have not been successful.

² "Zeitschrift für Num." 1877, vol. iv. p. 364, Nos. 137, 138.

³ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 65. ⁴ Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 2, 10.

⁵ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." v. 13, 6.

⁶ Dr. Merzbacher (*op. cit.* p. 365, No. 139) publishes a coin of the fourth year—*Obs.* שנת ארבע. Vine-leaf. *Rev.* דור (צ'י). Vase—but does not appear to be satisfied of its authenticity. Nor am I.

CHAPTER IX.

COINS STRUCK IN PALESTINE AND AT ROME COMMEMORATING THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM.

At the end of the year A.D. 70 or the commencement of A.D. 71 Titus returned to Rome, taking with him the spoils from the Temple at Jerusalem—the candlestick with seven branches, the golden table, the trumpets and the Law of the Jews,—all of which were employed to adorn his triumph. A triumphal arch was also erected, on which these trophies were sculptured.¹ The successful termination of the Jewish war was the great glory of the Flavian race, though neither Vespasian nor Titus would take the name of *Judaicus*, on account of their contempt for the Jewish nation.² The magnificence of the triumph is fully recorded by Josephus,³ and the workmanship of the representations “exhibited what had been done to such as did not see the war, as if they had been there really present.” Vespasian and Titus followed after the spoils, and with them rode Domitian on a [white] horse worthy of admiration.⁴

A. REIGN OF VESPASIAN.

I. *Coins struck in Palestine.*

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
1. <i>Α</i> . IMP. CAES. VESPASIANVS <i>Α</i> Γ.	VICT. <i>Α</i> Γ. Victory walking to the left, holding
Head of Vespasian to the right, radiated.	a crown and a palm.

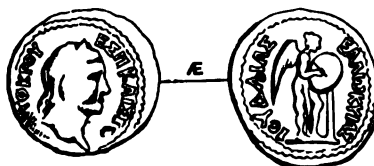
(Cohen, “Suppl.” No. 43, pl. ii. from the “Cabinet de France,” 2nd ed. No. 587, who adds, “This coin appears to have been struck in Judæa.” De Saulcy, “Num. de la Terre Sainte,” p. 79, No. 1. By error he has described it as *Æ* instead of *Α*.)

¹ For illustrations of the candlestick, the table of shewbread, etc., see Reland, “De Spoliis Templi,” 1716; Smith’s “Dict. of the Bible,” vol. i. p. 249; Lewin’s “Life of St. Paul,” vol. ii. pp. 319, 320.

² Τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ οὐδ’ ἔτερος ἔσχε. Dion Cass. lxi. 8. See CHAPTER V. p. 93, note 3.

³ “Bell. Jud.” vii. 5, 3–7.

⁴ Καὶ τὸν ἵππον παρέχων θέας ἔξισεν. Joseph. “Bell. Jud.” vii. 5, 5; ac triumphum utriusque Judaicum equo albo comitatus est. Suet. “Dom.” 2.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

*2. Æ. 5½. [AY]TOKP. OYΞΠ. KAI. ΞE[B.]
Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

IOYΔAIAΞ EAAΩKYIAΞ. Victory standing before
a palm-tree (?) on which is fastened a shield,
whereon she is inscribing a legend.

(Coll. of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 114, No. 39, bought at Jerusalem; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 183; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 79, No. 2.)

I have already stated¹ that Cavedoni thought that the coins with the legend IOYΔAIAΞ EAAΩKYIAΞ were struck at Nicopolis in Judæa. De Saulcy, however, with more probability suggests² Cæsarea as the place of their issue.

II. Coins struck at Rome—Gold and Silver.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

1. A. IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG.
Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

IVDAEA (in *exergue*). Judæa seated on ground to
the right at foot of trophy.³

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 183, No. 1; Cohen, "Méd. Imp." No. 107; 2nd ed. No. 225.)

2. A. The same coin in silver.

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 184, No. 2; Cohen, No. 108; 2nd ed. No. 226.)

The following obverse varieties of this type occur:

- (1.) A. IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS. AVG. TR.P. (Cohen, No. 109; 2nd ed. No. 227.)
- (2.) A. IMP. CAES. VESP. AVG. P.M. (Cohen, No. 110; 2nd ed. No. 228.)

¹ Page 162, note 2. ² "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 79.

³ The coins of "Judæa capta" afford an apt illustration of

the words of Isaiah (iii. 26), "and she being desolate shall sit upon the ground." Cf. Lament. ii. 10. See p. 99, note 3.



OBSERVE.

3. *AR*. Same legend and type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA (in *exergue*). Judæa seated on ground to the right at foot of palm-tree, her hands bound behind her back.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 184, No. 3; Cohen, "Suppl." No. 22; 2nd ed. No. 229.)

OBSERVE.

4. *AV*. IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG.
TR.P. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

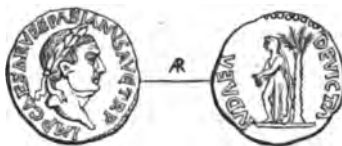
(Cohen, "Suppl." No. 23, from Cab. of *Major de Rauch*; 2nd ed. No. 230.)

REVERSE.

Same legend and type as No. 3.

5. *AR*. The same coin in silver.

(Cohen, No. 111; 2nd ed. No. 231.)



OBSERVE.

6. *AR*. IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG.
TR.P. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 184, No. 4; Cohen, No. 112; 2nd ed. No. 243.)

REVERSE.

IVDAEA DEVICTA. Judæa, standing to left near a palm-tree, her hands bound in front.

OBSERVE.

7. *AR*. IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG.
Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 184, No. 5; Cohen, No. 112; 2nd ed. No. 242.)

REVERSE.

Same legend and type as No. 6.

8. *AV*. The same coin in gold.

(Cohen, "Suppl." No. 24, from *Schollersheim*; 2nd ed. No. 241.)



OBSERVE.

9. *AV*. IMP. CAES. VESP. AVG. P.M. COS.
IIII. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

No legend. Palm-tree. On the left side Vespasian standing in military dress, holding spear and *parasolium*, and placing left foot on helmet; on the right, Judæa seated on ground.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 184, No. 6; Cohen, No. 235; 2nd ed. No. 644.)

10. *AR.* The same coin in silver.

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 184, No. 7; Cohen, No. 236; 2nd ed. No. 645.)



OBVERSE.

- T. 11. *AR.* IMP. CAES. VESPAS. AVG. P. M.
TR. P. IIII. P. P. COS. IIII. Head of Vespasian
to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

DE IVDAEIS. Trophy.

(Coll. of Dr. Babington; Cohen, No. 76; 2nd ed. No. 139.)

12. *AR.* The same coin in silver.

(Cohen, No. 77; 2nd ed. No. 140.)

OBVERSE.

13. *AR.* IMP. CAES. VESP. AVG. P. M. COS.
IIII. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

Same legend and type as No. 11.

(Cohen, "Suppl." No. 17, from *Cab. of M. Elberling*; 2nd ed. No. 141.)

OBVERSE.

14. *AR.* DIVVS AVGVSTVS VESPASIANVS.
Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

EX S. C. Victory standing to left erecting a
trophy; beneath, Judæa seated.

(Cohen, No. 79; 2nd ed. No. 143.)

15. *AR.* The same coin in silver.

(Cohen, No. 78; 2nd ed. No. 144.)

The five coins (Nos. 9–13) were struck in the fourth consulship of Vespasian, and in the second or third year after the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 72 or 73.

Nos. 14 and 15 were struck after his death.

The following coin probably relates to the Jewish triumph:—

OBVERSE.

16. *AR.* IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG.
TR. P. Head of Vespasian to the right,
laureated.

REVERSE.

TRIVMP. AVG. Vespasian in a quadriga to right,
holding a laurel branch, and crowned by Victory;
in front a soldier, and a naked captive with hands
bound behind the back; behind, a flute-player.

(Cohen, No. 197; 2nd ed. No. 567.)

Brass Coins.

OBVERSE.

1. Æ. I. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR.P. P.P. COS. III. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side a Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back; behind him, a shield; on the right, a Jewess seated on a cuirass, weeping. In *exergue* S.C.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 185, No. 1; Cohen, No. 302; 2nd ed. No. 232.)

OBVERSE.

2. Æ. I. IMP. CAES. VESPAS. AVG. P.M. TR.P. P.P. COS. III. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA CAPTA. Same type as No. 1.

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 185, No. 2; cf. Cohen, No. 303; 2nd ed. No. 233.)



OBVERSE.

3. Æ. I. Same legend and type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side a Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back; behind him a helmet, shields, etc.; on the right, a Jewess seated on cuirass; before her, shields (the defensive arms differ on various examples). In *exergue* S.C.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 185, No. 3; Cohen, No. 304; 2nd ed. No. 234, where the obverse legend is given as IMP. CAESAR, etc.)

OVERSE.

4. Æ. I. Same legend as No. 1. Head of Vespasian to the left, laureated.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA CAPTA. Same type as No. 3.

(Cohen, "Suppl." No. 70, from *Cab. of M. Griolet*; cf. 2nd ed. No. 235.)



OVERSE.

5. Æ. I. Same legend and type as Nos. 1 and 2.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side a Jew standing, his hands fastened behind his back to the tree, turning his head to right; before him shields; on the right, a Jewess seated on shield, and leaning left arm on another shield; in *field* to left and right S.C.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 186, No. 4; cf. Cohen, No. 305; 2nd ed. Nos. 236, 237.)



OVERSE.

6. Æ. I. Same legend and type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side a Jewess seated on cuirass; before her, shields; on the right, a Jew standing, his hands bound behind his back; behind him, shields. In *exergue* S.C.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 186, No. 5; Cohen, No. 306; 2nd ed. No. 238.)



OBVERSE.

7. Æ. I. Same legend and type as No. 1.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA CAPTA (sometimes IVDEA). Palm-tree; on the left side, Vespasian standing in military dress, holding spear and *parazonium*, his left foot placed on a helmet; on the right, Judæa seated on a cuirass. In *exergue* S.C.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 187, No. 6; Cohen, No. 307; 2nd ed. No. 239.)



OBVERSE.

8. Æ. II. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. COS. III. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

IVDEA CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side shields, cuirass and helmet; on the right, Judæa seated on cuirass, leaning left arm on shield. In *exergue* S.C.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 187, No. 7; Cohen, No. 311; cf. No. 308; 2nd ed. Nos. 244, 246.)

OBVERSE.

9. Æ. II. Same legend as No. 8. Head of Vespasian to the left, laureated.

REVERSE.

Same legend and type as No. 8.

(Cohen, No. 312; 2nd ed. No. 247.)

OBVERSE.

10. Æ. II. Same legend and type as No. 8.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA CAPTA . S.C. Palm-tree; on the left side Judæa seated, surrounded by armour.

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 187, No. 8; Cohen, No. 310; 2nd ed. No. 245.)

OBVERSE.

11. Æ. II. Same legend and type as No. 8.

REVERSE.

IVDEA. . . . Trophy; on the right Judæa seated on the ground; in *exergue* S.C.

(Collection of Dr. Babington.)



OBSERVE.

12. Æ. I. IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS
AVG. P.M. TP (*sic*) P.P. COS. III. Head of
Vespasian to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA DEVICTA. Victory standing to the
right, placing left foot on helmet, and engraving
the letters S.P.Q.R. on a shield, which is
attached to a palm-tree. At the foot of palm
to right Judæa seated on ground. In *exergue*
S.C.

(Formerly in the Cab. of the late Mr. G. Eastwood: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 188, No. 9; cf. Cohen, No. 266;
2nd ed. No. 142.)

The coins with the third consulship were struck in A.D. 71.

OBSERVE.

13. Æ. II. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG.
COS. VIII. P.P. Head of Vespasian to the
right, laureated; beneath, a globe.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA CAPTA. Palm-tree; on left side
three shields and a helmet; on right, Judæa
seated. In *exergue* S.C.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 188, No. 10; cf. Cohen, No. 309; 2nd ed. No. 240.)

The reverse of this coin is very similar to that of No. 8, and the obverse type only
differs in the date and the globe.



OBSERVE.

14. Æ. I. IMP. CAES. VESP. AVG. P.M.
TR. P.P. (*sic*) COS. VIII. Head of Vespasian
to the left, laureated.



REVERSE.

IVD. CAP. (Judæa capta) across the *field*. Palm-
tree; on the left side a Jewess seated on shields
and helmet: on the right, a Jew standing,
turning his head to the left; before him, a
helmet and shield. In *exergue* S.C.

(Formerly in the Cab. of the late Dr. J. Lee; Akerman, "Num. Chron." o.s. vol. viii. p. 155, pl. No. 2; "Num. Illustr. of the
New Test." pp. 23, 62, pl. No. 2, 1846; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 188, No. 11.)

Coins of the eighth consulship were struck in A.D. 77 or 78.

The following coin is given by Cohen as being in the *Musée de Vienne*, who adds, "cette médaille parait devoir être plutôt un petit bronze."

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>15. Æ. II. IMP. CAES. VESPASIANVS AVG.
P. M. TR.P. Head of Vespasian to the right,
laureated; beneath, a globe.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Cohen, No. 313; 2nd ed. No. 224; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 189.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>IVD. CAP. S.C. Judæa seated at the foot of
palm-tree.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>16. Æ. I. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG.
P.M. TR.P. P.P. COS. III. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Cohen, No. 489; 2nd ed. No. 624.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S.C. Victory standing to right, foot on helmet, writing OB CIV. SER. on a shield attached to a palm, beneath which Judæa is seated weeping.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>17. Æ. I. Same legend as No. 16. Head of Vespasian to the left, laureated.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Cohen, No. 490.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>Same legend and type as No. 16.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>18. Æ. I. Same legend and type as No. 16.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Cohen, No. 491; 2nd ed. No. 625.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S.C. Victory standing to right, foot on helmet, about to write on a shield attached to a palm, beneath which Judæa is seated weeping.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>19. Æ. I. Same legend as No. 16. Head of Vespasian to the left, laureated.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Cohen, No. 492; 2nd ed. No. 626.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>Same legend and type as No. 18.</p> |
| <p>20. Æ. I. The same coin as No. 19, but with date COS. II. (= A.D. 70).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Cohen, No. 493; 2nd ed. No. 627.)</p> | |
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>21. Æ. I. IMP. CAES. VESPAS. AVG. P.M. TR.P. P.P. COS. III. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Cohen, No. 494; 2nd ed. No. 628.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>Same legend and type as No. 18.</p> |

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|---|--|
| 22. Æ. I. Same legend as No. 16. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated. | VICTORIA AVGVSTI S.C. Victory standing to right, foot on helmet, about to write on a shield attached to a palm, and which sustains Judæa weeping seated on arms. |

(Cohen, No. 495; 2nd ed. No. 629.)

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|---|--|
| 23. Æ. I. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P.M. TR.P. P.P. COS. III. CENS. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated. | VICTORIA AVG. S.C. Victory standing to right, foot on helmet, writing OB CIV. SER. on a shield attached to a palm. |

(Cohen, No. 485; 2nd ed. No. 591.)

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 24. Æ. I. Same legend as No. 23. Head of Vespasian to the left, laureated. | Same legend and type as No. 23. |

(Cohen, No. 486; 2nd ed. No. 592.)

Nos. 23 and 24 probably relate to the conquest of Judæa. They were struck in A.D. 71. Similar coins exist with the legend VICTORIA AVGVSTI (Cohen, 2nd ed. Nos. 621-623).

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|--|--|
| 25. Æ. II. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. COS. III. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated. | VICTORIA AVGVSTI S.C. Victory to the left, erecting a trophy, at the foot of which a Jew seated. |

(Cohen, No. 482, from *Wiczay*.)

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|---|---|
| 26. Æ. I. IMP. CAES. VESPAS. AVG. P.M. TR.P. P.P. COS. IIII. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated. | S.C. Vespasian standing, foot placed on prow of a ship, holding a spear and a Victory; at his feet a Jew kneeling, stretching out his hand, and a Jewess in supplication running; behind, a palm. |

(Cohen, No. 437; 2nd ed. No. 479.)

Struck in A.D. 72 or 73.¹

¹ There are some small brass coins of Vespasian struck in A.D. 71, 72 or 73, having the type of a *palm*, which may bear reference to the conquest of Judæa (Cohen, Nos. 360-364; 2nd ed. Nos. 351-354, 356).

B. REIGN OF TITUS.

I. *Coins struck in Palestine.*

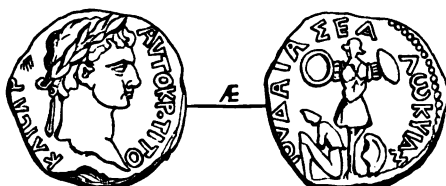
OBVERSE.

1. *AV.* IMP. T. CAESAR VESPASIANVS.
Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA DEVICTA. Victory standing to the right, the left foot placed on a helmet (De Saulcy says "a globe"), and writing IMP. T. CAES. in three lines on a round shield which is attached to a palm.

(Cohen, "Med. Imp." No. 45, from the "Cabinet de France," who thinks that it was struck at Caesarea of Cappadocia; 2nd ed. No. 119; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 190, No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 79, No. 1, does not agree with this attribution, the style and fabric persuading him that it was issued in Palestine, perhaps at Caesarea. By error he has described it as *AE* instead of *AV*.)



OBVERSE.

2. *AE.* AYTOKP. TITO[Σ] KAΙCΑP. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ. Trophy, at the foot of which, to the left, a captive (Judaea), to the right a shield.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. x. Nos. 3 and 4; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 189, No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 79, No. 2; pl. v. No. 1, who gives various transpositions of the letters of the legend on other examples.)



OBVERSE.

3. *AE.* AYTOKP. TITOΣ KAICAP. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ. Palm-tree; on the left side Victory standing, placing left foot on helmet, and writing on an oval shield.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 190, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 79, No. 3.)



OBSERVE.

4. \AA . AYTOKP. TITOC KAICAP. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

(Formerly in the Coll. of the late Mr. Wigan: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 189, No. 2; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. x. No. 5; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 80, No. 4.)

REVERSE.

- IOYΔAIAE EAAΩKYIAE. Victory writing on a shield attached to a palm-tree.

OBSERVE.

5. \AA . AYTOKP. [TITOΞ] KAIEAP. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 80, No. 5; pl. v. No. 2. The word AYTOKP. is engraved AYTΩKP. Pellerin, Recueil, vol. iii. pl. 134, fig. 1, gives a coin of this type with NEIKH KAIC. on the shield. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 190, note. De Saulcy observes that M. Six of Amsterdam says he has in his Cabinet a piece with the legend AYT. KAIC. on the shield, but suspects that the first word ought to be NEIKH. It will be observed that in De Saulcy's plate the word is NIKH. Which is correct?)

REVERSE.

- IOYΔAIAE EAAΩKYIAE. Victory standing to the right, the left foot placed on a helmet, and writing NIKH KAIE. in three lines on a round shield attached to a palm.

OBSERVE.

6. \AA . AYTOKPA. TITOΞ KAIE. ΞEB Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

- Λ(?) ΕΠΙ Μ. ΞΑΛΟΥΓΔΗΝ(?) Palm-tree, at the foot of which to left a crouching captive(?), and to right a shield.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 80, from the British Museum.)

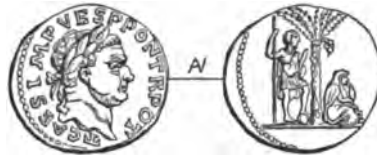
With reference to this piece, De Saulcy says, "Cette monnaie est, à coup sûr, une des plus étranges et des plus curieuses de toute la série impériale palestinienne. Pas de doute possible sur l'origine de la pièce; elle a été frappée en Palestine, après la prise de Jérusalem, mais par l'ordre de qui? Quel est le personnage qui porte le nom de Marcus Salugdinus? J'avoue que je ne le devine pas."

In the year 1864,¹ I exhibited at a meeting of the Numismatic Society this very piece, on which I made the following remarks:—"On the obverse is the legend AYTOKPA. TITOΞ KAIEAP ΞEB., with the laureated head of Titus to the right. The legend on the reverse appears to be ΕΠΙ Μ. ΞΑΛΟΥΓΔΗΝΟ , the device being a palm-tree with a cuirass beneath it on the left, and a shield on the right. The name M. Salvidenus is given by Mionnet ("Supplément," V. p. 2) as that of a Proconsul occurring on a coin of Domitian struck in Bithynia. The complete legend should apparently be ΕΠΙ Μ. ΞΑΛΟΥΓΔΗΝΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ

¹ "Proceedings of the Numismatic Society," n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 12.

ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤ., but no mention is made of such a person in history, though a *Salvidienus Orfitus* was banished by Domitian for conspiracy (Suet. 'Dom.' 10), and a Longinus *Proclus* was also living during the same emperor's reign (Dion Cass. lxxiii. 16). The coin belonged to Mr. Evans, who has since presented it to the British Museum."

II. Coins struck at Rome—Gold and Silver.



OBVERSE.

1. *AV*. T. CAES. IMP. VESP. PON. TR. POT. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

No legend. Palm-tree; on the left side Titus standing in military dress, holding spear and *parazonium*, and placing left foot on helmet; on the right, Judæa seated on ground.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 191, No. 2; Cohen, No. 131; 2nd ed. No. 391.)

OBVERSE.

2. *AR*. Same legend as No. 1. Bust of Titus to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

REVERSE.

Same type as No. 1.

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 191, No. 3; Cohen, No. 132; 2nd ed. No. 392.)

OBVERSE.

3. *AR*. T. CAESAR IMP. VESPASIAN. Head of Titus, laureated.

REVERSE.

COS. V. Jew kneeling, presenting a standard.

(Cohen, No. 27, from *Mionnet*; 2nd ed. No. 63, from *Cat. de M. Rollin père*, 1811.)

Struck in A.D. 76.

OBVERSE.

4. *AR*. T. CAESAR IMP. VESPASIANVS. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

TR. POT. VII. COS. VI. Jew kneeling, holding a trophy.

(Cohen, No. 113, from *Wiczay*; 2nd ed. No. 330.)

Struck in A.D. 77 or 78.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>5. <i>AR.</i> Same legend and type as No. 4.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>TR. POT. VIII. COS. VII. Same type as No. 4.</p> |
|---|---|
- (Cohen, No. 114; 2nd ed. No. 334.)

Struck in A.D. 79.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>6. <i>A.</i> IMP. TITVS CAES. VESPASIAN.
AVG. P.M. Head of Titus to the right,
laureated.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>TR. P. VIII. IMP. XIII. COS. VII. (with or
without P.P.) Same type as No. 4.</p> |
|--|---|

(Cohen, No. 80, from *Caylus*; cf. 2nd ed. No. 273.)

7. *AR.* The same coin in silver.
- (Cohen, No. 81; cf. 2nd ed. No. 274.)

Nos. 6 and 7 issued in A.D. 79.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>8. <i>AR.</i> Same legend and type as No. 6.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>TR. P. VIII. IMP. XV. COS. VII. PP. Same
type as No. 4.</p> |
|---|--|

(Cohen, No. 82; 2nd ed. No. 295.)

Struck in A.D. 79.

Brass Coins.



- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>1. <i>Æ. I.</i> T. CAES. VESPASIAN. IMP. PON.
TR. POT. COS. II. Head of Titus to the
right, laureated.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>IVDAEA CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side
Titus standing in military dress, holding spear
and <i>paludamentum</i>, and placing left foot on
helmet; on the right, Judaea seated on a cuirass.
In <i>exergue</i> S.C.</p> |
|---|---|

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 191, No. 1; Cohen, No. 186; 2nd ed. No. 113.)

A large brass coin, unfortunately in poor preservation, is in the collection of Dr. Babington, having on the obverse the legend . . . PASIAN. IMP. IIII. PON. TR. POT . . Head to right, and on the reverse [IVDAEA CAPTA] S.C. and the type similar to No. 1, but instead of Judæa seated, there is a male figure standing to left, his hands bound behind his back.

- | OBSERVE. | REVERSE. |
|--|--|
| 2. Æ. II. T. CAES. VESPASIAN. IMP. P.
TR. P. COS. II. Head of Titus to the right,
laureated. | IVDAEA CAPTA. S.C. Judæa, seated on
cuirass at foot of palm-tree. |

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 191, No. 2; Cohen, No. 188; 2nd ed. No. 116.)

The second consulship of Titus corresponds to A.D. 72-73, the *second* year after the destruction of Jerusalem, though coins of Vespasian were struck in the first year after the conquest. Mr. Akerman has already called attention to this curious fact, and hinting that it may be attributed to the jealousy of Vespasian, says, "If this could be ascertained, it would furnish a very opposite picture to that of our third Edward, who refrained from taking any part in the famous battle of Crecy that his son might have the sole honour of the victory."¹

- | OBSERVE. | REVERSE. |
|---|--|
| 3. Æ. I. IMP. T. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG.
P.M. TR. P. P.P. COS. III. Head of Titus
to the left, laureated. | IVD. CAP. S.C. Palm-tree; on the left side
a Jewess seated on arms; on the right, a
Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back;
before him two spears and a shield. |

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 192, No. 3; Cohen, No. 191; 2nd ed. No. 107.)

Struck in A.D. 74.



- | OBSERVE. | REVERSE. |
|--|--|
| 4. Æ. II. T. CAES. IMP. AVG. F. TR. P.
COS. VI. CENSOR. Head of Titus to the
right, laureated; beneath, sometimes a globe. | IVDAEA CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side
arms; on the right Judæa seated on a cuirass
(or on shields), resting left arm on left knee. In
<i>exergue</i> S.C. |

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 192, No. 4; Cohen, No. 189, cf. No. 190; 2nd ed. No. 117, cf. No. 118.)

¹ "Num. Chron." o.s. vol. viii. p. 154, *note*; "Num. Ill. of the New Test." p. 22, 1846.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

5. Æ. II. Same legend as No. 4. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

IVDAEA NAVALIS. Palm-tree; on the left side arms; on the right, Judaea seated on ground. In *exergue* S.C.

(Akerman, "Num. Chron." o.s. vol. viii. p. 162; "Num. Ill. of the New Test." pp. 25, 36, 1846; Cohen, vol. i. p. 365, *note*; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 192, No. 5.)

This remarkable, and, according to M. Cohen, *asses extraordinaire* coin, was published some years ago by M. Dumersan, of the "Cabinet des Médailles" at Paris, in the "Numismatic Journal."¹ It was found at Pont-sur-Yonne, near Sens, in France, and was at that time in the possession of M. Leys, a resident of that town. M. Dumersan gives the following account of it:—"The legends *Judaea Capta* and *Judaea Devicta* are well known on the coins of Vespasian and Titus; but *Judaea Navalis* was, until the discovery of this example, unknown. The Jews never enjoyed any great reputation as seamen; but, I think, I have found in Josephus a narration of the event to which the legend and type of this coin allude, the character of which is rather derisive than triumphal. This author relates in his history of the War with the Romans (iii. 9), that when the town of Joppa was destroyed by Cestius, the inhabitants, driven by famine, sought refuge by sea, the Romans having destroyed the neighbouring towns and villages. They built vessels (*σκάφη*) and committed piracies on the shores of Syria, Phœnicia and Egypt. The town being attacked a second time by the Roman troops, the Jews fled during the night towards their ships; but a violent tempest drove them on to the rocks which border the coast of Joppa, and they were exterminated. Soon after this they were defeated on the Lake of Gennesaret, their barks being unable to cope with the warlike vessels of Vespasian. To these events, and most probably to the first, the legend *Judaea Navalis* must allude, Titus, as is well known, having accompanied his father in the Judaic war." Mr. Akerman, in an editorial note, made some objections to the authenticity of this coin, but they were speedily removed by the remarks of a French writer in the "Revue Numismatique Française,"² who



had consulted M. Dumersan and M. de Longpérier, both of whom had seen the coin, and were convinced of its authenticity. M. Dumersan further says, that "this curious coin illustrates that of a large brass example of Vespasian with the legend *Judaea capta*, upon which a Roman warrior is represented resting his right foot on the prow of a vessel." No coin with this peculiarity and the legend IVDAEA CAPTA is given in Cohen, but we have seen that a coin of Vespasian with this type exists with the letters S.C. in the *exergue*³ and there is a curious and probably unique coin of Titus in the British

¹ Vol. i. p. 88.

² J. de P. 1837, p. 317.

³ See under Vespasian, No. 26.

Museum also with only the legend S.C. and the type "Titus standing, his right foot on the prow of a vessel, holding Victory (?) and spear; at his feet two Jews in supplication; to the left, a palm." This coin bears the date IMP. IIII. TR. POT. II. COS. II. = A.D. 73.¹ There are also coins of Vespasian,² Titus,³ and Domitian,⁴ with the legend VICTORIA NAVALIS.⁵

Coins of the Sixth Consulship were struck in A.D. 76 or 77.



OBSERVE.

6. Æ. I. IMP. T. CAES. VESP. AVG. P.M. TR. P. P.P. COS. VIII. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side a Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back; behind him shields; on the right, a Jewess seated on cuirass; before her shields. In exergue S.C.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 194, No. 6; Cohen, No. 187; 2nd ed. No. 114.)

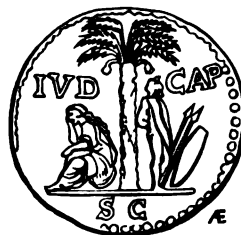
OBSERVE.

7. Æ. II. Same legend and type as No. 6. Head of Titus to left.

REVERSE.

IVDAEA CAPTA. S.C. Same type as No. 6, excepting some slight difference in the arms.

(Cohen, "Suppl." No. 33, from *Cab. of M. le Marquis de Moustier*; 2nd ed. No. 115.)



OBSERVE.

8. Æ. I. Same legend and type as No. 6.

REVERSE.

IVD. CAP. S.C. Same type as No. 3.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 195, No. 7; Cohen, No. 192; cf. "Suppl." No. 32, where the Consulship is by error given as COS. V.; 2nd ed. No. 108.)

¹ Cohen, No. 238; 2nd ed. No. 234.

² Cohen, Nos. 502-506; "Suppl." Nos. 91-93; 2nd ed. Nos. 632-639.

³ Cohen, Nos. 314-316; "Suppl." No. 58; 2nd ed. Nos. 386-390.

⁴ Cohen, No. 552; "Suppl." No. 96; 2nd ed. Nos. 636-638.

⁵ In the account of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus it is said that at one part of the procession there "followed a great number of ships" (πολλὰ δὲ καὶ νῆες ἐκπορεύοντο. Joseph. "Bell. Jud." vii. 5, 5). This naval victory was of such importance

that it was thought not unworthy of commemoration at a later period. Coins of Marcus Aurelius exist, struck at Gadara, with the legend ΝΑΥΜΑ. ΓΑΔΑΡΕΩΝ, and the type a Trireme (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 348; vol. iv. p. 445; vol. vi. p. 330; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 326, No. 38; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 299, No. 2); from which it may be assumed that a *Naumachia* was celebrated under this Emperor on the lake of Gennesareth (Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. pp. 279, 280).



OBVERSE.

9. Æ. I. Same legend and type as No. 6.

REVERSE.

IVD. CAP. Palm-tree; on the left side a Jew standing, his hands fastened behind his back to the tree; before him shields; on the right, a Jewess seated on a cuirass. In *exergue* S.C.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 195, No. 8; Cohen, No. 193; cf. 2nd ed. No. 111.)



OBVERSE.

10. Æ. I. Same legend as No. 6. Head of Titus to the left, laureated.



REVERSE.

IVD. CAP. Palm-tree; on the left side a Jewess seated on cuirass; on the right, a Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back, and turning his head to the left; before him a helmet and shield. In *exergue* S.C.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 195, No. 9; Cohen, No. 194; 2nd ed. No. 110.)



OBVERSE.

11. Æ. I. Same legend and type as No. 10.

REVERSE.

IVD. CAP. Palm-tree; on the left side a Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back to the tree; before him a shield and helmet; on the right, a Jewess seated on helmet; before her a shield. In *field* to left and right S.C.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 196, No. 10.)

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|--|---|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>12. Æ. I. Same legend and type as No. 10.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>IVD. CAP. Same type as No. 8, but with S.C. in the <i>field</i>.</p> |
|--|---|

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 196, No. 11; cf. Cohen, 2nd ed. No. 109.)

Coins of the eighth consulship were struck in A.D. 80, the year before the death of Titus. There is also a third brass coin relative to the conquest of Judæa, but without a date.



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| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>13. Æ. III. IMP. T. CAESAR DIVI VESPASIANI AVG. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>IVD. CAP. Palm-tree; on the left side Judæa seated on shields; on the right, a helmet and two large shields. In <i>field</i> to left and right S.C.</p> |
|---|--|

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 196, No. 12; Cohen, No. 195; 2nd ed. No. 112.)

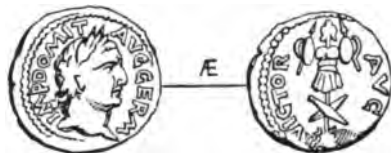
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>14. Æ. I. T. CAES. VESPAS. [or VESPASIAN.] IMP. PON. TR. POT. COS. II. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S.C. Victory standing, foot on a helmet, writing VIC. AVG. on a shield attached to a palm.</p> |
|--|---|

(Cohen, No. 313; cf. No. 312; 2nd ed. Nos. 384, 385; cf. No. 383.)

This coin probably relates to the conquest of Judæa. It was struck in A.D. 72 or A.D. 73.

C. REIGN OF DOMITIAN.

I. Coins struck in Palestine.



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|--|--|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>*1. Æ. 4½. IMP. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>VICTOR AVG. A trophy.</p> |
|--|--|

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 181; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 80, No. 1. The "Cabinet de France" possesses a similar coin with the reverse legend VICTORIA AVG.; Cohen, 2nd ed. No. 618.)

A duplicate of this piece may also be found at the British Museum. De Saulcy writes, "et je pense que c'est le même spécimen qui aura été cédé au Musée." I find, however, from a note I made at the time that Mr. Reichardt published this coin, that a separate example existed in the Museum.¹

A somewhat similar reverse type may be found on a coin of Marcus Aurelius struck at Ælia Capitolina,² and a similar trophy forms part of the type of another coin of Domitian which I shall next describe.



OBSERVE.

2. Æ.II. . . MITIANVS AVG. GERMANICVS.
Head of Domitian to the left, laureated.

REVERSE.

No legend. Pallas helmeted, standing to the left, the right hand placed on a trophy, in the left carrying a round buckler and a javelin.

(Described from De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 81, No. 3. Another specimen in De Saulcy's Collection, found at Nazareth, has the obverse legend . . . VS CAES. AVG. GERM . . . Mr. Reichardt also has an example. My description from the example in the former collection of the late Mr. Wigan was incorrect, "Jew. Coinage," p. 197; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. x. No. 6; cf. Cohen, 2nd ed. No. 756, who gives the obverse legend as IMP. DOMITIANVS CAES. AVG. GERMANICVS, and describes the figure on the reverse as "Victory"?)

OBSERVE.

3. Æ. II. . . . CAES . . . GERM. Head of Domitian laureated.

REVERSE.

No legend. Pallas helmeted, turning to the right and standing on a vessel, holding javelin in the right hand, and in the left a round shield; at her feet an owl. Behind the goddess a trophy similar to that described on Nos. 1 and 2; before her a long palm.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 81, No. 2, from his Collection, bought at Jerusalem; cf. Cohen, 2nd ed. No. 759 [read 757].)

OBSERVE.

4. Æ. Legend effaced, if any existed.

REVERSE.

No legend. Victory walking to the left, holding in the right hand a large crown, and in the left a trophy.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 81, No. 4, from his Collection, bought at Jerusalem.)

¹ This remark is corroborated by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 321), who writes, "The coin is still in my Cabinet, and has never been offered to the British Museum nor to any one else since it has been in my possession."

² Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 220, No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 91, No. 1. CHAPTER XI., coin of Marcus Aurelius, No. 1.

The new piece (No. 3), for the publication of which numismatists are indebted to M. de Saulcy, is extremely interesting. In a former paper of mine, published in 1866,¹ I gave a full account of Domitian's veneration for the goddess Minerva, and in commenting on the fine silver medallion in the British Museum² struck in A.D. 85, I accepted Dr. Alessandro Visconti's suggestion that the figure supporting the shield was a "Jewish slave,"³ and bore reference to the victory over the Jews.⁴ The owl which occurs on this specimen is not on the silver medallion to which I have alluded, but it occurs on Roman coins of Domitian.⁵ It may also be found on coins of Constantine I. and Licinius I., with other attributes of Minerva, and the legend SAPIENTIA.⁶ Cicero calls Minerva *sapientissima dea*,⁷ and γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη is of frequent occurrence in Homer.⁸

There are some other coins of Domitian which, though having no actual connexion with the conquest of Judæa, have been considered by De Saulcy to have been struck in Palestine. Their description is as follows:—

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
1. Æ. II. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P.M. TR. P. XI. Head of Domitian to the right, radiated.	IMP. XXI. COS. XVI. CENS. P.P.P. Palm-tree with fruit.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp." No. 354; 2nd ed. No. 277; who adds, "Frappée en Samarie?" De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 81, No. 5. Bought in Palestine. On two specimens in De Saulcy's Collection there is a small head or countermark on the neck of Domitian.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
2. Æ. II. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P.M. TR. P. XII. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.	IMP. XXII. COS S.P.P.P. Victory walking to the left, holding crown and trophy.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 81, No. 6, from his Collection. Bought at Jerusalem. He observes that Cohen, "Méd. Imp." No. 355, reads IMP. XXIII. COS. XVI. CENS. P.P.P., and that two examples in the "Cabinet de France" read clearly IMP. XXIII instead of IMP. XXII; cf. Cohen, 2nd ed. No. 298.)⁹

¹ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 265 *seq.*

² Cohen, "Méd. Imp." No. 4, pl. xviii.; 2nd ed. No. 184, quoted from Collection of *feu M. Dupré*.

³ Called by Cohen a "German slave."

⁴ The vessel on which the slave is seated probably alludes to the VICTORIA NAVALIS as commemorated on the coins of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, and to the IVDAEA NAVALIS on the coin of Titus (No. 5).

⁵ Cohen, No. 255, from *Welsl, A*; No. 256, *AR*; Nos. 507-509, Æ. III.; 2nd ed. Nos. 605, 606, 521-524, 679.

⁶ Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 102; 1866, vol. vi. p. 275, *note* 85.

⁷ "Orat. pro Milone," iii. 8.

⁸ Hom. "Il." xviii. 227, etc.; sometimes γλαυκῶπις alone, "Il." viii. 420.

⁹ "Cette médaille, probablement inconnue à Eckhel, est très-singulière; d'abord elle donne le 23^e généralat, tandis qu'aucune médaille romaine de Domitien ne mentionne au-delà du 22^e. Ensuite, ce 23^e généralat se trouve accouplé à la 12^e puissance tribunicienne et au 16^e consulat, ce qui en fixerait la date à l'année 845 ou 846 (de J.C. 92 ou 93); au lieu que sur les médailles romaines le 22^e généralat se rencontre encore jusque sous le 17^e consulat et la 15^e puissance tribunicienne. La fabrique de cette médaille se rapproche de celle de la Samarie ou de la Judée, et il est probable que, dans ces pays éloignés, on n'était pas très au fait du nombre exact des généralats de Domitien." Cohen, "Méd. Imp." vol. i. p. 430, *note*; 2nd ed. p. 496.

After the total destruction of Jerusalem, Titus resolved to leave there as a guard the *tenth* legion, and did not send it away beyond the Euphrates where they had been stationed before.¹ This was evidently considered a great honour, as we read in the same passage of Josephus that Titus expelled the *twelfth* legion from Syria for having given way to the Jews under Cestius.

This tenth legion was called *Fretensis*.

In 1869 M. de Saulcy published² a countermarked coin, which evidently seems to have been put in circulation by the tenth legion. Its description is as follows:—

OBSERVE.	REVERSE.
Æ. Surface very much rubbed. Traces of a head to right, probably laureated, and the letters AES hardly visible.	Of the original type nothing remains but the letters BAC. In the middle of the field a large square countermark, in which a pig above a dolphin; above the pig the letters L.X.F. (<i>Legio decima Fretensis</i>); below, another countermark, in which a galley.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 83, No. 1; pl. v. No. 3.)

I may remark that in the engraving given by De Saulcy the letters BAC are not shown, nor can I perceive any traces of the dolphin under the pig.

The letters BAC are supposed by De Saulcy to be part of the word CEBACTHNON, whilst he considers that the dolphin alludes to the surname *Fretensis* of the legion which adopted this type.

The sow was a legionary emblem. Its origin may be traced to the sow seen by Æneas with its thirty young, concerning which Virgil speaks,³ and it is not likely, as some have supposed, that it was adopted as an insult to the Jews.⁴

A very similar piece was purchased by M. de Saulcy on his last visit to Jerusalem (November, 1869), which may be thus described:—

OBSERVE.	REVERSE.
Æ. Head of Augustus to right, laureated. On the cheek a square countermark, containing the letters Ξ X which give the three elements of the legend L.X.F. (<i>Legio decima Fretensis</i>).	Nothing remaining but the letter C of the legend S.C., the usual one found on the copper coins of Antioch.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 84, No. 2; pl. v. No. 4.)

¹ Joseph. "Bell. Jud." vii. 1, 2, 3. Tacitus ("Hist." v. 1) says that Titus succeeded to the command in Judæa of the fifth, *tenth*, and fifteenth legions, to which he added the twelfth from Syria, and the third and twenty-second from Alexandria. Cf. Joseph. "Bell. Jud." v. 2, 3.

² "Rev. Arch." n.s. 1869, pp. 251-260.

³ "Æn." lib. viii. 43.

⁴ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 211, 212. See CHAPTER XI. and coin of Antoninus Pius, No. 17.

M. Clermont-Ganneau has in his collection a piece of Domitian with the same countermark on the neck. The reverse has THNQN, the remains of $\Sigma\text{EBA}\Sigma\text{THNQN}$, and the type is Astarte. In the field ΘP .

I have mentioned above that the *fifteenth legion* was with Titus in Judæa.¹ When he quitted the country, he sent it back to Pannonia.² M. de Saulcy quotes³ a curious piece of Trajan, struck at Aradus, with the date BOT (372), having on the neck of Trajan the countermark L. XV (*Legio quinta decima*). He adds, "Il me paraît difficile d'admettre qu'une pièce d'Aradus soit venue se faire contre-marquer en Pannonie; j'aime mieux croire que le centre de recrutement, ou mieux le dépôt de la XV^e légion, resta en Syrie, où peut-être la légion avait été créée." The same piece is also described by Mionnet.⁴

II. Coin struck at Rome.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
Æ. I. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XI. CENS. POT. P.P. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.	IVDAEA CAPTA S.C. A Jewess seated on the ground, and a soldier standing near a trophy.

(Cohen, No. 372, from *Lavy, Musée de Turin*; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 197; Cohen, 2nd ed. No. 318.)

Struck in A.D. 85.

¹ See p. 228, note 1.

² Joseph. "Bell. Jud." vii. 5, 3.

³ "Num. de la T. S." p. 84.

⁴ Vol. v. p. 464, No. 846.

CHAPTER X.

MONEY STRUCK DURING THE SECOND REVOLT OF THE JEWS.

From the accession of Julius Cæsar, the Jews, when at peace, had always enjoyed a large amount of liberty, and many corresponding privileges. Josephus tells us of some of his countrymen who possessed the Roman franchise at Ephesus, and ranked as Roman citizens in the reign of Julius Cæsar,¹ and of others, during the government of the tyrannical Procurator Florus, who being of the equestrian order, and therefore Roman citizens, were illegally whipped and nailed to the cross before his tribunal.² "In the time of Nero, Seneca could say of them, that though 'conquered, they gave laws to their conquerors;'³ so firmly had they established themselves in the world's capital, so deeply had they impressed their ideas on every class of the citizens, such a demand had they created for the stimulus they could administer to the jaded imagination of both men and women."⁴ The first revolt of the Jews was immediately followed by a tribute being imposed upon them by Vespasian.⁵ This tribute was enforced by Domitian with extreme rigour.⁶ Upon the accession of Nerva, many important measures of moderation and clemency were enacted, and among them the insulting usage employed to ascertain the liability to pay the Jewish tax was abolished.⁷ Of



this fact we possess numismatic records. The reverse legend, on a large brass coin of Nerva, is *FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA*, and the type a palm.⁸ But the calm among the Jews was not of long duration. The hatred of the Jews to Rome was so intense that every possible opportunity was taken to revolt, and the Romans, though they had boasted of "*Judæa capta*" and "*Judæa devicta*," were always obliged to keep an effective watch over the subdued country. In the year A.D. 115, when Trajan was engaged in the

Parthian expedition, a Jewish insurrection broke out, especially in the countries where the Jews were most numerous, in Cyprus, Cyrene, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. In the revolt at Cyprus the Jews are said to have massacred 240,000 of the Grecian inhabitants, and to have

¹ "Antiq." xiv. 10, 13. See p. 95, note 1. The Jews were in great grief at his death (Suet. "Cæs." 84). See also the decrees of Augustus and Marcus Agrippa in favour of the Jews, especially as regards their sacred money ("Antiq." xvi. 6).

² "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 9.

³ Senec. Frag. S. Augustin, "de Civ. Dei," vi. 11. "Usque eo sceleratissimæ gentis consuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes jam terras recepta sit: victi victoribus leges dederunt."

⁴ Merivale, "Hist. of the Romans," ed. 1868, vol. vii. p. 379.

⁵ See APPENDIX B. II. 2.

⁶ "Præter ceteros Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est; ad quem deferebantur, qui vel improfessi Judaicam viverent vitam, vel, dissimulata origine, imposita genti tributa non pependissent." Suet. "Dom." 12; cf. Derenbourg, "Essai," p. 333, note.

⁷ Many coins of Domitian found in Judæa and Samaria have his effigy stamped with a countermark containing the portrait of Nerva or of Trajan, who were regarded by the people as benefactors (De Saulcy, "Mél. de Num." 1875, p. 339; Lenormant, "La Mon. dans l'Antiq." vol. ii. p. 390).

⁸ "Non ipsum fiscum Judaicum, seu didrachmum, quod censuere varii, à Nerva abolitum dici, sed tantum ejus calumniam sublatam, hoc est, ab eodem fiscali debito solvendo immunes in postremum mansisse, quicunque se haud erant Judæos professi nec inde pro Judæis in fiscales tabulas relati." Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vi. p. 405, after Spanheim, "Diss. de præst. et usu num. Antiq." vol. ii. p. 500. See APPENDIX B. II. 2.

obtained for a short time absolute possession of the island. This rebellion was at last put down, and the Jews were not allowed to approach the island; and even if they should be driven there by stress of weather, they were immediately put to death.¹ At Cyrene, the Jewish residents wreaked their vengeance on the natives, of whom 220,000 are said to have perished miserably, but they were eventually subdued by Martius Turbo, who afterwards turned his attention to Egypt, where the Roman prefect had been several times defeated by the insurgents and compelled to shut himself up in Alexandria. The insurrection in Mesopotamia was soon (A.D. 117) suppressed by Lusius Quietus, a man of Moorish origin, and Trajan made him governor of Judæa.² The same year Trajan died and Hadrian ascended the throne. At first he made promises to the Jews to reconstruct their capital and their sanctuary; but having visited Judæa in A.D. 130 or A.D. 131,³ he seems to have formed the design of

¹ Dion Cassius, lxxiii. 32.

² Euseb. "H. E." iv. 2.

³ In my "Jew. Coinage" (p. 212, note 5) I published and engraved the two following coins of Hadrian struck at Rome, stating that they commemorated the defeat of the second revolt of the Jews, and that they were struck between A.D. 136 and A.D. 138.



OBVERSE.

Æ. I. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P.P. Bust of Hadrian to the right, bare, with *paludamentum* and *cuirass*.

REVERSE.

ADVENTVI AVG. IVDAEAE. Hadrian standing to right before a female (Judæa), who holds a *patera* and a box; between them a burning altar: on either side of the female a child holding a palm: behind the altar a bull. In *exergue* S.C.

(British Museum: cf. Cohen, Nos. 606-610.)



OBVERSE.

Æ. I. Same legend. Head of Hadrian to the right, bare.

REVERSE.

IVDAEAE (in *exergue*). Hadrian standing to right before a female (Judæa), who holds a *patera* and a box; on the right side of the female an altar, and a bull; on the left side of the female a child: two children holding palms are advancing towards Hadrian. In *field*, to left and right, S.C.

(British Museum.)

This, however, as Cavedoni ("Principali Questioni," etc., p. 20) has pointed out, is an error, as Hadrian visited Judæa either in A.D. 130 (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vi. pp. 481, 497) or in A.D. 131 (Clinton, "F. R." vol. i. p. 118). Moreover, the type of Judæa offering the accustomed sacrifice to Cæsar (cf. Joseph. "Bell. Jud." ii. 17, 2) shows that the coins were issued before, though only shortly before, the revolt broke out.

rebuilding Jerusalem under the name of *Ælia*, and of dedicating the sanctuary, not to Jehovah, but to Jupiter Capitolinus.¹ Circumcision,² the reading of the Law, and the observance of the Sabbath were strictly forbidden. The promises of Hadrian not being realized, and stern measures being adopted, caused the revolt to break forth with renewed vigour. An announcement was made that the long-promised Messiah had come. The name the new leader bore was Bar-cohab, "the son of a star," and the stories told of his birth were strangely significant of his future importance. The claims which he put forward were looked upon with favour by the Rabbi Akiba, whose good qualities had caused the Jews to place reliance upon his opinion: "Behold," he said, when the party of Bar-cohab were laying their plans for the re-establishment of their nation, "Behold the star that shall rise out of Jacob; the days of redemption are at hand."³ At the commencement of the revolt, Rufus, by the command of Hadrian, led his troops into Judæa, and Akiba, the Rabbi, was seized and imprisoned. It is said that, owing to the great reputation of Bar-cohab, he was at the head of no less than 200,000 men. That his followers were very numerous, there is no question. The pretensions of Bar-cohab to being the Messiah found of course no favour with the Christians, and for the scorn with which they regarded his impious claims, he revenged himself by subjecting them to cruel persecutions. Upon the arrival in Palestine of Julius Severus from Britain, in A.D. 134, the rebels were in possession of fifty of the strongest castles, nine hundred and eighty-five villages,⁴ and probably of Jerusalem itself.⁵ At last, after a warfare of nearly two years, the admirable discipline of the Roman troops and the great skill of Severus almost brought the revolt to a termination. The city of Bethar,⁶

¹ For the date of the foundation of *Ælia Capitolina*, see CHAPTER XI.

² "Moverunt eā tempestate et Judæi bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia." Spart. "Hadr." 14.

³ Alluding to the prophecy, Numbers xxiv. 17; to which the Rabbi Johanan ben Torta replied, "Akiba, the grass will have grown out of thy jaws before the Messiah appears" (Derenbourg, "Essai," p. 425). Ben-kosiba was, however, at first only a robber and a murderer, but the name *Bar-cohab* or *Ben-kokaba*, which he had assumed, as though he were a star from heaven, and light bringing prosperity to the Jews (δὲ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φασὶν αὐτοῖς καταβῆναι), gained him a reputation (Euseb. "H. E." iv. 6). The Jews afterwards called this false Messiah *Bar-Cosba* (בַּר קֹסְבָּא, or in Chaldee מְרִיבָא), the "son of a lie" (Jahn, "Hebrew Commonwealth," vol. ii. p. 196). Dr. F. Lebrecht is opposed to these views ("Bether. Die fragliche Stadt im Hadrianisch. jüdischen Kriege," etc., Berlin, 1877) and considers *Bar-Kosba* was the real name of this rebel, and that he was so called from the city Koziba in Judæa. Such a view is not, however, probable (cf. Rev. C. H. Wright, "Zechariah," p. 164, note).

"Koziba fut le nom du père; s'il s'agissait comme on l'a avancé, de la ville de Kozib (*Eodippa*) nommée en Chaldéen *Koziba*, on dirait *Bar Koziba*, comme on dit *Bar Kochba*; mais on rencontre tout aussi bien *ben que bar*" (Derenbourg, "Essai," p. 423, note 3).

⁴ Dion Cass. lix. 14.

⁵ It has been doubted whether Bar-cohab was ever in

possession of Jerusalem, or rather of the new colony founded on its ruins (Scaliger, "Animadv. in Chron. Euseb." p. 216; Fabricius, "Ad Dionis Hist." lix. 12-14), but Eusebius speaks of the city being destroyed (τῆς πόλεως ἐς ἐρημίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου, κ. τ. λ. "H. E." iv. 6), and again, says that the war ended by the taking of Jerusalem, of which one stone was not left upon another (ὅς μῆτε λίθον ἐπὶ λίθον ἀφῆσθαι, "Chron." I., quoted in the note to Sturz's ed. of Dion Cass. vol. vi. p. 667). St. Jerome also mentions this fact ("Usque ad extremam subversionem, quæ sub Hadriano accidit—quando Cochebus dux Judæorum oppressus est, et Jerusalem usque ad solum diruta est," Dan. ix. 27, and "Post quinquaginta annos sub Hadriano civitas in æterno igne consumpta est," Ezek. xxiv. 14), and the historian Appian writes positively that the city was destroyed by Vespasian (τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀγριώτην αὐτοῖς καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὐδὲς οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε), and again in his own time (καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὐδὲς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. "Syr." 50), which seems to leave no doubt that the insurgents were driven out of Jerusalem, and that the new city, as far as erected, was destroyed. M. Renan, however, is of opinion ("The last Jewish Revolt" in the "Contemporary Review," July, 1879, p. 600) that *Ælia* was never hemmed in by the insurrection, and that the rebels never reached Jerusalem. Dion Cassius (lix. 14), who mentions the *πενήκοντα φρούρια* that were taken, says nothing about Jerusalem. See CHAPTER XI.

⁶ The situation of Bethar is not certainly known. It is described as a very strong city, not far from Jerusalem (Euseb. "H. E." iv. 6). Its site has been identified by Williams

however, still remained in the hands of the insurgents, but after repeated onsets by the Romans, it was captured in August, A.D. 135,¹ and Bar-cohab killed.² The usual scenes of cruel and bloody revenge were now again repeated. The exasperation of the Romans knew no bounds, and their fury was especially directed against the scholars and their disciples, so that many of them died under cruel torments, and among them Akiba, who, while torn in pieces with red-hot pincers, continued to cry, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God: the Lord is God alone!"³

[On the classification of the coins of the First and Second Revolts, see CHAPTER VIII. p. 192.]

COINS OF THE SECOND REVOLT UNDER SIMON BAR-COCHAB,⁴ A.D. 132—A.D. 135.

I. Coins with no date.



OBSERVE.

1. R. 4. שמעון⁵ Simon, within a wreath.

REVERSE.

לחירות ירושלם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Vase and palm-branch.

(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." p. 162, pl. xii. Nos. 4, 6; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 93, No. 26; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 167, No. 1; Garrucci, p. 33, No. 3; De Sauley, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, p. 251, No. 64, publishes a specimen *à fleur de coin*; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 322, No. 1; Merzbacher, "Zeitschrift für Num." 1877, vol. iv. p. 359, No. 119; cf. De Sauley, "Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 90, Nos. 3 and 4.)

("Holy City," pp. 209-213), and it is now called *Beittr*. Mr. A. Neubauer, who has examined the opinions of many scholars ("La Géog. du Talmud," pp. 103-113), considers that it was in the neighbourhood of Beth-Schemesch. Dr. F. Lebrecht maintains ("Bethor. Die fragliche Stadt im Hadrianisch-jüdischen Kriege, etc." Berlin, 1877) that there was no fortress of that name, but that Bether is a corruption of *Veter*, a contraction for *Castra Vetera*, the name given to the Roman fortified camp erected in the plain of Jezreel, not far from Sepphoris (cf. Rev. C. H. Wright, "Zechariah," p. 164, note).

¹ "In hoc mense—capta urbe Bether, ad quam multa millia confugerant Judæorum, aratum templum, in ignominiam gentis oppressæ a T. Annio Rufo." Hieron. "in Zach." viii. 16, 17. Jerome here gives the name of the capturer of Bether as *T. Annius Rufus*. I have elsewhere ("Jew. Coinage," p. 202, note 2) pointed out that Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 63, note 41; cf. "Principali Questioni," etc., p. 20) agrees with Borghesi ("Iscr. di Burbul." p. 65) in reading it *Tineius Rufus*, especially as Jerome himself in his "Chronicle" (an. XVI. Hadr.) calls this Roman general *Tineius Rufus*. Eusebius (an. 2148, quoted by Clinton, "F. R." vol. i. p. 118, an. 132) writes *Ticinius Rufus*. Cavedoni adds that Vallarsi gives *Turannius Rufus*, whilst Milman ("Hist. of the Jews," 4th ed. 1866, vol. ii. p. 429) writes *T. Annius* or *Tynnius*, called by the Rabbins *Tyrannus* or *Turnus Rufus*, the Wicked (cf. Derenbourg, "Essai," p. 419). It is curious that the Roman commander to whom the final demolition of Jerusalem had been committed by Titus bore the name of *Terentius Rufus* (Joseph. "Bell. Jud." vii. 2, 1), and thus the two are perpetually confounded (Milman, *loc. cit.*; cf. p. 434). It will be observed

from the words "*aratum templum*" that Hadrian, in accordance with the custom among the Romans to draw a plough over a destroyed city (Hor. "Od." i. 16), had ordered the ruins of the city to be ploughed over by Rufus, and the first coins struck in the colony in A.D. 136 represent Colon driving two oxen. See CHAPTER XI. The fact receives illustration from the words of the prophet Micah (iii. 12), "Sion, quasi ager, *arabitur*, etc." (cf. Jerem. xxvi. 18).

² Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. iii. p. 61) says that the war lasted "four years" commencing in A.D. 132, and ending in August, 136, though in another passage (*op. cit.* p. 63) he says "three years and a half," which accords with the statements of St. Jerome and Dion Cassius, and carries back the beginning of the war to the spring of A.D. 132 (Clinton, "F. R." vol. i. p. 122).

³ Salvador, ii. 577. According to Dion Cassius, the number of the Jews slain in battle was 580,000, and those that perished by famine and plague exceed all calculation, so that nearly all Judæa was left desolate (lxi. 14). These statements are as improbable as those of Josephus in his number of those who perished in the First Revolt (see CHAPTER VIII. p. 192, note 2). This war has usually been thought to be the last, but mention is made of another during the reign of Septimius Severus, after which *Senatus Judaicum triumphum decreverat* (Spartian, "in Sev." 16). St. Jerome also mentions it in his Chronicle (an. v. Sev.), *Judaicum et Samariticum bellum ortum vel resumptum*. It cannot have been of any importance.

⁴ The conjecture that this leader bore the name of *Simon* rests only on the testimony of the coins (see p. 232, note 3).

⁵ This word should be written שמעון, but similar transpositions are frequent on these coins (Madden, "Jew. Coinage,"

OBERSE.

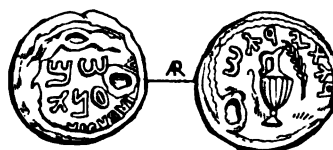
2. R. 4. Same legend and type.

REVERSE.

(sic) לְחֵרוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Three-stringed lyre. To the left the letters
HMEΞ.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, p. 251, No. 65; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 322, No. 2; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 360, No. 120.)

De Saulcy says that the obverse of this piece is evidently struck *from the same die* as No. 1. The letters HMEΞ are the remains of ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗ ΕΞΟΥΧΙΑ (=tribunitia potestate), a legend of frequent occurrence on the coins of Trajan struck at Antioch in Syria.



OBERSE.

3. R. 4. שִׁמְעוֹן (for שִׁמְעוֹן) Simon, within a wreath. On the lower rim traces of ISV. IASASIAN? (Vespasianus).

REVERSE.

לְחֵרוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Vase and palm-branch.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 162, pl. xii. No. 3; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 106, No. 36; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 204, No. 1; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 3; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 358, No. 115.)

A specimen of this coin in Berlin shows that the Latin inscription should be read . . GVSTVS V[ESP]IASI, i.e. *Divus AuGVSTVS VESPASI*;¹ another, formerly in the Collection of the late Mr. Wigan, has on the obverse under the wreath traces of CAESAR;² a third shows traces of the bust of Trajan and the letters . . ANVS on the obverse, and on the reverse the letters P.M. TR.P. COS.³ Examples of this piece are known not overstruck.⁴

OBERSE.

4. R. 4. Same legend and type as No. 3. Of the original legend there remains KAIC. NEP. TPAI.

REVERSE.

לְחֵרוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Vase and palm. Of the original legend there remains . . . MAPX . .

(De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, p. 252, No. 67; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 4; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 358, under No. 115.)

p. 167, note 7). A specimen, formerly in the Cabinet of the late Mr. Wigan, similar to the one here engraved, has the peculiar form 𐤏 (*Vau*) in the name שִׁמְעוֹן, a form occurring on other silver coins (Nos. 26, 27; cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 205, note 7), and on some of the copper (No. 41; see De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xiv. Nos. 7, 8, 9; cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 173, note 8).

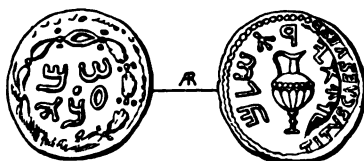
¹ Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 358.

² Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 204, note 3. So, too, a piece in the Collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis shows traces of CAESAR (Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1879, vol. xix. p. 15, No. 2).

³ Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 57, No. 8 δ, from Sestini, "Mus. Hed." P. iii. p. 118, No. 17.

⁴ Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 359; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xii. No. 5.

This piece was super-struck on a coin of Trajan minted at Antioch (see No. 2). De Saulcy states that it was found at Djebel-Foureidis (*Herodium*), and purchased at Jerusalem.



OBSERVE.

5. *R.* 4. Same legend and type as No. 3.

REVERSE.

לְחֵירוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Vase; round the edge of the coin TITVS
CAES. VESP.

(Formerly in the Coll. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 205, No. 2; Garrucci, p. 33, No. 1; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 323, No. 5; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 359, No. 115 *bis*.)

OBSERVE.

6. *R.* 4. שִׁמְעוֹן *Simon*, within a wreath.

REVERSE.

לְחֵירוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם. "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
A palm-branch.

(Turin Museum: Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 56, No. 4; De Saulcy, "Rev. Num." 1864, pl. xvi. No. 10; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 359, No. 117.)

OBSERVE.

7. *R.* 4. Same legend and type as No. 6.

REVERSE.

לְחֵירוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Two trumpets.¹

(Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 471; Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 56, No. 6; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 359, No. 116.)



OBSERVE.

8. *R.* 4. Same legend and type as No. 3. Around are traces of TIAN AVG. (Domitian).

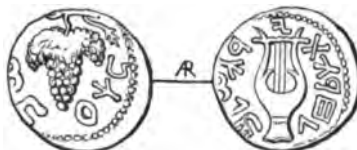
REVERSE.

לְחֵירוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Three-stringed lyre.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 205, No. 3; Garrucci, p. 33, No. 2; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 6; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 359, No. 118.)

¹ These two trumpets are warlike emblems, and doubtless recall the two silver ones made by order of Moses, for the purpose of signaling the movements of the camp (Numb. x. 1-10; cf. Levit. xxv. 9); and "the holy trumpets," at the sound of which Cendebeus was put to flight under Simon Maccabæus (1 Maccab. xvi. 8). Originally there were only two made, but seven were employed during the reign of David (1 Chron. xv. 24), and a hundred and twenty in that of Solomon

(2 Chron. v. 12), though Josephus ("Antiq." viii. 3, 8) says that Solomon made 200,000 according to the command of Moses. Their size on the coins confirms the account given of them by Josephus ("Antiq." iii. 12, 6). The two trumpets are represented on the Arch of Titus (Reland, "De Spoliis Templi," 1716; Lewin, "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 320). See Nos. 16-18, 35, 36, and APPENDIX B. x. 1.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

9. *AR. 4.* שמעון *Simon.* Cluster of grapes.לחרות ירושלם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Three-stringed lyre.(Formerly in the Coll. of the late Mr. Wigan; British Museum; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 170, No. 6; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 7; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xii. No. 1; "Mél. de Num." p. 90, No. 1; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 361.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

10. *AR. 4.* שמעון *Simon.* Type as No. 9. Traces
of OPT[IMO] PR[INCIPI] (Trajan).לחרות [יר]ושלם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem"
Three-stringed lyre.(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xii. No. 2; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 105, No. 37; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 206, No. 4; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 8; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 360, No. 122.)Another coin of similar type, here represented, shows fuller traces of the Latin inscription on both obverse and reverse.¹ A third is said to have been struck on a coin of Galba, as it bears the letters P. SER.²

The Rev. H. C. Reichardt published some years since³ a remarkable coin of similar types, but with the curious legends . . . ש'א' לחר ישראל and שנת אחת לג' . . . יש, which Levy⁴ and myself⁵ considered a forgery. De Saulcy is also of this opinion.⁶ I may add that since I published my book I have had an opportunity of examining this coin, and I am confident that it is decidedly false.

Another example of this coin is in the Collection of Dr. Babington, which may be thus described:—

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

AR. 4. ש'א' לחר ישראל, "First year of the redemption of Israel." Cluster of grapes.

ש'א' לחר ישראל, "First year of the deliverance of Israel." Three-stringed lyre.

I do not consider this piece to be genuine.

¹ Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. i. pl. i. No. 5; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 106, No. 38.

² Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 24, note 14; vol. ii. p. 57, No. 7 b.

³ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 276, No. 20.

⁴ "Jüd. Münzen," p. 96.

⁵ "Jew. Coinage," p. 174, No. 15.

⁶ "Rev. Num." 1865, vol. x. pp. 4 and 23 *tirage à part*.

- OBVERSE. REVERSE.
11. *Æ*. 4. Same legend and type as No. 9. | לחרות ירושלם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Vase and palm-branch.
(Coll. of Dr. Babington; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 360, No. 121; De Saulcy, "Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 88, No. 4.)



- OBVERSE. REVERSE.
12. *Æ*. 4. Same legend and type as No. 9. | לחרות ירושלם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
A palm-branch.
(Formerly in the Coll. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 208, No. 10; Garrucci, p. 33, No. 5; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 324, No. 9; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 362, No. 124; cf. De Saulcy, "Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 90, No. 2; and De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 161, pl. xi. No. 6; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 107, No. 40.)

Other examples of this coin exhibit traces of re-striking.

- OBVERSE. REVERSE.
13. *Æ*. 4. Traces of שמעון *Simon*. Cluster of grapes. Of the original legend there remains IAN. CEB. ΓΕΡ. ΔΑ. | לחרות . . . , "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
A palm-branch. Of the original legend there remains ΥΠ. or ΥΠΑΤ. Δ.
(Hunter Museum: from Electrotpe in Coll. of Dr. Babington.)

These letters signify [TPA]IAN[OC] CEB[ACTOC] ΓΕΡ[MANIKOC] ΔΑ[KIKOC] and ΥΠ[ATOC] Δ, "Trajan Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, Consul for the fourth time."¹

- OBVERSE. REVERSE.
14. *Æ*. 4. שמע (for שמעון) *Simon*. Cluster of grapes. | לחרות ושלם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem" (?).
A palm-branch.
(Coll. of M. de Vogüé; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xi. No. 5; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 362, note 1.)

De Saulcy states that the legend of the reverse is perfect, and that on the obverse the letters ון of שמעון were certainly never inserted. He adds that the coin is not pure silver, but appears to have been cast from an antique authentic piece, the original of which would some day be discovered.²

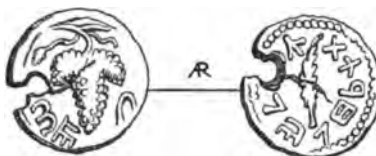
A similar coin has since been discovered by Mr. Reichardt:³—

¹ Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 471) transposes the original legends, putting ΥΠ. Δ on the side with the cluster of grapes, and the other letters on the side with the palm.

² "Num. Jud." p. 161; cf. "Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 91, No. 11. With respect to the legend שמע, which has hitherto been taken to represent the abbreviated name of "Simon," De Saulcy ("Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 89) prefers to read the first letters of the word *Schemda*, the prayer commencing, "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah is our God," etc., and prescribed by the Talmud to be said night and morning by every Israelite, since there was no reason for the abbreviating the name *Schemmaoum*,

as there is plenty of room on the coins to have inserted the wanting letters *Vau* and *Nun*—a suggestion on which I do not feel competent to give any opinion. For Mr. Conder's interpretation of the word *Schemo* as "coin" or "money" ("Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 176; "Handbook to the Bible," pp. 67, 69, 75, 178, 181), see Madden, "Supplement to Hist. of Jew. Coinage," in "Num. Chron." n.s. 1874, vol. xiv. pp. 292-303; 1876, vol. xvi. pp. 230-233, and APPENDIX E. of this work, Nos. 60, 73.

³ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 181.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

*15. *AR. 4.* שִׁמְעוֹן (for שִׁמְעוֹן) *Simon.* Cluster of grapes.

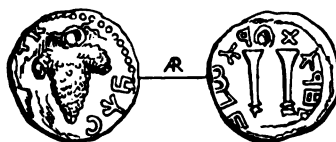
לְחָרוֹת וְשָׁלֵם, "For the redemption (?) and peace" (?). A palm-branch.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 324, No. 10.)

Mr. Reichardt supposes that "this was the first coin issued by Bar-cohab, immediately after the Second Revolt, when Israel was then freed for a time from the Roman yoke, enjoying national liberty again, *redemption* from heathen bondage and *peace* procured by their leader, the false Messiah, Simon Bar-cohab."

I do not agree with Mr. Reichardt's reading, and have already said so.¹ I cannot help thinking that this coin (as well as No. 14) is only a faulty example of the one above described (No. 12), the reverse legend of which is לְחָרוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, as it has every letter of this legend on it except *two*—לְחָרוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם.

This coin also bears faint traces of having been re-coined.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

16. *AR. 4.* שִׁמְעוֹן [שִׁמְעוֹן] *Simon.* Cluster of grapes. On the edge TR (Trajan).

לְחָרוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem." Two trumpets.

(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." p. 162, pl. xi. No. 7; cf. Nos. 8 and 9; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 106, No. 39; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 206, No. 5; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 325, No. 11; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 361, No. 123.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

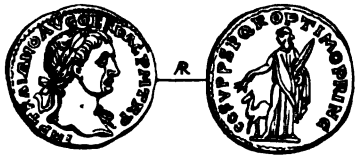
17. *AR. 4.* Same legend and type as No. 9.

לְחָרוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem." Two trumpets.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 207, No. 6; Garrucci, p. 33, No. 4; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 326.)

¹ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 182, *note*; 1875, vol. xv. p. 325.

On the obverse of this coin are clear traces of the back of the head of the Emperor Trajan, and on the reverse can be seen an arm holding a branch, and the accompanying engraving shows a specimen of the actual coin of Trajan, issued in A.D. 105, over which this one was struck.



OBSERVE.

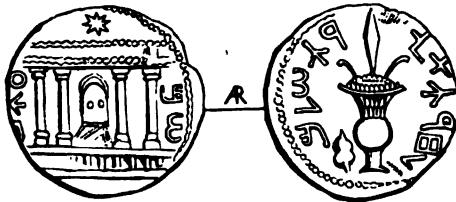
18. R. 4. שִׁמּוֹן Simon. Cluster of grapes.
Traces of Latin legend . . P.M. TR.P. COS.
V. P.P.

REVERSE.

לְחֵרוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Two trumpets. Traces of Latin legend . . IMO
PRINCI.

(De Saulcy, "Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 88, No. 5; cf. Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 361.)

This piece was not struck over the same coin as No. 17, but over one of the numerous *denarii*, with the legend S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI, minted during the 5th consulate of Trajan, A.D. 104–110. Another example of the type of the two trumpets has on the obverse traces of the letters APICTΩ CEB. Γ . . and of the head of Trajan, and on the reverse shows the hind-foot of the camel as on the *denarii* of Caesarea of Cappadocia.¹



OBSERVE.

19. R. 7. שִׁמּוֹן Simon. Tetrastyle temple, showing a conventional figure of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple; below, Solomon's colonnade;² above, a star.

REVERSE.

לְחֵרוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
*Ethrog and Lulab.*³

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 161, pl. xi. No. 4; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 94, No. 28a; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 170, No. 7; Garrucci, p. 34, No. 10; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 326, No. 12; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 357, No. 114.)

The star on this coin doubtless bears allusion to the name of Bar-cohab (*son of a star*). Shekels of this type of the second year exist, which I shall describe in their proper place.

OBSERVE.

20. R. 7. שִׁמּוֹן (for שִׁמּוֹן Simon) on right side of tetrastyle temple, showing a conventional figure of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple; on left the letters T. ΦΛΑΥΙ. ΟΥ . . . ; below, Solomon's colonnade; above, a star.

REVERSE.

לְחֵרוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Ethrog and Lulab.

(Coll. of Rev. S. S. Lewis; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1879, vol. xix. p. 15, No. 1.)

¹ Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 361; De Saulcy, "Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 91, No. 6; cf. No. 5.

² See CHAPTER VIII. pp. 202, 203.

³ See CHAPTER V. p. 73; CHAPTER VIII. p. 203.

This coin appears to be re-struck on a tetradrachm of Antioch, having on one side the head of Vespasian and on the other the head of Titus—ΦΛΑΥΙ. ΟΥΕΞΠ. ΚΑΙΞ.¹



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

21. Æ. 6. שמעון Simon. Palm-tree.

לחרות ירושלם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Vine-leaf.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 164, pl. xii. No. 10; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 95, No. 29; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 172, No. 9; Garrucci, p. 34, No. 9; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 327, No. 13; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 362, No. 125; cf. De Saulcy, pl. xii. Nos. 9, 11, pl. xiii. Nos. 1 and 2. A variety of this type, published by De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 253, No. 70, has the name Simon written שמעון, and De Saulcy says the Num never existed; cf. "Num. Jud." pl. xii. No. 12.)



OBSERVE.

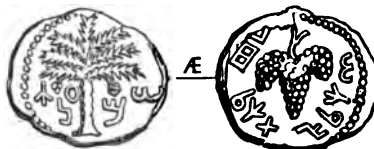
REVERSE.

22. Æ. 6. שמעון (for שמעון) Simon. Palm-tree. In field to right the letters ΕΠ.

לחרות ירושלם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem." Vine-leaf. Letters ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. ΤΡΑ.

(Formerly in the Coll. of the late Mr. Wigan; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 209; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xiii. No. 3; Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 58, No. 13a; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 108, No. 41.)

Struck over a coin of Trajan.²



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

23. Æ. 4. Same legend and type as No. 21.

לחרות ירושלם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Cluster of grapes.

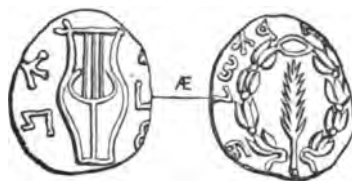
(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 164, pl. xiii. No. 4; cf. No. 5, rather smaller; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 95, No. 29a; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 172, No. 10; Garrucci, p. 33, No. 6; De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 252, No. 68, publishes a fine example of this coin with a small variety in the arrangement of the legend; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 14; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 363, No. 129.)

¹ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 288, Nos. 8, 10. A tetradrachm in the *Museum Kircherianum* has the letters NOC, supposed to be the concluding portion of [ΟΥΕΞΠΑΙ]Α]NOC, and traces of the head of Vespasian (Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 74; "Nuoyi Studi, etc.,"

pp. 28, 29; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 171; Garrucci, "Diss. Arch." vol. ii. p. 34, No. 10).

² Another example quoted by Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 58, No. 13b) from Sestini ("Mus. Hed." t. iii. p. 117, No. 6) shows traces of the bearded head of Zeus.

With respect to the obverse type of these copper coins, De Saulcy has observed¹ that the palm-tree on the Jewish coins is always [? generally—see No. 25] represented with *seven* palm-branches, being the exact number of the branches of the sacred candelabrum.



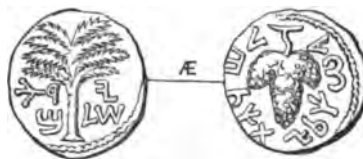
OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

24. Æ. 4. שמעון Simon. Three-stringed lyre.

לח... ירושלם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem."
Palm-branch within a wreath.

(Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 179, Nos. 1 and 2; Garrucci, p. 34, No. 8; De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 253, No. 69. A specimen is engraved, "Num. Jud." pl. xii. No. 8, with a lyre of *four* strings, perhaps in error; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 328, No. 15; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 363, No. 133.)



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

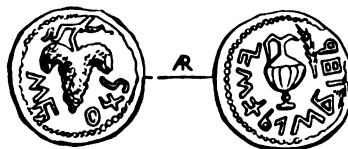
25. Æ. 4. ירושלם Jerusalem, on either side of a palm-tree.

לחרות ירושלם, "The deliverance of Jerusalem." Cluster of grapes.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 276, No. 19; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 173, No. 13; Garrucci, p. 33, No. 7; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 16.)

This piece Levy² does not consider to be *genuine*. I have, however, examined it, and am convinced of its authenticity.

II. Coins with date—Year 2.



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

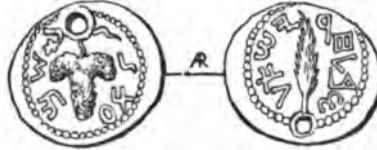
26. A. 4. שמעון Simon. Cluster of grapes.

(sic) שב לחרות ישראל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Vase and palm-branch.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 169, pl. xiv. No. 5; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 94, No. 27; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 167, No. 2; Garrucci, p. 34, No. 14; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 329, No. 1; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 353, No. 96.)

¹ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 252.

² "Jüd. Münzen," p. 96; cf. Merzbacher, "Zeitschrift für Num." 1873, vol. i. p. 235; 1876, vol. iv. p. 363, *note* 1.



OBSERVE.

27. *AR.* 4. Same legend as No. 26. Cluster of grapes.

REVERSE.

(sic) *שב לחרות ישראל*, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Palm-branch.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 168, No. 3; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 2; cf. Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 354, No. 97; De Sauley, "Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 88, No. 6, p. 92, No. 12.)

OBSERVE.

28. *AR.* 4. *שמעון* Simon. Cluster of grapes.
On the outer edge traces of . . NVS.

REVERSE.

שב לחרות ישראל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Palm-branch.

(Berlin Museum: Von Sallet, "Zeitschrift für Num." 1878, vol. v. p. 111, pl. ii. No. 7; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1879, vol. xix. p. 16, No. 1.)

OBSERVE.

29. *AR.* 4. *שמעון* Simon. Cluster of grapes.

REVERSE.

(sic) *שב לחרות ישראל*, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Palm-branch, with traces of the inscription . . PAIAN. CEB. FEF.

(Coll of Dr. Sepp, of Munich; Von Sallet, *op. cit.* p. 114; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1879, vol. xix. p. 16, No. 2.)

No. 28 with . . NVS can only have been re-struck under Vespasian, or under a later emperor whose name ends with those letters; No. 29 is super-struck on one of the drachms of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, under Trajan.

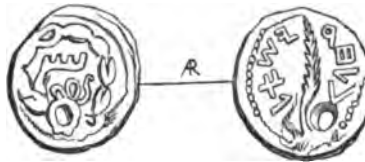
OBSERVE.

30. *AR.* 4. Same legend and type as No. 26.

REVERSE.

שב לחרות ישראל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Three-stringed lyre.

(Berlin; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 354, No. 98; De Sauley, "Mél. de Num." p. 89, No. 7.)



OBSERVE.

31. *AR.* 4. *שמ* (for *שמעון*) Simon, within a wreath.

REVERSE.

(sic) *שב לחרות ישראל*, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Palm-branch.

(De Vogüé, "Rev. Num." 1860, pl. xiii. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 208, No. 9; Garrucci, p. 34, No. 15; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 3; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 354, No. 100 bis. This coin bears traces of recoinage; cf. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 277, No. 25.)



OBSERVE.

32. *AR.* 4. **שמע** (for **שמעון**) *Simon*, within a wreath.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 276, No. 21, pl. vi. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 168, No. 4; Garrucci, p. 34, No. 13; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 330, No. 4; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 354, No. 99.)

REVERSE.

(*sic*) **שב לחרות** **ישראל**, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Vase [and palm-branch (?)].

OBSERVE.

33. *AR.* 4. **שמע** (for **שמעון**) *Simon*, within a wreath.

(De Sauley, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 251, No. 66; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 5.)

REVERSE.

לשב לח שאר (*read* **לחרות ישראל**), "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Vase and palm-branch.



OBSERVE.

34. *AR.* 4. **שמע** (for **שמעון**) *Simon*, within a wreath.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 277, No. 24, pl. vi. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 168, No. 5; Garrucci, p. 34, No. 12; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 331, No. 6; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 355, No. 101.)

REVERSE.

שב לחרות **ישראל**, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." A three-stringed lyre.

OBSERVE.

35. *AR.* 4. **שמע** (for **שמעון**) *Simon*, within a wreath.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 276, No. 22; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 207, No. 7; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 7; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 354, No. 100.)

REVERSE.

שב לחרות **ישראל**, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Two trumpets; between them an oblong object.

OBSERVE.

36. *AR.* 4. **שמע** (for **שמעון**) *Simon*, within a wreath.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 277, No. 23; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 208, No. 8; Merzbacher, *loc. cit.* A variety given by De Sauley, "Mél. de Num." 1877, p. 89, No. 8, gives the **י** of the word **ישראל** between the two trumpets; cf. De Sauley, *op. cit.* p. 91, Nos. 7 and 8.)¹

REVERSE.

שב לחרות **ישראל**, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Same type as No. 35.

¹ A cast from a genuine original, very similar to these coins (Nos. 35, 36), is in the collection of Canon Tristram.

Obs. **שמע** within a wreath.

Rev. **שב לחר** (*sic*) **ישראל**. Two trumpets.

This piece is the one that has been published by Mr. Conder ("Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 71; "Child's History of Jerusalem," p. 125, Isbister & Co. 1874; "The Academy," Sept. 19,

and Oct. 31, 1874), with the erroneous reading **שקל ישראל** (cf. Evans, "The Academy," Nov. 14, 1874; Madden, "Suppl. to Jew. Coinage," in "Num. Chron." n.s. 1874, vol. xiv. p. 295; 1875, vol. xv. p. 325, note 66). Mr. Conder appears to have reproduced it again, more correctly read, in his "Handbook to the Bible" (pp. 75, 181, pl. iv. No. xxi.), as a specimen of the quarter shekel given by Saul to Samuel!! See APPENDIX E, Nos. 56, 60, 73.



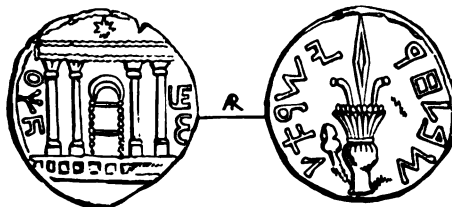
OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

- T. 37. AR. 7. ירושלים *Jerusalem*. Tetrastyle temple, showing a conventional figure of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple; below, Solomon's colonnade;¹ above, +.

שב לחרות ישראל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." *Ethrog and Lulab*.²

(Coll. of Dr. Babington; cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 165; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. p. 317; De Vogüé, "Rev. Num." 1860, p. 287, *note*, who shows that the representation in De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xi. No. 3, is incorrect; Merzbacher, "Zeitschrift für Num." 1873, vol. i. p. 234; 1876, vol. iii. pl. v. No. 112; 1877, vol. iv. p. 356, No. 112, from Coll. of Herr Infante of Seville; Coll. of Dr. Walcher de Moltheim, Consul-Général adjoint d'Autriche-Hongrie, who acquired this piece, as well as a Colonial one (AQUILIA SEVERA, CHAPTER XI.), during his residence as Austrian Consul in Jerusalem, 1864-1867. He informs me that in the *exergue* under the Temple, on his specimen, can distinctly be read the part of a Roman inscription consisting of the letters—NO.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

38. AR. 7. שמעון *Simon*. Tetrastyle temple, showing a conventional figure of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple; below, Solomon's colonnade; above, a star.

שב לחרות ישראל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." *Ethrog and Lulab*.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 168, pl. xiv. No. 4; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 94, No. 286; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 171, No. 8; Garrucci, p. 34, No. 11; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 331, No. 9; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 353, No. 95.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

- T. 39. Æ. 8½. שמעון *Simon*, within a wreath.

שב לחרות ישראל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Two-handled vase.

(Berlin; Merzbacher, "Zeitschrift für Num." 1873, vol. i. p. 232, No. 4; 1876, vol. iii. pl. v. No. 102; 1877, vol. iv. p. 355, No. 102.)

¹ See CHAPTER VIII. pp. 202, 203.

² See CHAPTER V. p. 73; CHAPTER VIII. p. 203.

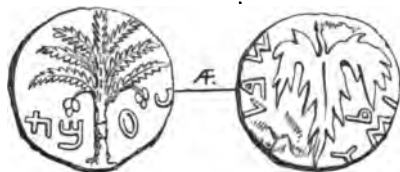


OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

40. Æ. 6. שמעון (for שמעון) Simon. Palm-tree.

שב לחרות ישראל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Vine-leaf.

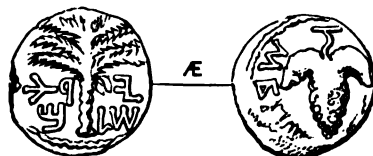
(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 169, pl. xiv. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 172, No. 11; Garrucci, p. 34, No. 16; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* p. 332, No. 10; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 356, No. 110.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

41. Æ. 6. שמעון (for שמעון) Simon. Palm-tree.

שב לחרות ישראל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Vine-leaf.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 169, pl. xiv. No. 9; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 173, No. 12; "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 11; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 355, No. 106. Varieties of Nos. 40 and 41 occur, De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xiv. Nos. 7 and 8;¹ pl. xv. Nos. 1-4; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 253, Nos. 71-73; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* pp. 355, 356, Nos. 103-105, 107, 108.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

42. Æ. 4. ירושלם Jerusalem. Palm-tree.

שב, "Second year"
Cluster of grapes.(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 277, No. 26; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 173, No. 14; Garrucci, p. 34, No. 17; Madden, "Num. Chron." *loc. cit.* No. 12; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 357, No. 113, who adds that the obverse legend on a specimen at Vienna cannot be read with certainty.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

? 43. Æ. Hebrew inscription? Outline of a head, laureated?

. . AEK. Traces of a ship or rudder?

(Vienna; Merzbacher, *op. cit.* p. 356, No. 109. Another example in Dr. Merzbacher's collection shows no traces of the old stamp on the reverse.)

¹ A copper coin of this type is engraved from a specimen in the British Museum in Farrar's "Life of Christ" (illustr. ed. p. 559), to which a note is attached stating that the reverse legend may probably be read *Iacheruth Shaddai* (שד"י) i.e. "The deliverance of the Almighty." On examining the cast of this coin I find that the letters which have been taken for שד"י are really שבל, and that the whole legend may be read

(sic) שב לחר ישראל. A very similar coin has been engraved by De Saulcy ("Num. Jud." pl. xv. No. 2), also giving the word ישראל, instead of ישראל (cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1871, vol. xi. p. 253, No. 73); and though the letters שבל are not here represented, in all probability the curved end of the stem of the vine-leaf is in reality the letter ש.

Besides the type of the palm and date-tree, we find upon the coins of the First and Second Revolts the vine, with its cluster as well as its leaf. The vine-tree flourished everywhere in Palestine, and the excellent quality of the wines which it afforded is celebrated in many passages of Scripture.¹ In such abundance did it grow that at the building of the first Temple, wine was given to the Tyrians,² and at the building of the second, to them and the Sidonians.³ At the same time, excess in the use of wine is a subject frequently alluded to by the prophets.⁴ The people of Israel, too, are often compared with the vine by their prophets,⁵ and the vine-tree itself was introduced at the entrance to the porch of the Temple at Jerusalem, for the purpose of receiving alms, for people hung thereon a leaf, a berry, or a grape-cluster (of gold).⁶ It is not then surprising that the grape and its leaf became a distinctive ornament for the coins of Palestine.

¹ Ezek. xxvii. 18; Hos. xiv. 7, etc.

² 2 Chron. ii. 10, 15.

³ Ezra iii. 7.

⁴ Isaiah v. 11, 22; xxviii. 7; Hos. iii. 1, etc.

⁵ Isaiah v. 7; Ezek. xix. 10; Hos. x. 1.

⁶ Mischnah Middoth, 3, 8; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 134. Cf. Joseph. "Antiq." xiv. 3, 1; xv. 11, 3; "Bell. Jud." v. 5, 4; Tac. "Hist." v. 5, 5. See CHAPTER V. p. 93, note 2.

CHAPTER XI.

IMPERIAL COLONIAL COINS STRUCK AT JERUSALEM.—ARAB COINS.

AFTER the second revolt the Emperor Hadrian, determining that the Jews should have no more idea of establishing a kingdom with Jerusalem as capital, carried out his intention of building a new city on the ruins, giving it the name of "*Ælia Capitolina*," combining with his own family name of *Ælius* that of Jupiter *Capitolinus*, and erecting a temple to this deity's honour on the site formerly occupied by the sacred Temple of the Jews.¹ He is also said² to have built a temple to Astarte, the Phœnician Venus, on the site afterwards identified with that of the sepulchre of our Lord, and a representation of the same is supposed to be given on certain coins of Antoninus Pius,³ which have the type of a female figure within a tetrastyle temple, but it is a question if the existing coins really refer to this temple,⁴ and the tradition is allowed to be more than doubtful.⁵ All Jews were forbidden to enter the colony on pain of death, and only Christians and Pagans were allowed to reside there. It is said that a boar was sculptured over the gate leading to Bethlehem by the Emperor's command,⁶ but it was probably not intended as an insult.⁷ The Jews did not hesitate to affirm that the swine was "a fitting emblem of the colony and its founder, of the lewd worship of its gods and the vile propensities of its Emperor."⁸

The date of the actual foundation of the colony is a matter of controversy. Mr. Merivale⁹ assigns it to A.D. 133. Mr. Aldis Wright¹⁰ states that it was not till A.D. 136

¹ Dion Cass. lxi. 12. See p. 232 and p. 248, *note* 10. Hadrian is also said to have erected a statue of himself ("Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Jovis idolum collocatum est.")—Hieron. "Comm. in Esai." ii. 8; Chrysostom, "Orat. iii. in Judæos"; Niceph. "H. E." iii. 24). The Bordeaux Pilgrim ("Itin. Hieros." p. 591) says there were *two* statues of Hadrian (cf. Fergusson, "The Temple of the Jews," 1878, pp. 182, 183).

² Epiphanius, "De Pond. et Mens." 14.

³ Rev. G. Williams, *s.v.* Jerusalem, in Smith's "Dict. of Geog." vol. ii. p. 27; W. Besant, *s.v.* Sepulchre, the Holy, in Smith's "Dict. of Christ. Antiq." vol. ii. p. 1881; Col. C. Warren, "The Temple or the Tomb," 1880, p. 43.

⁴ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 217; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 89, Nos. 13, 14; see in this Chapter—"Coins of Antoninus," Nos. 13, 14. A very similar type occurs on the coins of Hadrian (No. 2).

⁵ Gregorovius, "Gesch. Hadrians," 1851, p. 56; Merivale, "Hist. of the Romans under the Empire," ed. 1868, vol. viii.

p. 177, *note* 2; Madden, *op. cit.* p. 217; W. Aldis Wright, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," *s.v.* Jerusalem; Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," 4th ed. 1866, vol. ii. p. 437. A temple of Venus was existing at the time of Constantine, but there is no proof of its having been erected by Hadrian (Euseb. "Vit. Const." iii. 26; Socrat. "H. E." i. 17; cf. i. 9; Sozomen, "H. E." ii. 1).

⁶ "In fronte ejus portæ, quâ Bethlehem egredimur, *sus* sculptus in marmore prominens significans Romanæ potestati subjacere Judæos" (St. Jerome, Euseb. "Chron." ed. Scaliger, 1658, an. Hadr. xx.; Cassiodorus, "Chron." 1729, vol. i. pp. 361, 362).

⁷ See CHAPTER IX. p. 228, and in this CHAPTER, coin of Antoninus Pius, No. 17.

⁸ Salvador, ii. 583; Merivale, "Hist. of the Romans," ed. 1868, vol. viii. p. 177; cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 212, *note* 4, for examples of coins quoted in this sense.

⁹ "Hist. of the Romans," ed. 1868, vol. viii. p. 177.

¹⁰ Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," *s.v.* Jerusalem.

that Hadrian, on celebrating his *Vicennalia*, bestowed the name upon the city, which date is also assigned to the circumstance by M. de Saulcy in his "Numismatique Judaïque."¹

M. de Saulcy has more recently stated that the date of the foundation of *Ælia Capitolina* is A.D. 137. He writes as follows:²—"Nous lisons dans la chronique d'Eusèbe (*Chronicorum liber posterior*, inséré au *Thesaurus Temporum*, édit. Scaliger, Amsterdam, 1658, pp. 167 et 168), XX. (année 20 d'Hadrien), CXXXVII. (an 137 de J. C.): *Ælia* ab *Ælio Hadriano* condita, etc.; et dans celle de Cassiodore (*M. A. Cassiodori Chronicum*, Venise, 1729, t. i. pp. 361 et 362): Severus et Sylvanus. His Coss. *Ælia* civitas, id est Hierusalem, ab *Ælio Hadriano* condita est, etc. La fondation de la *Colonia Ælia Capitolina* a donc sa date bien déterminée; elle n'eut lieu qu'après la compression définitive de la nationalité Judaïque, c'est-à-dire qu'après que l'insurrection de Bar-Kaoukab eut été étouffée dans le sang (137 de J. C.)."

This statement, however, cannot be accepted as conclusive, for, in the first place, the year XX. of Hadrian is *not* CXXXVII. but CXXXVI., and, in the second place, the consuls "Severus et Sylvanus" mentioned by Cassiodorus were consuls in the year A.D. 139, the second year of the reign of Antoninus Pius,³ and are apparently the same as those mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale*,⁴ under the year A.D. 140, as "Severus IV. et Silanus," though these names do not appear in the correct list of the names of the consuls given by Clinton,⁵ from Gruter and Norisius, unless one can suppose them to be intended for "Siloga et Severus," who were consuls in A.D. 141.

I at first thought that M. de Saulcy had by mistake printed CXXXVII. for CXXXVI., but the passage has been verified for me,⁶ showing that M. de Saulcy is correct in his quotation. In another edition of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius may be found the following words:⁷—"2152 (of Abraham), 20 (of Hadrian): *Ælia* ab *Ælio Hadriano* condita," etc. This date is correct, as the year 2152 of Abraham answers to A.D. 136, the *twentieth* year of Hadrian.⁸ It would therefore appear that there is some mistake in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius as edited by Scaliger.

With respect to the *Chronicon* of Cassiodorus, it is generally considered to be a work carelessly compiled and full of mistakes.⁹

The actual commencement of a city on the ruins of Jerusalem appears on the statement of Dion Cassius to have been undertaken in A.D. 131, in which year Hadrian sent a colony to Jerusalem, and came to Syria from Egypt.¹⁰ This was the immediate cause of the revolt.

¹ P. 158.

² "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 83. Cf. p. 85.

³ Clinton, "F. R." vol. ii. p. 186.

⁴ The compiler of the "Chronicon Paschale" lived in the reign of Heraclius and ended his "Chronicon" in A.D. 630. The foundation of *Ælia Capitolina* is erroneously placed in this "Chronicon" in A.D. 119, but in this year Hadrian was in Italy.

⁵ "F. R." vol. ii. p. 179 *seq.*

⁶ By Mr. B. V. Head—see Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 58.

⁷ Translated by Jerome, ed. Pontac. Bordeaux, 1604.

⁸ Clinton, "F. R." vol. ii. p. 219.

⁹ Prof. Ramsay, Smith's "Dict. of Biog." s.v. Cassiodorus.

¹⁰ 'Ες δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς καταστροφῆς οὐκίσαντος, ἣν καὶ Αἰλίαν Καπιτωλίαν ὠνόμασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τόπον, καθὼς τῷ Διὶ ἑτερον ἀντεγείραντος, πόλεμος οὕτως μικρὸς οὐτ' ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἐκινήθη. Dion Cass. lxi. 12. Jerome (Euseb. "Chron." ed. Scaliger, 1658) under "Hadrian an. XX." says, "Judæorumque nonnulli à Tito Ælio filio Vespasiani extructam arbitrantur." This is of course incorrect.

Eusebius, on the other hand, places the foundation after the close of the Jewish war in A.D. 135;¹ which, according to Clinton,² Tillemont³ *properly* explains to mean that the new city *Ælia* was destroyed by Bar-cohab, and restored by Hadrian after the war.

From these facts it seems most probable (1) that a colony was sent to Jerusalem in A.D. 131 by order of Hadrian, and the city commenced; (2) that during the revolt the city was destroyed;⁴ and (3) that it was not rebuilt and completed till A.D. 136, in which year the colonial coins were first struck.

HADRIANUS,⁵ A.D. 136-138.

OBSERVE.

1. Æ.II. IMP. CAES. TRAIANO HADRIANO.

Bust of Hadrian to the right, laureated, with
paludamentum.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. KAPIT., and in the *exergue* COND.

Colon driving two oxen to the right; behind
them a standard, fixed in the ground.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xv. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 212, No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 85, No. 1, pl. v. No. 5.)



OBSERVE.

2. Æ.II. IMP. . . . HADRI . . . Head of Hadrian,
to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

COND. Turreted figure standing to left in a
hexastyle temple, holding a globe and a spear.

In the *exergue* CO. AE. CAP.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 114, No. 40, pl. iii. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 213, No. 2; Reichardt, "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 81, pl. iii. No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 85, No. 2.)

¹ "Anno 2161 [from Oct. A.D. 135]. Hadriani 19^o Judaicum bellum in Palæstina denique debellatum est ita ut e Judæis post clades tot vix quisquam soepes evaserit. Ex hoc tempore accessu quoque ad Hierosolyma interdictum est eis, primum Dei voluntate deinde Romanorum jussionibus" (Euseb. "Chron." lib. ii. ed. Mai, p. 384. Milan, 1818). Οὕτω δὲ τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἐρημίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἔθρους—ἐλθούσης—ἡ μετέπειτα συστάσα Ῥωμαϊκὴ πόλις τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀμείψασα εἰς τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ τιμὴν Αἰλία προσαγορεύεται (Euseb. "Hist. Eccles." iv. 6.)

² "F. R." vol. i. p. 118.

³ Tom. ii. p. 289.

⁴ See CHAPTER X. p. 232, note 5.

⁵ For the complete list of "Imperial Colonial coins" I am indebted to the late M. de Saulcy's handsome work, "Numismatique de la Terre Sainte," in which those published in his "Numismatique Judaïque," in my "Jewish Coinage," and from miscellaneous sources, have been incorporated.

No. 1 was doubtless struck in A.D. 136, and No. 2 shortly after, in the new city by its founder (*conditor*) Hadrian. The type of the reverse of No. 1 represents the *aratum templum*, a plough having been passed over the ruins of the Temple by the Roman general Rufus.¹



OBSERVE.

3. Æ. I. IMP. CAES. TRAI. HADRIAN. AVG. Bust of Hadrian to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL., and in the *exergue* CAP. Jupiter seated to left in a distyle temple; before him and behind him a figure standing, each holding a spear.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xv. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 214, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 85, No. 3.)

The figures on the reverse are probably Juno and Minerva,² and the whole type reminds us of the fine brass coins of Vespasian representing the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.³ De Saulcy prefers to recognize in this figure of Juno that of the town.

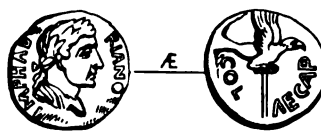
OBSERVE.

4. Æ. III. IMP. CAES. HADRIAN. AVG. Head of Hadrian, laureated.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. CAP. Head of the Sun to the right, radiate.

(Mionnet, vol. v. p. 517, No. 3, from *Vaillant*; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 85, No. 4.)



OBSERVE.

5. Æ. III. IMP. HADRIANO. Bust of Hadrian to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

REVERSE.

COL. AE. CAP. Roman eagle on pole (standard).

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xv. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 214, No. 4; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 85, No. 5. *Vaillant*, "Num. Col." pars i. p. 154, gives a variety *infimi moduli*, with the legends IMP. CAES. HADRIAN. AVG. and COL. AEL. CAP.)

¹ See CHAPTER X. p. 233, note 1.

² Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 69; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 214, note 7; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 103.

³ Cohen, "Méd. Imp." Nos. 403-410; 2nd ed. Nos. 486-493.

The Roman ensigns, which frequently bore portraits or images, were held in detestation by the Jews, and in times past they had raised a great sedition against Herod I., who had placed a golden eagle over the great gate of the Temple,¹ and against Pontius Pilate, who introduced the Roman ensigns with the effigies of Cæsar into Jerusalem.²

HADRIANUS AND SABINA, A.D. 128-136.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
Æ. IMP. CAESAR HADRIAN. Bust of Hadrian, laureated.	SABINA AVG. Head of Sabina.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 86, from two specimens in his Collection.)

M. de Saulcy states that Sabina received the title of *Augusta* in A.D. 126, and that she died two years before Hadrian in A.D. 136; that therefore these pieces were struck in Jerusalem during this period. On the other hand, *Ælia Capitolina* not having been founded till A.D. 137, they could only have been struck at Jerusalem before this city became a Roman colony. He adds that Bar-cochab having fled to Bether in A.D. 135, and left the Romans masters of [the ruins of] Jerusalem, could not prevent them striking there *Imperial* coins. The pieces, therefore, he concludes, are not *colonial*.

It may be assumed that De Saulcy obtained the date A.D. 126 for Sabina receiving the title of *Augusta* from Jerome, but Eusebius apparently places it one year earlier, at the same time that Hadrian receives the title of *Pater Patriæ*.³ Eckhel has, however, clearly proved⁴ that Hadrian was *not* called *Pater Patriæ* till A.D. 128, and consequently Clinton is of opinion⁵ that Eusebius, and Jerome, who translated his work, are both respectively three and two years too early.

De Saulcy then states that Sabina died two years before Hadrian.

This, I presume, is on the authority of Spartian, who speaks as if Sabina died at such a time.⁶ If, however, it be true that coins of Sabina, struck at Amisus in Pontus, bearing the dates P Ξ S (166=A.D. 134), P Ξ Z (167=A.D. 135), P Ξ H (168=A.D. 136), and P Ξ Θ (169=

¹ Joseph. "Antiq." xvii. 6, 2; "Bell. Jud." i. 33, 1. See CHAPTER VI. p. 114.

² Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 3, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 2, 3. See CHAPTER VII. p. 173. Herod Antipas had adorned his palace at Tiberias with sculptures of "living animals" (*ζωνομορφὰς θύοντα*), which was destroyed during the first revolt by order of Josephus ("Vit." 12), who seems to have been greatly prejudiced on the question of images ("Antiq." viii. 7, 5; cf. Rev. S. Clark, "Speaker's Com." vol. i. part i. pp. 331, 373).

³ "Anno 2141 [A.D. 126]. Hadriani 9^o Imperator Pater Patriæ appellatus est, ejusque uxor *Augusta*" (Euseb. "Chron." quoted by Clinton, "F. R." vol. i. p. 114). I may mention

that Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vi. p. 515) gives a similar quotation from Eusebius under "an. XII. Hadr. U.C. 881=A.D. 128," which date would be correct.

⁴ "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vi. p. 515.

⁵ "F. R." vol. i. p. 114.

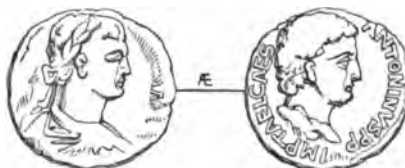
⁶ "Quando quidem etiam Sabina uxor non sine fabulâ veneni dati ab Hadriano defuncta est" ("In Hadr." 23). Victor ("In Epit."), however, states that she was driven to kill herself (*ad mortem voluntariam compulsæ est*). Hadrian died on the 10th of July, A.D. 138 (apud ipsas Baias periit die sexto Iduum Juliarum—Spart. "in Hadr." 25), and consequently two years earlier would be previous to July, A.D. 136.

A.D. 137),¹ and a coin of Alexandria with the date KA (21=A.D. 136?),² are in existence, they prove in any case that she was living in the autumn of A.D. 136, or A.D. 137.³

The third point is that De Sauley gives the foundation of Ælia Capitolina to A.D. 137, and therefore considers these coins to be *Imperial*.

I have above attempted to show that it was founded at latest in A.D. 136, and if this be allowed, these coins of Sabina might have been issued at the new colony, and be therefore *colonial*.

HADRIANUS AND ANTONINUS PIUS, A.D. 138.



OVERSE.

REVERSE.

Æ. II. Legend obliterated. Bust of Hadrian to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

IMP. T. AEL. CAES. ANTONINVS P.P.
Head of Antoninus Pius to the right, bare.

(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." pl. xx. No. 11; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 215; De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 86.)

This piece must have been issued in A.D. 138, between the adoption of Antoninus Pius, 25th February, and the death of Hadrian, 10th July. M. de Sauley suggests that perhaps the letters C.A.C. ended the obverse legend. This can only be decided by the discovery of a more perfect specimen.

ANTONINUS PIUS, A.D. 138-161.



OVERSE.

REVERSE.

1. Æ. II. IMP. ANTONINO AVG. P.P.P.
(*Pio Patri Patriæ*). Bust of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

COL. AE[L]IA CAP. Bacchus, standing facing, holding bunch of grapes and spear; at his feet a panther.

(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." pl. xv. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 215, No. 1; De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 86, No. 1.)

¹ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. ii. p. 349; vol. vi. pp. 520, 522. The era of Amisus is usually supposed to commence in A.U.C. 721 (B.C. 33), but a coin of Ælius Verus with the date PΞΘ has been thought, according to Eckhel (*op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 349), to show that the era was not commenced till A.U.C. 722 (B.C. 32).

² Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vi. p. 520. The twenty-first year of Hadrian was really A.D. 137, but if the Alexandrian dates were not counted in a particular manner (Eckhel, *op. cit.*

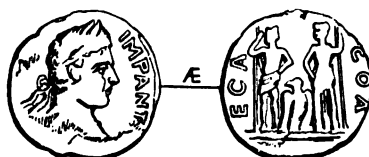
vol. iv. p. 42), there would be no means of explaining many of the dates. Eckhel amongst others especially alludes to a coin of Hadrian with the date KB (22). Clinton ("F. R." vol. i. p. 126) corroborates this by saying, "In those accounts which extend Hadrian's reign to twenty-two years or upwards there is either a corruption in the text or an error in the writer."

³ Merivale ("Hist. of the Romans," ed. 1868, vol. viii. p. 250) assigns her death to about A.D. 135.

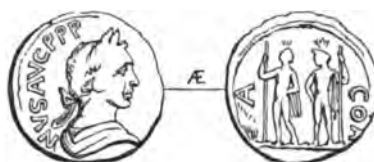
On some specimens the panther is either standing or lying down.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">O<small>VERSE</small>.</p> <p>2. Æ. T. AEL. ANTONINO AVGVSTO.
Head of Antoninus Pius, laureated.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">R<small>EVERSE</small>.</p> <p>COL. AELIA CAP. Bacchus standing, holding bunch of grapes and <i>thyrsus</i>; at his feet a panther.</p> |
|---|--|

(Mionnet, "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 361, No. 5, after *Vaillant*; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 87, No. 2.)



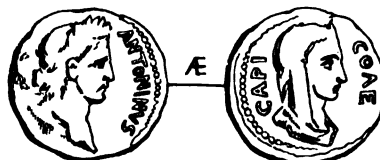
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|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">O<small>VERSE</small>.</p> <p>3. Æ. II. IMP. ANT. . . . Head of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">R<small>EVERSE</small>.</p> <p>CO. AE. CA. The Dioscuri standing, each holding a spear; between them an eagle.</p> |
|--|---|
- (De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvi. No. 4; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 217, No. 6; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 87, No. 3, from a specimen in his own Collection, supplies the obverse legend IMP. ANTONINO AVG. P.P.P.)



- | | |
|--|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">O<small>VERSE</small>.</p> <p>4. Æ. II. [IMP ANTONI]NVS AVG. P.P.P.
Bust of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated, with <i>paludamentum</i>.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">R<small>EVERSE</small>.</p> <p>CO. A[E. C]A. The Dioscuri standing, each holding a spear.</p> |
|--|--|
- (De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvi. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 217, No. 7; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 87, No. 4.)



- | | |
|---|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">O<small>VERSE</small>.</p> <p>5. Æ. II. IMP. ANTONINVS AVG. P.P.P.
Bust of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated, with <i>paludamentum</i>.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">R<small>EVERSE</small>.</p> <p>CO. AE. CA. Turreted bust of the town to the right.</p> |
|---|---|
- (De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvi. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 218, No. 8; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 87, No. 5.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

6. Æ. II. . . . ANTONINVS. Head of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated.

CO. AE. CAPI. Veiled head of female (?Faustina) to the right.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvi. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 218, No. 9; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 87, No. 6.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

7. Æ. IMP. CA. T. AEL. HAD. ANTONINVS. Head of Antoninus Pius, laureated.

. . . LO (sic) AE. CAP. Bust of Serapis to the right.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 88, No. 7, from his Collection and "Cab. de France.")



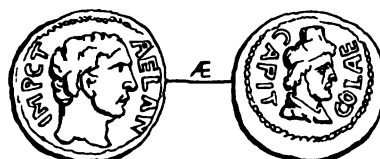
OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

8. Æ. II. IMP. AEL. HAD. ANT. . . . Head of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated.

[C]OL. AE. CAP. Same type as No. 7.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xv. No. 9; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 215, No. 2; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 88, No. 8.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

9. Æ. II. IMP. C. T(itus) AEL. AN. Head of Antoninus Pius to the right, bare.

COL. AE. CAPIT. Same type as No. 7.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvi. No. 1; cf. No. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 216, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 88, No. 9. Another example in the Collection of De Saulcy seems to bear the retrograde legend IMP. T. C. AEL. ANTO.)

Cavedoni, after Pellerin, wished to attribute¹ this coin to Commodus, saying that De Saulcy had confounded T with L., but this statement was disproved by De Saulcy,² and a coin of Commodus has since been discovered (see p. 262).

¹ "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 70.

² "Rev. Num." 1857, p. 298.

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|--|---|
| 10. Æ. T. AEL. ANTONINVS AVG. Head of Antoninus Pius, laureated. | COL. AEL. CAP. Bust of Serapis to left. |
- (Vaillant, "Num. Col." pars i. p. 165, who reads COL. AELIA CAP.; Mionnet, "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 361, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 88, No. 10, who rejects the piece published by Mionnet, No. 4.)

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 11. Æ. IMP. CA. T. AELIO ANTONINO AVG. P.P. Head of Antoninus Pius, laureated. | COL. AE. CAP. Same type as No. 7. |
- (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 517, No. 7; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T.S." p. 88, No. 11, who is not certain about the existence of this piece.)

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|---|--|
| 12. Æ. II. IMP. ANT. AVG. P.P.P. Head of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated, with <i>paludamentum</i> . | Jupiter Capitolinus seated in a tetrastyle temple; before him a flying eagle; in the <i>exergue</i> C.A.C. |
- (Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 114, No. 41; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 216, No. 4; De Saulcy "Num. de la T. S." p. 89, No. 12, who adds that Mr. Reichardt has published and engraved this piece in the "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 81, pl. iii. No. 2, where the text reads IMP. ANT. AVG. P.P.F., and the engraving shows IMP. A . . . G.P.P.P.)



- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|---|--|
| 13. Æ. II. [ANT]ONINVS AVG. P.P.P. Bust of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated, with <i>paludamentum</i> . | Female figure (? the Divinity of the town) standing to left in a tetrastyle temple, holding in right hand a human head (?), and in left a spear, and placing right foot on helmet(?); in the <i>exergue</i> C.A.C. |
- (De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvi. No. 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 216, No. 5; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 89, No. 13.)

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|---|--|
| 14. Æ. T. AEL. ANTONINVS AVG. P.P. Head of Antoninus Pius, laureated. | Astarte (?) standing, holding in the right hand a human head (?), and in the left a spear, and placing her right foot on a river-god; in the <i>exergue</i> C.A.C. |
- (Vaillant, "Num. Col." pars i. p. 166; Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 442; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 518, No. 13; "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 361, No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 217; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 89, No. 14.)

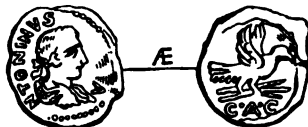
OBSERVE.

15. Æ. 3½. IMP. ANTONINVS AVG. P.
Bust of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated,
with *paludamentum*.

REVERSE.

C.A.C. Three females standing clothed in the
stola.

(Mionnet, "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 361, No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 219, No. 11; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 89, No. 15.)



OBSERVE.

16. Æ. III. ANTONINVS . . . Young bust
of Antoninus Pius? to the right, unbearded and
laureated, with *paludamentum*.

REVERSE.

C.A.C. below an eagle on a thunderbolt.

(Mionnet, vol. v. p. 518, No. 15, who reads ANTONINO . . . CA. He publishes, after Pellerin, a variety—No. 16—with legend IMP. CAES. ANTONINO, and on the reverse K.A.C. This piece was formerly attributed to Aurelius by De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvii. No. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 220, No. 2; but he suggests it may be an Elagabalus. It is not a coin of Aurelius, and it is doubtful if it is an Antoninus Pius—De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 89, No. 16.)

See Elagabalus (No. 16).

OBSERVE.

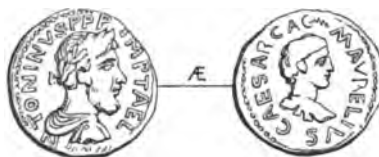
17. Æ. III. IMP. CAESAR ANTONINO. Bust
of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

Boar walking to the right; above, K.A.C.

(Mionnet, vol. v. p. 518, No. 14; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 175; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 218, No. 10; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 90, No. 17, who considers the attribution to be doubtful.)

ANTONINVS PIVS AND MARCVS AVRELIVS, A.D. 139–161.



OBSERVE.

1. Æ. II. IMP. T. AEL. [A]NTONINVS
P.P.P. Bust of Antoninus Pius to the right,
laureated, with *paludamentum*.

REVERSE.

IMP. AVRELIVS CAESAR C.A.C. (?) Head
of Aurelius to the right, bare.

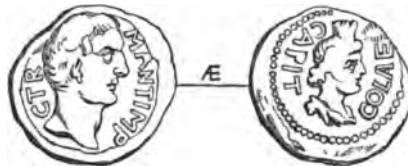
(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvi. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 219; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 90, No. 1. The piece published by Mionnet, "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 362, No. 10, is rejected by De Saulcy.)

- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|---|---|
| 2. Æ. . . . VS AVG. Head of Antoninus Pius, bare. | VERVS . . S (CAES). Head of Aurelius, bare. |
- (De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 90, No. 2, from his Collection.)

MARCUS AURELIUS, A.D. 161-180.



- | OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|--|--|
| 1. Æ.II. IMP. CAES. [M. ? AV]R. ANTONINVS AVG. Bust of Aurelius to the right, laureated, with <i>paludamentum</i> . | COL. AEL. CAP. Trophy. |
| (De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvii. No. 1; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 220, No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 91, No. 1.) | |
| 2. Æ. IMP. CAES. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. P.M. Head of Aurelius, bare. | COL. AEL. CAP. Colon driving oxen. |
| (Mionnet, "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 362, No. 12, from <i>Froelich</i> ; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T.S." p. 91, No. 2.) | |
| 3. Æ. IMP. CAESAR ANTONINVS AVG. Head of Aurelius, laureated. | COL. AEL. and in the <i>exergue</i> CAP. Jupiter seated, looking to left, holding in right hand a <i>patera</i> , and in left a spear; at his feet an eagle. |
| (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 519, No. 16, after <i>Vaillant</i> ; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 91, No. 3.) | |
| 4. Æ. III. . . . CAESAR. Head of Aurelius to the right, laureated. | COL. AEL. CAP. Head of Serapis to the right. |
| (Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 114, No. 42; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 220, No. 4; Reichardt, "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 82, pl. iii. No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 91, No. 4.) | |
| 5. Æ. II. and III. IMP. CAES. ANTONINVS AVG. Head of Aurelius, laureated. | COL. AEL. CAP. Bust of Serapis to left. |
| (Mionnet, "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 362, No. 11, after <i>Vaillant</i> ; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 91, No. 5.) | |



OBSERVE.

6. Æ. II. M. ANT. IMP. C. TR. Head of Aurelius to the right, bare.

REVERSE.

COL. AE. CAPIT. Same type as No. 4.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvii. No. 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 220, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 91, No. 6, who queries if it is really a coin of Aurelius. Mionnet, vol. v. p. 517, No. 7, gives the obverse legend IMP. C. Γ. AE. AV. (*sic*), or M. ANT. IMP. C. TR.P.)

OBSERVE.

7. Æ. M. AV. AN . . . AVG. Head of Aurelius, laureated and bearded.

REVERSE.

[C]O^p AE. [CAP^p]. Turreted deity standing, holding in right hand a crown, and in left a cornucopias.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 91, No. 7, from his Collection; doubtful attribution.)

OBSERVE.

8. Æ. M. AVREL. ANT. . . Bust of Aurelius to the right.

REVERSE.

COL. AIL. (*sic*) CAP. Jupiter seated to left, holding in left hand a spear, and stretching out the right; at his feet a winged lion.

(Coll. of M. Hoffmann; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 404.)

MARCUS AURELIUS AND FAUSTINA II. A.D. 161-175.

OBSERVE.

1. Æ. Legend obliterated. Head of Aurelius, laureated.

REVERSE.

. . VSTI[NA]^p PIA. Bust of Faustina II.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 92, No. 1, from his Collection.)

OBSERVE.

2. Æ. . AVR. AN. . . . Head of Aurelius, bare.

REVERSE.

. AVST . . . Head of Faustina II.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 92, No. 2, from his Collection.)

FAUSTINA II. AND LUCIUS VERUS, A.D. 161-164.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
Æ. IMP. CAES. L. AVG. VERV. Bust of Lucius Verus with cuirass.	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA C.A.C. Bust of Faustina II.

(British Museum: De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 92.)

MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS, A.D. 161-169.



OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
1. Æ. II. IMP. [C.M. ANTONINO ET VERO AVG. Busts of Aurelius and Verus facing each other, both bare heads.	COL. AEL. CAP. Bust of Serapis to left.

(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." pl. xvii. No. 4; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 221, No. 1; De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 92, No. 1; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 519, No. 19, gives a variety with the busts of Aurelius and Verus both laureated.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
2. Æ. M. AVR. ANTONINVS L. VERVS. Heads of Aurelius and Verus facing each other.	COL. AEL. CAP. Same type as No. 1.

(Mionnet, "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 362, No. 14; De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 93, No. 2. On a specimen in the British Museum the obverse legend is . AES. AVG. . . . VER. . .)



OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
3. Æ. I. IMP . . . ANTONINO ET VERO . . . Busts of Aurelius and Verus facing each other, both laureated.	COL. AEL. (in <i>exergue</i> , dotted letters faint) CAP. Jupiter seated? or the town standing? in a tetrastyle temple.

(De Sauley, "Num. Jud." pl. xvii. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 221, No. 2; De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 93, No. 3; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 519, No. 20, reads AVG. after VERO, and considers the figure on the reverse Astarte.)

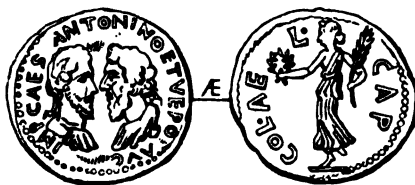
OBSERVE.

4. Æ. I. IMP. ANTONINVS AVG. IMP. L. AVR. VERVS AVG. Heads of Aurelius and Verus facing each other.

REVERSE.

Astarte standing in a tetrastyle temple, holding in the right hand a human head, and in the left a spear, and placing the right foot on a river-god. In the *exergue* COL. AEL. CAP.

(Mionnet, "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 362, No. 13, after *Vaillant*; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 93, No. 4.)



OBSERVE.

5. Æ. II. IMP. CAES. ANTONINO ET VERO AVG. Busts of Aurelius and Verus facing each other, both laureated.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. CAP. Victory walking to the left, holding wreath and palm.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvii. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 221, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 93, No. 5.)

OBSERVE.

6. Æ. II. IMP. CAES. M. ANTON. IMP. CAES. L. VERVS. Heads of Aurelius and Verus facing each other, both laureated.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. CAP. Same type as No. 5.

(*Vaillant*, "Num. Col." pars i. p. 196; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 93, No. 6.)

OBSERVE.

7. Æ. I. IMP. CAES. ANTONINVS ET L. VERVS. Heads of Aurelius and Verus facing each other, both laureated.

REVERSE.

COL. AE. CA. Same type as No. 5.

(Mionnet, "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 363, No. 15, after *Sestini*; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 93, No. 7.)

OBSERVE.

8. Æ. IMP. CAES. ANT. . . VERVS AVG. Heads of Aurelius and Verus facing each other.

REVERSE.

. . . . AEL. CAPI. Same type as No. 5.

(British Museum, two examples: De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 93, No. 8.)



OBSERVE.

9. Æ. II. IMP. ANTONINO [ET VERO] AVG.
Busts of Aurelius and Verus facing each other,
both laureated.

REVERSE.

COL. AE. CAP. Turreted female seated to left
holding *patera* and cornu-copie.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvii. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 222, No. 4; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 94,
No. 9, who publishes the obverse legend as IMP. CAES. ANTONINO, etc.)

MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS, A.D. 176-180.

OBSERVE.

Æ. IMP. ANTONINVS ET CVMODVS (*sic*)
AVG. Busts of Aurelius and Commodus facing
each other, both laureated.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. CAP. Bust of Serapis to right.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 94, pl. v. No. 6; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 64; on a specimen in
the British Museum De Saulcy reads ANTONINVS ET COMODVS P.F.)

LUCIUS VERUS, A.D. 161-169.



OBSERVE.

1. Æ. I. . . . S. L. AVREL. VE . . . Head
of Verus to the right, bare.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL., and in the *exergue* CAPITO. The
wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; the group
placed upon a base.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xvii. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 222, No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 95, No. 1.)

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| OBVERSE. | | REVERSE. |
| 2. Æ. I. . . . AVR. AVG. Head of Verus to the right, laureated. | | COL. A. CAP. Turreted female head to right. |

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 115, No. 43; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 222, No. 2; De Saulcy, "Rev. Num." 1864, pl. xvi. No. 11; 1865, pp. 54 and 55; Reichardt, "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 82, pl. iii. No. 4; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 95, No. 2.)

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| OBVERSE. | | REVERSE. |
| 3. Æ. Legend effaced. Bust of Verus, laureated. | | Legend effaced. Bust of Serapis to right. |

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 95, No. 3, from his Collection.)

COMMODUS, A.D. 180-192.

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| OBVERSE. | | REVERSE. |
| Æ. IMP. CAES. ANT[ONINVS COMMODVS]
AVG. Head of Commodus, laureated. | | [P] F. CO. A. CA[P.] I. AV. CO. . . A.
(dotted letters in the <i>exergue</i>). The Emperor on horseback to right, the right hand raised. |

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 94, from his Collection; he interprets the reverse legend *Colonia Ælia Capitolina Aurelia Commodiana Pia Felix*; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 65.)

The name *Aurelia* may also be found on a coin of Elagabalus (No. 3). This coin of Commodus proves that Commodus gave the name of *Commodiana* to the colony, a title that is continued on most of the coins from his time to the end of the series (Valerian, A.D. 253-260.)

The reason for Commodus so calling it is perhaps not actually known, yet when we remember that this madman called himself *Commodus Romanus Hercules*,¹ his fleet *Commodiana Herculeia*,² his house *Commodiana*,³ his gardens *Commodiani*,⁴ the "sæculum" *Commodianum*,⁵ the Roman people themselves *Commodianus*,⁶ and Rome itself *Colonia Commodiana*,⁷ we may safely assume that he either ordered *Ælia Capitolina* to be so named, or that those in authority there adopted the title to gratify his caprices.

¹ Æl. Lamprid. "In Com." 8.

² *Op. cit.* 17.

⁴ Æl. Spart. "In Pescen. Niger," 6.

⁵ Æl. Lamprid. "In Com." 14.

³ *Op. cit.* 12.

⁶ *Op. cit.* 15.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 8. The title occurs on large and second brass coins —COL. L. AN. COM. (*Colonia Lucia Antoniniana Commodiana*). See Cohen ("Méd. Imp." vol. iii. p. 127, Nos. 469, 470).

PESCENNIUS NIGER, A.D. 194.

OBSERVE.

Æ. IMP. CAES. C. PESC. NIGER IVS. AVG.
Head of Pescennius Niger to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. CAP. COMM. P.F. The genius of the town standing, looking to left, holding in right hand a human head, and in left a spear, and placing right foot on a rock? or on head of river-god?

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 95, pl. v. No. 7, from his Collection.)

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, A.D. 193-211.

OBSERVE.

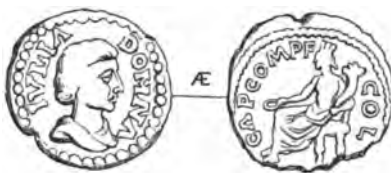
Æ. II. IMP. L. SEP. SEVERVS AVG. Head of Severus, laureated.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. CAP. COMM. The genius of the town, turreted, standing in a tetrastyle temple, holding in the right hand a human head, and in the left a spear, and placing right foot on a river-god.

(Vaillant, "Num. Col." pars ii. p. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 96, No. 1.)¹

JULIA DOMNA, A.D. 173-217.



OBSERVE.

Æ. II. IVLIA DOMNA. Bust of Julia Domna to the right.

REVERSE.

CO. A[EL.] CAP. COM. P.F. The genius of the town seated to left, holding a *patera*, and a cornu-copiae.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 115, No. 44; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 223; Reichardt, "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 83, pl. iii. No. 5; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 97, pl. v. No. 8, who restores the reverse legend from two specimens in his Collection; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 65.)

¹ For the coin of Severus with *Greek* legends attributed by Mionnet (vol. v. p. 520, No. 24; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 182) to *Ælia Capitolina*, but which should probably be

restored to *Ælia Carrhae*, see Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 223, note 4; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 96, No. 2.

CARACALLA, A.D. 211-217.



OBSERVE.

1. Æ. II. IMP . . TON. Bust of Caracalla to the right, radiate.

REVERSE.

Legend effaced. Head of Serapis to right.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xviii. No. 1; cf. No. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 224; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 97, No. 1; cf. p. 98, No. 3, who attributes, with reserve, a similar piece—No. 2—having the bust *not* radiate.)

OBSERVE.

2. Æ. . . . ANTO . . . Bust of Caracalla, laureated.

REVERSE.

CO. AE[L.]? CAP.? Figure facing, right arm raised and holding a spear.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 98, No. 4, from his Collection.)

CARACALLA AND JULIA DOMNA, A.D. 215-217.

OBSERVE.

- Æ. IMP. ANTONINUS PIVS AVG. GER. MAX. Bust of Caracalla to the right, laureated, with the cuirass, holding a javelin.

REVERSE.

IULIA AUG. M. AUG. ET CA. . . (*Mater Augusti et Castrorum*.) Bust of Julia Domna to the right.

(Coll. of M. A. Parent: De Saulcy, "Rev. Num." 1864, pl. xvi. No. 12; 1865, p. 55; "Num. de la T. S." p. 98, No. 1; No. 2 from his Collection.)

The rounded U instead of the usual V is worthy of notice [see coins of Aquilia Severa]. The title *Mater Castrorum* (μήτηρ τῶν στρατοπέδων) was first bestowed on Faustina II. in A.D. 174 after the victory gained by Marcus Aurelius over the Quadi.¹ This is confirmed by her coins.² The title also occurs on the Roman coins of Julia Domna and Julia Mamaea,³ and may be found on several inscriptions.⁴ ΜΗΤ[ηρ] ΣΤΡ[ατοπέδων] is said to occur on a coin of Julia Domna, struck at Paltus, in Syria,⁵ and is frequent on Alexandrian coins.⁶

¹ Dion Cass. lxxi. 10; Jul. Capit. "in Aurel." 26.

² Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vii. pp. 79, 81.

³ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vii. pp. 196, 288; Cohen, "Suppl." vol. vii. p. 467.

⁴ Gruter, "Inscr." p. 265, 2; Orelli, "Inscr." Nos. 953, 955, etc.; cf. De Saulcy, "Rev. Num." 1865, p. 55, note.

⁵ Sestini, "Lettere," t. v. p. 66; Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vii. p. 197.

⁶ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iv. pp. 85, 87, 89.

GETA, A.D. 211-212.



OBSERVE.

1. Æ. II. P. SEP. GET. CASAR (*sic*) AVG.
Bust of Geta to the left, bare, with *paludamentum*.

REVERSE.

- COLONIA AELI. CAP. COM. P. FELIK (*sic*).
Bacchus standing to the left holding bunch of
grapes and a spear; at his feet a panther.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 115, No. 45, pl. iii. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 224; Reichardt, "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," p. 84, pl. iii. No. 6; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 98, No. 1.)

The same reverse type is found on a coin of Antoninus Pius (No. 1). De Saulcy inclines to doubt the correctness of the attribution, but Mr. Reichardt has stated¹ that "the legend on the obverse is quite complete, clear, and entirely legible—in fact, for a coin of *Ælia Capitolina*, à fleur de coin—leaving no doubt that the coin belongs to Geta. The engraving of this piece in the 'Numismatische Zeitschrift,' 1869, is a faithful representation of the original."

OBSERVE.

2. Æ. Legend effaced. Head of Geta, bare.

REVERSE.

- C. AEL. KOM. P.F. Jupiter holding Victory,
seated, and looking to left.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 99, No. 2, from his Collection.)

DIADUMENIANUS, A.D. 217-218.

OBSERVE.

1. Æ. M. OPEL. ANT. DIADVMEIANVS
CAES. Head of Diadumenian, bare.

REVERSE.

- COL. AEL. CAP. COMM. Jupiter seated
between two females (Minerva and Juno) in
a distyle temple.

(Mionnet, vol. v. p. 520, No. 25, after *Vaillant*; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 99, No. 1.)

Type similar to the coin of Hadrian (No. 3). In all probability the coin of the same type attributed by Mionnet² after Gessner³ to Hadrian is the same piece.

¹ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 320; cf. Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 66, note 73.

² "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 360, No. 1; cf. De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." p. 187.

³ Pl. xci. No. 38.

OBVERSE.

2. Æ. M. OPEL. ANT. DIADVMEIANVS
C. Head of Diadumenian, bare.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. CAP. COMM. Astarte turreted (or the genius of the town), standing in a tetrastyle temple, holding in the right hand a human head, and in the left a spear, and placing right foot on a river-god; at the sides two Victories, each mounted on a globe.

(Vaillant, "Num. Col." pars ii. p. 69; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 100, No. 2.)



OBVERSE.

3. Æ. II. M. OPEL. DIADVMEIANVS.
Bust of Diadumenian to right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. CAP. COMM., and in the *exergue* P.F. Turreted figure standing to left in a tetrastyle temple, holding in right hand a globe (?), and in left a spear, and placing right foot upon helmet (?). Between the spaces of the pillars, on either side, a Victory, standing on a globe.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xviii. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 225, No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 100, No. 3; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 521, No. 26, adds the letter C at the end of the obverse legend.)



OBVERSE.

4. Æ. II. M. OP. DIADVMEIANVS. . . Bust of Diadumenian to the right, bare, with *paludamentum*.

REVERSE.

COL. . . Head of Serapis to right.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xviii. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 225, No. 2; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 100, No. 4.)



OBVERSE.

5. Æ. II. M. OPE. D NIANVS C.
Bust of Diadumenian to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. CAP. Male figure standing to right, raising right hand and holding spear in left; in *field* II.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xviii. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 225, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 100, No. 5.)

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| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>6. Æ. M. OP. DIADVME^NIANVS C. Bust of Diadumenian, laureated.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>COL. AEL. CAP. COMMO. Serapis standing, holding in the right hand two <i>cestus</i>, and in the left a spear.</p> |
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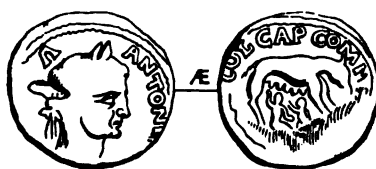
(Mionnet, vol. v. p. 521, No. 27; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 100, No. 6, who suggests that it may be the same as No. 5.)

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| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>7. Æ. M. OP. DIADVME^NIANVS C. Bust of Diadumenian to the right, laureated, with <i>paludamentum</i>.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>COL. AEL. CAP. COMM. P.F. Serapis standing facing, the right arm raised, and holding in the left hand a spear; in the <i>field</i> .</p> |
|--|---|

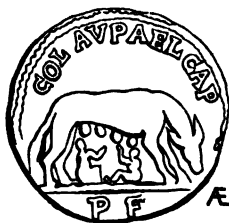
(Coll. of M. A. Parent: De Saulcy, "Rev. Num." 1864, pl. xvi. No. 13; 1865, p. 55; "Num. de la T. S." p. 100, No. 7.)

ELAGABALUS, A.D. 218-222.

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| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>1. Æ. . . . ANTONINVS. Head of Elagabalus, radiate.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>AEL. CA. . The wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.</p> |
|--|--|
- (De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 101, No. 1, from his Collection. He adds that it does not appear as if the word COL. ever existed on the piece. Another specimen—No. 2—has COL AEL . . . M.)



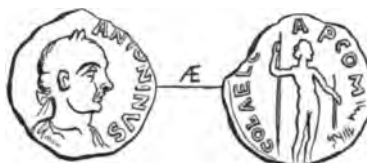
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>2. Æ. II. . . . A. ANTONI. Head of Elagabalus to the right, laureated.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>COL. CAP. COMM. Same type as No. 1.</p> |
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- (De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xviii. No. 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 226, No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 101, No. 3.)



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| <p>OBVERSE.</p> <p>3. Æ. II. IMP. C.M. AVP. (<i>sic</i>) ANTONINVS AVG. Bust of Elagabalus to the right, laureated, with <i>paludamentum</i>.</p> | <p>REVERSE.</p> <p>COL. AVP. (<i>sic</i>) AEL. CAP., and in the <i>exergue</i> P.F. Same type as No. 1.</p> |
|---|---|

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. ii. p. 115, No. 46; pl. iii. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 226, No. 2; Reichardt, "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 84, pl. iii. No. 7; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 101, No. 4.)

The reverse type of these coins is similar to that on coins of Lucius Verus (No. 1). The name AVP. (AVR? *Aurelia*) occurs earlier on a coin of Commodus.



OBVERSE.

4. Æ. II. . . . ANTONINVS. Bust of Elagabalus to the right, laureated.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xix. No. 5; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 226, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 101, No. 5.)

REVERSE.

- COL. AEL. CAP. COM. Naked figure, standing, holding spear in right hand.



OBVERSE.

5. Æ. II. . . . AVR. ANTONINVS A . . . Head of Elagabalus to the right, laureated.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xviii. No. 4; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 227, No. 4; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 101, No. 6.)

REVERSE.

- COL. AEL. CAP. COMM. Bust of Serapis to the right.

OBVERSE.

6. Æ. IMP. C.M. AVR. ANTONINVS A . . . Head of Elagabalus to the right, radiate.

(Mionnet, vol. v. p. 521, No. 28; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 101, No. 7; cf. "Num. Jud." pl. xviii. No. 5.)

REVERSE.

- COL. AEL. CAP. COMM. P.F. Same type as No. 5.

OBVERSE.

7. Æ. . . . ANTONINVS. Bust of Elagabalus, laureated.

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 101, No. 8, from his Collection.)

REVERSE.

- CO. A Same type as No. 5.



OBVERSE.

8. Æ. II. IMP. C. M. AVR. ANTONINVS. Head of Elagabalus to the right, laureated.

REVERSE.

- COL. AEL. CAP. COMM., and in the *exergue* P.F. Turreted figure standing to left in tetrastyle temple, holding in right hand an uncertain object, and in left a spear, and placing right foot on helmet (?). Between the spaces of the pillars, on either side, a Victory standing on a globe.

(British Museum: Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 227, No. 5; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 101, No. 9.)

Same type as on the coin of Diadumenian (No. 3).

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| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>9. Æ. II. IMP . . NTONIN. Head of Elagabalus to the right, laureated.</p> <p>(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 116, No. 47; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 227, No. 6; Reichardt, "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 85, pl. iv. No. 8; De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 102, No. 10.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>COL. AEL. CAPIT., and in the <i>exergue</i> P.F. Same type as No. 8.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>10. Æ. IMP. M. AVR. ANT. Head of Elagabalus, radiate.</p> <p>(De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 102, No. 11, who says that the reverse legend appears to have been retouched.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>C. AVR. AEL. CAP. COMM., and in the <i>exergue</i> P.F. Same type as No. 8.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>11. Æ. . AR. ANT. Head of Elagabalus.</p> <p>(De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 102, No. 12, from his Collection.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>COL. . . .; in <i>exergue</i> AN? KA. Jupiter seated to left in a tetrastyle temple.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>12. Æ. AN . . . Bust of Elagabalus with cuirass.</p> <p>(De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 102, No. 13, from his Collection.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>.; in the <i>exergue</i> ANT. (? <i>Antoniniana</i>). Turreted deity standing in a tetrastyle temple, carrying a human head in right hand, and in left a spear.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>13. Æ. . . MR. I. M (<i>sic</i>) ANT. Bust of Elagabalus.</p> <p>(De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 102, No. 14, from his Collection.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>Same type as No. 12; in the <i>exergue</i> CAP.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>14. Æ. IMP. C. M. AVR. ANTONINVS. Bust of Elagabalus with cuirass.</p> <p>(De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 102, No. 15, from <i>Ancienne Collection Wigan</i>.)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>COL. AEL. CAP. COMM. Jupiter standing to right, the right hand raised and holding in the left a thunderbolt (?) or a sceptre (?).</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>15. Æ. IMP. C. M. A. ANTON . . . Bust of Elagabalus, laureated.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>C. A. CA. COM. P. FEL. The genius of the town turreted, standing, the right foot placed on an uncertain object, holding in the right hand an uncertain object, and in the left a spear. She is crowned by Victory, standing on a column behind her; before her a Roman standard. At the feet of the genius a vase with two handles.</p> <p>(De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 102, No. 17, from his Collection.)</p> |

Probably the same type as that found on a coin of Trajanus Decius (No. 8) and Hostilianus (No. 1).

16. Æ. III. The coin doubtfully ascribed to Antoninus Pius (p. 256, No. 16) is considered by De Saulcy to be more probably a piece of Elagabalus ("Num. de la T. S." p. 102, No. 16).

AQUILIA SEVERA, AFTER A.D. 221.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
Æ. ACULIA SEUGERA (<i>sic</i>). Bust of Aquilia Severa to left.	COL. A. CE (P) P. F.A. Turreted female bust to right.
(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 103, from Collection of M. Walcher de Moltheim.)	

The rounded U instead of V is also employed on this coin. See coin of Caracalla and Julia Domna.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER, A.D. 222-235.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
Æ. II. IMP. C. M. . . DROS. Bust of Severus Alexander to the right.	. . . . CAP. Bust of Serapis to left.
(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 103, from <i>Catalogue of Rollin and Fouardont</i> , No. 7565.)	

MAMÆA AND SEVERUS ALEXANDER, A.D. 222-235.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
Æ. II. . . SEV. ALEX. AVG. Busts of Mamæa, and Severus Alexander, jugate.	COL. AE. CAP. The Emperor on horseback to right, holding in right hand a crown (?), and in left a sceptre.
(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 103, from his Collection.)	

URANIUS ANTONINUS (tyrant in the East under Severus Alexander).

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
1. Æ. II. IMP. . . ANTONIN. Bust of Uranius Antoninus to the right, laureated, with <i>paludamentum</i> and cuirass.	COL. A. C.C. P.F. (<i>Colonia Ælia Capitolina Commodiana Pia Felix</i> .) Quadriga facing, on which is placed the conical stone of Emesa, the god "Elagabal." In the <i>exergue</i> uncertain object.
(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 104, pl. v. No. 9, from his Collection; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 67; cf. 1865, vol. v. p. 48.)	

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
2. Æ. . . . P.M. AVG.(?) ANT. Head of Uranus Antoninus to the right, laureated.	COL. A. C.C. P.F. Jupiter in a quadriga.
(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 109, who attributes it to Caracalla and Cæsarea Samariæ; De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 104.)	

The existence of coins of Uranus Antoninus will probably explain the great rarity of those of Severus Alexander struck in the colony.

GORDIANUS III. PIUS, A.D. 238-244.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
Æ. [GORD]IANVS AVG. COS. II. Bust of Gordianus Pius, radiate.	. . . A . . . I . C. P. FELIX. Bacchus facing, holding in the right hand a <i>thyrsus</i> , and in the left a <i>thyrsus</i> ; at his feet a panther (?).
(De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 150, from his Collection.)	

The coin of Gordian, supposed to be struck at Ælia Capitolina, and described in the Sale Catalogue of the collection of Subhi-Bey, has been examined by De Sauley, who pronounces it¹ to be a coin of Coela Thraciæ.

TRANQUILLINA, A.D. 241-244.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
Æ. . . NA TRANQ. . . Bust of Tranquillina to the right.	COL. A . . . Turreted female standing, holding in the right hand a <i>patera</i> (?), and in the left a palm; in <i>field</i> to left, a vase.
(De Sauley, "Num. de la T. S." p. 105, pl. v. No. 11, from his Collection.)	

The attribution of this coin to Ælia Capitolina is not quite certain: the vase, which occurs also on coins of Elagabalus (No. 15), Trajan Decius (No. 8), and Hostilian (No. 1), favours it, and De Sauley considers that the fabric, style and metal do not disagree with the assignment.

¹ "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 405.

TRAJANUS DECIUS, A.D. 249-251.



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

1. Æ. I. . . . Q. TRA. DECIVS AVG. Head of Trajanus Decius to the right, laureated.

COL. AEL. KA. COMM. in three lines within a wreath.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xix. No. 1; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 228, No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 105, No. 1; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 521, No. 30, gives a fourth line on the reverse, with the letters P.F.)

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

2. Æ. I. IMP. C. MESS. QVIN. TRAIANVS AVG. Head of Trajanus Decius to the right.

COL. AEL. KAP. COMM. P.F. in four lines within a wreath.

(Vaillant, "Num. Col." pars ii. p. 191; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 106, No. 2.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

3. Æ. I. . . . MES. Q. TRA. DECIVS AVG. Head of Trajanus Decius to the right, laureated.

COL. AEL. KA. Jupiter with *modius*, seated to left; at his feet an eagle.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xix. No. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 228, No. 2; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 106, No. 3; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 521, No. 31, and Cavedoni, "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 69, note 47, consider the figure to be Serapis, and at his feet Cerberus; cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 228, note 2.)



OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

4. Æ. II. . . TRA. DECIVS AVG. Bust of Trajanus Decius to the right, laureated.

COL. AEL. KAP. COMM. Turreted head of the town to right.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xix. No. 3; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 229, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 106, No. 4.)

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| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>5. Æ. II. Q. TR. DECIVS . . . AVG. Head of Trajanus Decius to the right, radiate.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>6. Æ. IMP. . . TR. DECIVS AVG. Bust of Trajanus Decius, laureated.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>7. Æ. II. IMP. CAES. TRAI. DEKIVS (<i>sic</i>). Head of Trajanus Decius to the right, laureated.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>8. Æ. I. IMP. CA. (?) C. MES. Q. TRA. DECIVS AVG. Bust of Trajanus Decius to the right, laureated.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>. . . L. KAP. COM. P.F. Turreted head of the town to right.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>COL. AEL. KAP. COM. P.F. Turreted head of female to the right, with <i>stola</i> on the chest.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>COL. AEL. KAP. Female standing to the left, her right arm stretched out holding uncertain object, and in her left hand a cornu-copiae.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>COA. (<i>sic</i>) AEL. KAP. COM. P.F. The genius of the town turreted, standing, the right foot placed on an uncertain object, holding in the right hand a human head (?), above which an eagle (perhaps the top of a standard), and in the left a spear. The genius is crowned by Victory, standing on a column behind. At the feet of the genius a vase with two handles.</p> |
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(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 116, No. 48; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 229; Reichardt, "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 86, pl. iv. No. 9; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 106, No. 5.)

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 106, No. 6; another example reads . . . Q. TRA. DECIVS AVG—and COL. AEL. CAP. COM. P.F.; Mionnet, "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 363, No. 18.)

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 116, No. 50; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 229; Reichardt, "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 86, pl. iv. No. 11; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 107, No. 8.)

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 107, No. 9, pl. v. No. 10, from his Collection.)

This type is also found on coins of Elagabalus (No. 15) and Hostilian (No. 1). De Saulcy is of opinion¹ that the coin of similar type in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, attributed by him to Trajanus Decius,² is certainly misread, and is a coin of Elagabalus (see No. 15).

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| <p style="text-align: center;">OBVERSE.</p> <p>9. Æ. IMP. C. MES. Q. TRA. DECIVS AVG. Bust of Trajanus Decius, laureated.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">REVERSE.</p> <p>COL. AEL. KAP. COMM. P.F. The Emperor and one of his sons, facing each other and shaking hands. The Emperor holds a spear.</p> |
|---|---|

(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 107, No. 10, from *Kenner and Gaisperger*, pl. vii. No. 16, Wien, 1871.)

¹ "Num. de la Terre Sainte," p. 106, No. 7.

² *Obv.* . . . N. T. CÆ. Q. TR. . . . Laureated head to the right. *Rev.* COL. AEL. KA. Astarte, standing, holding a globe in her right hand, and a staff in her left; Victory,

placed on a pillar behind, crowns her; in front, at her feet, a vase. Æ. 6.—"Num. Chron." n.s. 1862, vol. ii. p. 116, No. 49; "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 86, pl. iv. No. 10; cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 229.

HERENNIUS ETRUSCUS AND HOSTILIANUS, A.D. 249-251.



OBSERVE.

1. Æ. I. AETRVSCVS ET QVINTVS CAESS.
Busts of Etruscus and Hostilianus, jugate, to the right, that of Etruscus radiate, both with *paludamentum*.

(De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." pl. xix. No. 4; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 230; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 107, No. 1.)

REVERSE.

COL. AE. KAP. CO. . . Jupiter(?) standing to right, holding in the right hand a spear, and in the left a human head(?); in *field* to left, between his body and the spear a thunderbolt(?), or a *thyreus* (?).

OBSERVE.

2. Æ. II. AETRVSCVS ET QVINTVS CAESS.
Busts jugate of Etruscus and Hostilianus to the right, radiate.

(Mionnet, vol. v. p. 522, No. 32, after *Vaillant*; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 107, No. 2.)

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. KAP. COMM. Military figure standing to right, raising right hand and holding in left a spear.

HOSTILIANUS, A.D. 251.



OBSERVE.

- *1. Æ. I. . . . C. VAL. OST. MES. QVINT..
Bust of Hostilianus to the right, radiate.

REVERSE.

COL. AEL. KAP. The genius of the town, turreted, standing, foot placed on an uncertain object, holding in the right hand a human head(?), and in the left a spear; in front a Roman standard, and behind Victory on a column. At the feet of the genius a vase with two handles.

(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1864, vol. iv. p. 182; "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 87, pl. iv. No. 12; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 108, No. 1.)

Mionnet,¹ quoting from Tanini,² has given the description of a coin of Hostilian, which was reproduced by De Saulcy in his "Numismatique Judaïque."³ There is not much doubt that the above figured piece is the same, and it proves that the reverse legend is not COL. AEL. KΑΠ. (*sic*), as given by the three numismatists named.

This or a similar type may be found on the coins of Elagabalus (No. 15) and Trajan Decius (No. 8).

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
2. Æ. C. VAL. QVINTVS. Bust of Hostilianus, radiate.	. OL. AEL. KA . . Figure standing to right, holding spear and human head.
(Coll. of Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Num. Zeitschrift Wien," 1869, p. 87, pl. iv. No. 13; De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 108, No. 2.)	

VALERIANUS, A.D. 253-260.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
1. Æ. . . . LICI . . VALERIA . . . Head of Valerianus.	. . . COM. P. FELIX. Turreted female seated to left, holding in right hand an uncertain object, and in left a cornu-copiæ.
(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 108, No. 1, from his Collection.)	

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
2. Æ. . . . M. A. VALER. ANVS. Bust of Valerianus, with <i>paludamentum</i> and cuirass.	C. AE . . CO. P.F. Figure seated to left, holding in right hand an uncertain object, and in left a cornu-copiæ.
(De Saulcy, "Num. de la T. S." p. 108, No. 2, from Mionnet, who classes it to Cæsarea Samaritæ.)	

The Emperor Valerian was captured by the Persian king Sapor in A.D. 260, and died in captivity.⁴

No later coins of Roman Emperors struck at Ælia Capitolina have been discovered.

¹ "Suppl." vol. viii. p. 363, No. 19.

² "Suppl. ad Banduri Num. Impp." p. 28.

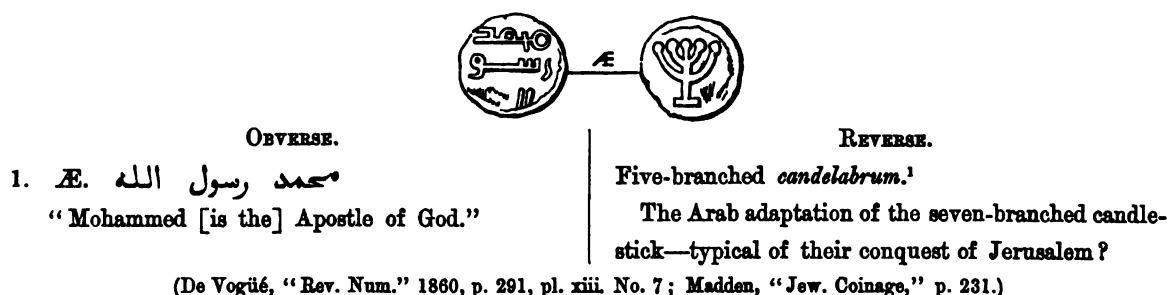
³ P. 186.

⁴ That the Emperor Valerian suffered the grossest indignities at the hands of the Persian monarch has been a generally received opinion (Gibbon, "Rom. Emp." vol. i. p. 406), but Mr. Thomas has shown ("Sassanian Inscriptions," p. 64, Trübner, 1888) that none of the bas-reliefs give any countenance to the loose accusation of Western writers regarding the severity of treatment or wanton humiliation of the Roman emperor on the part of Sapor. On one occasion only is Valerian represented in chains, whilst the few Persian authors who notice the capture relate that Sapor took advantage of the engineering skill of his captive and

employed him in the construction of the celebrated irrigation dam and in the general embellishment of the new city of Shuster. The inscription on the sculptures has been ably treated by Mr. Thomas ("Sass. Insc." *l.c.*). The subject is represented on many of the rock sculptures in various parts of Persia (Ker Porter, pl. xxi.; Flandin, pl. 48, 53; Thomas, *op. cit.*; Vaux, "Nineveh and Persepolis," p. 408). The bas-relief at Shâhpûr, which has been supposed to refer to Sapor's triumph over Valerian, is considered by Mr. Thomas to relate to the submission of the Syrian king Sitarûn, or possibly Odenathus himself ("Sass. Inscr." p. 62; "Num. Chron." n.s. 1872, vol. xii. p. 58). A woodcut showing the curious head-dress of Sapor has been given by Mr. Thomas in both papers.

ARAB COINS.

Copper coins were probably supplied in the ordinary course for Jerusalem, on their occupation of the town, by the conquering Arabs, in order to meet the daily wants of the poor and provide the smaller change needed in the public markets, of which class the following seem to be still-extant specimens :—



This piece is considered by M. de Vogüé to have been struck at Jerusalem "pendant la période qui sépare la conquête Musulmane de l'émission des premières monnaies nominale du calife Abd-el-Melik."

Mr. Thomas has, however, suggested to me that it is more likely to have been issued by the Khalif Omar himself (A.H. 18=A.D. 639), a conclusion which seems to be corroborated from the fact that he is said to have first struck coins on which, among other pious ejaculations, were inscribed the identical words *محمد رسول الله*, "Mohammed [is the] Apostle of God."²

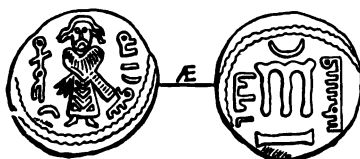
¹ Another similar piece is also published by De Vogüé ("Rev. Num." 1860, p. 291, pl. xiii. No. 8; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 231, woodcut No. 3), which is described by him as follows :—*Obv.* Chandelier à sept branches. *Rev.* Quatre arbres plantés parallèlement. Traces de légende illisible. The legend has been read by De Saulcy ξ AN (for $\text{BA}\xi\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{S}$ ANTIFONON), and the coin has been restored to Antigonos, whilst the so-called "four trees" probably represent bunches of flowers or fruit. See CHAPTER V. p. 102, No. 9.

² "Quam modo allatam de pecunia Arabum gentilium respectu eleemosynæ, et de ejus in Islamismo confirmato usu, legatus divinus legem fecerat, *Abubeker* Alzaddik (justus) fel. mem. ejus successor intemeratam servavit. Cui succedens *Abu Hafes Omar b. Alchettab* f. m. *Ægypto* Syria et Iraka expugnatis, de pecunia nihil constituit, sed eam statu suo usque ad annum Hegiræ XVIII, chalifatus sui VIIIvum, esse jussit. * * Tunc temporis *Omar* f. m. ipsas eas drachmas ad sculpturam persicam earumque formam, eo tamen discrimine cudi fecit, ut partim : *laus sit Deo* ; partim : *Muhammed est legatus Dei* ; partim : *non est Deus nisi Deus unicus*, et in lemmate : *Omar*, iis in-

scriberet, et decem drachmarum pondus sex Methkalia constitueret. *Omar* f. *Afan* f. m. in principem fidelium electus, numos cum epigraphæ : *Deus est maximus*, durante chalifatu suo edidit." —Makrizi, ed. O. G. Tychsen, Rostochii, 1797, pp. 77, 79, 80 ; cf. Thomas, "J.R.A.S." o.s. 1850, vol. xii. p. 279, note 2.

"Tria eduntur judicia, quis primus numos percussit. *Judex* quidem *Abulhasan* f. *Muhammed Almawardi* auctor est, *Omar* f. *Alchettab* f. m. perspecta drachmarum diversitate, quarum aliæ scil. Baglienses VIII : aliæ sc. Tiberienses IV ; Magrebbinæ (Mauretanicæ) III Danekis ; Iemenenses I Daneko constabant, dixisse : *attendo ad usualium drachmarum vel meliorem vel viliorem conditionem*, et collato Bagliensium et Tiberiensium drachmarum XII Danecorum pondere, dimidium ejus, scil. sex Danecorum drachmas elegisse ; negat tamen *Abu Muhammed Hasan*, f. *Abulhasan Ali* f. *Muhammed f. Abdal-malec* f. *Algottân* in tractatu suo de mensuris et ponderibus, hoc *Omaris* fel. mem. propositum fuisse, propterea quod in numerum suorum titulo nihil mutasset." —Makrizi, pp. 146, 147 ; Thomas, loc. cit.

Mr. Thomas some time ago published¹ a bilingual Pehlvi-Kufic coin, bearing the name of *Yezdigird*, the last Sassanian king of Persia, struck at Yezd in the year A.H. 20 (=A.D. 640-1), that is, during the Khilâfat of Omar; the intrusive *بسم الله* *B'ism'illah* "in the name of God" proving *ipso facto* its Arab manipulation. There are several specimens of this coin, one of which can be examined in the British Museum, and it may be added that the proposed reading and interpretation as yet remain uncontested.



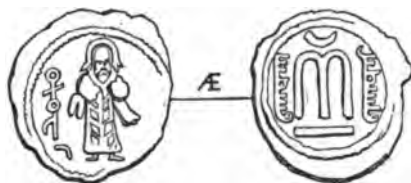
OBERSE.

REVERSE.

2. *Æ*. *محمد رسول الله* "Mohammed [is the] Apostle of God."² Figure of the Khalif standing, to the front, girt with a sword.

Right فلسطين "Palestine," left ايليا "Aelia."
Half-moon over the letter *m*; below — .

(Marsden, "Num. Orient." 1822, p. 296, pl. xvii. fig. cccvi.; De Saulcy, "Lettres à M. Reinaud sur quelques points de la Numismatique Arabe," 1841, Lett. iv.; "Num. Jud." p. 188, pl. xix. No. 6; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 230; Tiesenhausen, "Monnaie des Khalifes Orientaux," 1873, p. 5, pl. i. fig. 5.)



OBERSE.

REVERSE.

3. *Æ*. *محمد (رسول الله)* "Mohammed [is the] Apostle of God". Varied type of No. 2.

Right فلسطين "Palestine," left فلسطين "Palestine."
Similar type to No. 2.

(De Saulcy, "Lettres à M. Reinaud," Lett. iv.; "Num. Jud." p. 188, pl. xix. No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 231.)

These two coins have hitherto been assigned either to Abdalmalik (A.H. 65-86=A.D. 684-5-705), or to Mua'wiah (A.H. 41-60=A.D. 661-2-679-80), but the latter attribution seems infinitely the more probable, as Mua'wiah is specially noted in the traditions of the Arabian authors as "striking *dinars*, on which he was first represented as girt with a sword,"³ and it will be seen hereafter that Abdalmalik's coins display many incidental advances upon this model.

¹ "J.R.A.S." o.s. 1850, vol. xii. p. 280.

² On a similar coin formerly in the Collection of the late Mr. Wigan, the name "Mohammed" is written correctly, but the remaining words, "Apostle of God," are reversed (Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 230, note 6).

³ "*Moswiah* quoque denarios imagine sua gladio cincta insignitos percussit." — Makrizi, ed. Tychsen, p. 81; Thomas, "J.R.A.S." o.s. 1850, vol. xii. p. 286, note 6; cf. "Lettres de Baron Marchant," Paris, 1851, pp. 14, 15 note by M. Ad. de Longpérier; Gibbon, "Rom. Emp." ed. Smith, vol. vi.

p. 377, note a; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1872, vol. xii. p. 5. M. Stickel has also published (Leipzig, 1870, p. 59) some general remarks on the coins of Mua'wiah, quoting Marsden, cccvi., as well as signaling a remarkable coin in the Jena collection struck at Chalcis with *m* device and the letters *XAA* and *XAA*, together with the definite name of OMAR, which he supposes to be repeated on the obverse in its Arabic form of عمر. (See also De Saulcy, ii. Lettre, p. 52 and p. 56; Tiesenhausen, p. 4, No. 22.)

On the abandonment in A.D. 635-636 of Syria, and the giving up of all hopes of defending Jerusalem, by Heraclius, who had visited it in A.D. 629, the Holy City was taken by Omar in A.H. 16=A.D. 637, and afterwards passed to the different Arab powers, which successively had dominion in the East.¹ Constantinople was besieged by Mus'wiah from A.H. 52=A.D. 672-673, in which year he concluded terms of peace with Constantine IV. Pogonatus, consenting to pay the Romans annually 3000 pounds of gold, fifty slaves, and fifty Arabian horses.² A second peace was soon after (A.D. 716) again purchased by Abdalmalik on terms far more favourable to the Roman Emperor than those of the previous treaty, the Khalif engaging to pay Justinian II. Rhinotmetus an annual tribute of 365,000 pieces of gold, 360 slaves, and 360 Arabian horses; the provinces of Iberia, Armenia, and Cyprus being equally divided between the Romans and the Arabs, Justinian II. promising to assist the Khalif in expelling the Mardaïtes from Syria.³ The peace with the Saracens was not, however, of long duration, and Justinian II. in A.D. 691 was entirely defeated by the Khalif.

There is little doubt that these Arab coins are copied from those of the Byzantine Emperors in circulation at Jerusalem and Constantinople. Their type—the Ω —is of frequent occurrence on the Byzantine coinage, on which the form M or Ω may be found. Copper pieces marked with the letter M, which represents the *index* of their value—40 *nummi*—were first introduced by Anastasius (A.D. 491-518) when he reformed the coinage;⁴ whilst the cursive Ω came into use under Tiberius Constantine (A.D. 578-582).⁵ The variations which took place in the weight of these coins, ranging from 334 grains to 48 grains, has been commented on by the late Dr. Finlay, and the practice of marking the copper coins of the Eastern empire with the letters indicating their value continued till the time of Basil I. (A.D. 867-886).⁶

The coinage of Abdalmalik (A.H. 65-86=A.D. 684-5-705) is slightly different and bears longer legends, as we shall presently see. The modified cross Φ upon a pedestal of four steps on his coins is doubtless a degradation of the usual cross on four steps so frequent on the coinage of some of the Byzantine Emperors, a type which seems to have been introduced by Tiberius Constantine, A.D. 578-582.⁷ It was this Khalif who erected over the Sakhra, or tomb of Solomon as called by the Moslems, the building known as the "Dome of the Rock," in which is recorded the great Kufic inscription in mosaic running round the colonnade. This inscription is considered by Mr. Fergusson to be a *forgery*,⁸ an opinion that has not commended itself to Arabic scholars.⁹ On this question I have been favoured with a note by Mr. Edward Thomas, which I here insert:—

¹ Rev. M. Hawtrey, Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s.v.* Jerusalem, vol. ii. p. 522; W. Aldis Wright, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," *s.v.* Jerusalem, vol. i. p. 1016.

² Finlay, "Greece under the Romans," 2nd ed. 1857, p. 472.

³ Finlay, *op. cit.* p. 475.

⁴ Sabatier, "Mon. Byz." vol. i. pl. ix. Nos. 3-7.

⁵ Sabatier, *op. cit.* pl. xxiii. Nos. 1-4.

⁶ Finlay, *op. cit.* p. 538, and note 4.

⁷ Sabatier, "Mon. Byz." vol. i. pl. xxii. Nos. 13-15.

⁸ "The Temples of the Jews," 1878, pp. viii. 219-224. It is unnecessary to enter on the question whether the "Dome of the Rock" is *Saracenic* at all.

⁹ Prof. Palmer, "Quarterly Reports, Palestine Exploration Fund," 1871, pp. 122, 164; cf. De Vogüé, "Le Temple de Jérusalem," p. 84 *seq.*; Col. Warren, "The Temple or the Tomb," 1880, pp. 115, 212-213.

"In many of the later discussions on the topography of the temple of Jerusalem there has appeared a tendency to ignore the incidental testimony of the Arabian conquerors. These witnesses, at all events, had nothing to conceal: they tell us frankly how they took possession of the, to them, revered site—what they found existing and what they changed. Their own traditions were, so to say, based on parallel Semitic lines—and when the *Khalif* OMAR entered Jerusalem, his first care was to rehabilitate "the Stone of Jacob," the coincident remnant of prehistoric nature-worship, which the Arabs still recognized in their own "*black stone*" of the *Kābah*.

There is something true and noble amid the conflict of creeds—in the way in which the simple Warrior Saint of a new religion conscientiously worshipped at the shrine of the Christian faith, so many of whose traditions were accepted by Muhammad—while carefully abstaining from praying directly within the limits of the existing shrines, lest his over-zealous successors should make his action a plea for annexation—and so, he spread his carpet on the outside steps of the platform—a spot which to this day retains the name of the *Mimbar* of Omar.¹ Ockley, so early as 1708, reproduced these incidents, from the texts of his eastern authorities, in the following terms:—

"A.H. 16 (A.D. 637). Upon this the gates were immediately opened, and the Khalif and those that were with him marched in. The Patriarch kept them company, and the Khalif . . . asked him many questions concerning the antiquities of the place. Among other places which they visited, they went into the temple of the resurrection [في صحن القيامة], and Omar sat down in the midst of it. When the time for prayers was come, . . . Omar told the Patriarch that he had a mind to pray, and desired him to show him a place where he might perform his devotion. The Patriarch bade him pray where he was; but this he positively refused. Then taking him out from thence, the Patriarch went with him into Constantine's church [كنيسة قسطنطين], and laid a mat for him to pray there, but he would not. At last he went alone to the steps which were at the east gate of St. Constantine's church [كنيسة مار قسطنطين] and kneeled by himself upon one of them." (Omar then goes on to explain the motive of this singular reserve, in his anticipation that the Moslems would infallibly appropriate the site of his prayer within the sacred precincts to the purposes of their own creed.)

Continuing the casual narratives of his Arabic authors, Ockley goes on to say:² "There is a story that the Khalif desired the Patriarch to assign him a place where he might build a Mosque for the celebration of the Muhammadan service; and that the Patriarch showed him the place where Jacob's stone lay,³ which he slept upon when he saw the vision

¹ Catherwood's plan, reproduced by De Vogüé.

² Elmacin, Golius's notes upon "Alferganus," p. 137.

³ D'Herbelot's account of these transactions varies slightly. "Omar demanda même avec une fort grande modestie au Patriarche, une place où il pût faire bâtir une Mosquée, ne voulant pas permettre aux siens de se saisir d'aucune des Eglises

des Chrétiens. Le Patriarche lui monstra la Pierre de Jacob, et la place où le Temple de Salomon avoit été bâti, sur laquelle les Chrétiens avoient jetté autrefois en haine des Juifs, beaucoup d'ordures . . . et ce fut en ce lieu, que fut élevée la première Mosquée de Jerusalem" (D'Herbelot, edit. 1697, s.v. Omar). Under the head of "*Cods*," A.H. 626 = A.D. 1228-9, he adds:

(Gen. xxviii.). Now the stone was thickly covered with dirt, and the Khalif taking up as much as he could of it in his vest, began to remove it. The Musalmáns perceiving what the Khalif did, very readily assisted him.¹ . . . After this the Khalif, leaving their churches to the Christians, built a new temple in the place where Solomon's formerly stood, and consecrated it to the Muhammadan (faith). . . . But notwithstanding all the Khalif's precautions, the Saracens afterwards seized (the church at Bethlehem) for their own use; as they also did St. Constantine's at Jerusalem; for they took half the porch, in which were the steps where Omar had prayed, and built a Mosque there, inclosing these steps in it."

But the most important contribution to this short series of incidental notices is that explaining Abdalmalik's motives for his awakened interest in the sacred site, and the additions and alterations he effected, in consequence, amid the existing buildings; one of which is so opportunely confirmed by his own mural inscription, dated in A.H. 72=A.D. 691. Ockley's translation of his original text runs—

"A.H. 65=A.D. 684. Abdallah (Zobier) still holding out against him at Mecca, Abdalmalik was not willing the people should go thither on pilgrimage. For that reason he sent and enlarged the temple of Jerusalem, so as to take in the 'stone into the body of the church,' and the people began to make their pilgrimages thither."²

M. de Vogüé, in his elaborate work on "Le temple de Jérusalem" (Paris, 1864), has given us a coloured facsimile of a portion of this inscription, which he describes as follows:

PLATE XXI. INSCRIPTION OF ABDALMALIK, A.H. 72=A.D. 691, in the "Qoubbet-es-Sakhrah. (Mosquée d'Omar), Arcades des bas-côtés."

(ان يكون) له ولد له ما في السموات وما في الارض
 * بنى هذه القبة عبد الله عبد [الله الامام المامون] امير المومنين في سنة اثنتين وسبعين يقبل الله
 منه ورضى عنه امين

"[Comment aurait-il] un fils? Tout ce qui est dans le ciel et sur la terre lui appartient (Korán, iv. 169).

"A construit cette coupole³ le serviteur de Dieu Abd [Allah-el-Imam-al-Mamoun], prince des croyants, l'année 72; que Dieu l'ait pour agréable et soit content de lui! Amen."

On the first publication of this most interesting inscription M. de Vogüé took care to anticipate any immature criticism, as to its authenticity, by explaining that the substitution of the *Khalif* Al-Mámún's name (A.H. 198=A.D. 813—218=833) for that of Abdalmalik, the reigning *Khalif* in A.H. 72=A.D. 691—when the original tiles, embodying the text of the normal

¹ "The Muslims were to be allowed to perform their devotions in the 'temple appelé Cobbat Alsakhra, le dôme de la pierre de Jacob, et au Giamé Al Acsa, qui est le lieu où étoit bâti le temple de Salomon'" (D'H. p. 269). See also Tabari, O. T. F. Zotenberg's translation, vol. i. p. 430, vol. ii. p. 477, vol. iii. p. 412; Masaudi, text and French translation, vol. i. pp. 109, 111, vol. iv. p. 56.

² Theoph. p. 281.

³ Ockley, p. 463, Bohn's ed. See also "Eutychius," Pocock, Oxon, 1658, pp. 384-5, text and Latin translation.

⁴ "Le mot coupole traduit imparfaitement l'expression arabe *qoubbeh*, qui désigne non seulement la calotte hémisphérique ou coupole, mais aussi, par extension, l'ensemble du monument recouvert par une coupole" (p. 85).

record, were fixed in the masonry of the building—had no historical meaning or import, beyond the anomalous substitution of the name of *the* ruling potentate, when later repairs or extensions of the shrine were executed.

Nothing could be more clear or obvious, from M. de Vogüé's *coloured* facsimile, pl. xxi, in which the separate *tiles*—embodying the context of the above portions of the inscription—are reproduced with evident care, both as regards colour and the forms of the letters of the Kufic legends, than that the words included in brackets [in the present transcript] were later insertions, fitted in subsequent to the fixture of the consecutive text. The two tiles in question differ, in colour, from the more subdued tone of the authorized version, and the letters they bear do not fall in satisfactorily with the ordinary run of the inscription itself. All collateral evidence of more recent development tends to confirm the early impressions of M. de Vogüé, for instance,

(a) The forms of the Kufic letters, in the authentic portion of the inscription, are identical with the writing on some of the best specimens of Abdalmalik's coinage.

(b) Subsequent to this date of 72, there was a less formal adherence to the use of the superfluous عبد الله "Servant of God" as a prefix to the distinctive name or title.

(c) In A.H. 76=A.D. 695 there was a general suppression, on the coinage, both of the title and religious designation of the reigning Khalif.

(d) The title that should have been proper to Al-Mámún, had the text of the inscription remained untouched, would seem to have been preferentially الخليفة *Al Khalifah*, a designation he followed Al Mahdi in affecting,¹ though this would not be a conclusive argument, if it stood alone.²

This, however, is not the place to continue, more at large, any controversies on the subject: we have here to confine ourselves to directly authorized evidence and the obvious deductions from such data.

Since the Comte de Vogüé's well-appointed expedition to Palestine embodied the result of their common labours in the magnificent work above quoted, our own countrymen, in a more humble way, under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, have not been idle, and have secured a complete version of the long and highly important Abdalmalik inscription. We are indebted to Prof. Palmer, one of our early pioneers, not only for a

¹ Marsden, "Num. Orient." *Mahdi*, pp. 27, No. xxiii. Baghdád, A.H. 162, 30, No. xxix; Baghdád, A.H. 166, *Mámún*, A.H. 207, 51, No. li.; Fréhn, p. 31, A.H. 159, p. 1*, A.H. 163; *Mámún*, p. 13*, A.H. 204; "Catalogue of the Arabic Coins in the B. M." S. L. Poole, vol. i. pp. 51-91.

² The commencement of Mámún's own standard inscription, on the several gates of the Mosque, is reproduced below. The adherence of the opening terms to the tenor of the original record of Abdalmalik, in the interior of the dome, is consistent, but it need not imply deception, as fixed formulæ were naturally followed in similar cases. Násir bin Khusrí, in his account of Jerusalem in A.H. 438 (1046 A.D.) ["J. R. A. S." vol. vi. n.s. p. 150], speaks incidentally of the brass door, "figured with frosted silver," which "had the name of *Mámún the Khalifah* on it, who is said to have forwarded it from Baghdád."

مما امره عبد الله عبد الله الامام المامون امير
المومنين
A.H. 216.

M. de Vogüé appends the following remarks to his notice of this inscription:—

"Le nom d'Al Mamoun ne paraît nulle part, si ce n'est sur les inscriptions falsifiées par lesquelles il espérait donner le change à postérité; et pourtant, non content de glisser son nom dans les mosaïques il l'avait inscrit dans un lieu beaucoup plus apparent, sur les entrées mêmes de la mosquée: celles des quatre portes qui n'ont pas été remaniées ont leur linteau recouvert de feuilles de bronze, sur lesquelles sont estampées, en beaux caractères coufiques, des versets du Coran; au-dessous, se trouve l'inscription suivante [*i.e.* supra] répétée deux fois à chaque porte."

compact and exhaustive history of the "Haram-es-Sherif," but also for a verbatim English rendering of the original Kufic text, embossed "in mosaic, running round the colonnade" of the "Cubbet-es-Sakhrah."¹

The historical contributions of this full text are, as might be expected, far less striking than the professions of the Muslim faith as formulated and accepted at this date.

The tenor of the declaration continues—"Say, he is the one God, the Eternal; He neither begetteth nor is begotten, and there is no one like Him . . . There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Apostle of God" . . . [with lengthy reiterations to the same or similar effect]. And it is here we begin to meet with recognitions of the Christian faith, in the words, "Verily, Jesus Christ, the son of Mary, is the Apostle of God, and His word which He cast over Mary, and a spirit from Him. Then believe in God and His Apostles, and do not say there are three gods." . . . and here is marked the Oriental severance, "Far be it from Him that he should have a son," indicating the essential difference and point of antagonism between the two creeds. The proclamation is consistent in itself, in "Christ doth not disdain to be a servant of God, nor do the angels who are near the throne" [but] "It is not for God to take unto Himself a son; far be it from Him. If He decree a thing, He doth but say unto it, Be, and it is. God is my Lord and yours." . . . "Say, praise be to God, who taketh not unto Himself a son; whose partner in the kingdom none can be."

To conclude this note, an example of one of Abdalmalik's later issues under the old system of accepting the types of the existing local coinage, without reference to creeds, and his probably earliest production of a new die under the reconstruction of the Moslem currencies, incident to his dispute with Justinian II.,² are appended.

Coin of Abdalmalik. Marsden, No. ccxcvii. p. 289; Tiesenhhausen, pl. i. fig. 7.

OBVERSE.

Copper. Khalif standing to the front, girt with the conventional sword of the Imám.³

Legend, لعبد الله عبد الملك أمير المؤمنين. For, (on account of) the Servant of God, *Abdalmalik*—Commander of the Faithful.

REVERSE.

Modified cross ☩ raised upon a pedestal of four steps, with بحمص. *Emessa* to the right, and a star on the left.

Legend, لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله. There is no god, but God alone. Muhammad is the Prophet of God.

¹ Palestine Exploration Fund, 1871, p. 164.

² Ockley, p. 487. "This year Abdalmalik caused money to be coined (Ibn Al Athir); this was the first coinage of their own that was ever in use among the Arabians; for before they used to trade with Greek or Persian money. The following was the occasion of his so doing. Abdalmalik used to commence the letters which he sent to the Greek Emperor with these words, 'Say, God is one; or Say, there is one God,' and then mention the prophet with the date of the Hejirah. Whereupon the Grecian Emperor sent him word that he had made certain innovations in his style of writing, and therefore requested him to alter it, or else he

would send him some coins with such a mention of their prophet upon them that he would not very well like. Abdalmalik was angry at this, and said, 'A curse upon their coins'; and from that time began to make money of his own," etc., etc. See also Gibbon, ch. lii.; "Makrizi," ed. O. G. Tychsen, 1797, pp. 84, 85 [see p. 283, note 2]; Pehlvi coins of the early Muhammadan Arabs, "Jour. R. A. S." o.s. vol. xii. 1850, pp. 255, 279, etc.; Subhi Bey, "Zeitschrift D. M. G." 1863, p. 41.

³ M. de Saulcy identifies this sword with "l'épée que porte ici le Khalife n'est très probablement que le glaive que doit tenir tout imam lorsqu'il prononce la Khotbah."

M. Tiesenhausen gives an example of a similar, but better finished, coin *in gold* under No. 8, pl. 1, p. 9, with the date of A.H. 76=A.D. 695.¹

The Khalif's name and place of mintage are in this instance wholly omitted. The revised legends run as follows:

OBSERVE.	REVERSE.
<p>لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله. There is no god, but God alone. Muhammad is the Prophet of God.</p>	<p>بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين سنة ست سبعين. In the name of God—this <i>dinar</i> (is) struck in the year 76."</p>

It may be noticed that Abdalmalik confided the minting of his coinage to a *Jew* named Somair.²

The name *Ælia* occurs as late as Adamnanus³ (A.D. 697), and is found in Edrîsi and Mejr-ed-din, about A.D. 1495.⁴

¹ Reference is made to M. Sauvage's article in the "Revue de la Numismatique Belge," iii^e série, t. iv. p. 325-6, pl. xv. No. 1.

² "Drachmarum autem confiator fuit quidam servus Judæus, dictus Somair, unde *drachmæ Somairiæ* appellatæ sunt, quarum typum monetalem *Abdalmalec* ad Hedsjadsjum misit cum mandato, ut eum drachmarum cudendarum causa ad omnes magnas civitates in tractibus extraneis ablegaret," etc. Makrizi, ed. O. G. Tychsen, pp. 85, 86. For an account of the Jews under the Khalifs, see Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," 1868, vol. iii. p. 117 *seq.*

³ Adamnanus was elected abbot of Iona in A.D. 679, and died in A.D. 703 or 704. He wrote a work entitled "De situ Terræ Sanctæ," based, according to Bede, on information received from Arculf, a French bishop, who, on his return from the Holy Land, was wrecked on the west coast of Britain, and was entertained for a time at Iona ("Encyc. Brit." 9th ed. *s.v.* Adamnan). For "the travels of Bishop Arculf in the Holy Land," see "Early Travels in Palestine," ed. Thomas Wright, Bohn, 1847.

⁴ W. Aldis Wright, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," *s.v.* Jerusalem, vol. i. p. 1015.

APPENDICES.

A. WEIGHTS.

THE subject of Hebrew weights is involved in great obscurity, and scholars are at variance on several important details. Some are of opinion¹ that reliable information is to be obtained in Hebrew literature, and especially in Maimonides, who makes the Jewish silver shekel have a weight of 320 average-sized grains of barley taken from the middle of the ear, which are identical with the grains of troy weight, and to equal 320 grains troy containing exactly 100 carats diamond weight; but the monuments in existence and other facts prove that the Rabbinical distinction between the Mosaic shekel and the later shekel is altogether fallacious [see APPENDIX E. No. 57]. Though specimens of Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek weights have been discovered,² no Judæan weight has ever come to light.³ The following weights are mentioned in the Bible:—

BEKAH (שֶׁקֶל) Gen. xxiv. 22; Exod. xxxviii. 26), "half," "half a shekel." This word occurs only in the Pentateuch. See *note* at end of CHAPTER I.

GERAH (גֵּרָה). Properly a "grain" or "bean," the smallest silver weight, $\frac{1}{160}$ th part of the shekel. See *note* at end of CHAPTER I.

LITRA. See POUND.

MANEH (מָנֶה; LXX. *μνᾶ*; Vulgate *mina*). "A portion or part"; A.V. "pound," some-

¹ Conder, "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 69, etc.; see APPENDIX E. No. 54.

² See CHAPTER I. pp. 2, 4, 5, 7; R. S. Poole, art. "Weights," in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible"; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 249-294; J. Brandis, "Das Münz- Mäss- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien." Berlin, 1866, pp. 43-53, 597; A. S. Murray, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1868, vol. viii. p. 57; H. W. Chisholm, "Ninth Annual Report of the Warden of the Standards for 1874-1875," pp. xxxiv, 44-53; Pietro Bortolotti, "Del primitivo Cubito Egizio," Modena, 1878-1879, p. 207 *seq.* See also the articles by Mr. B. V. Head "On the Origin and Development of the Greek Weight Systems" in the "Num. Chron." n.s. 1875, vol. xv. pp. 245-297, and "On the Weight Systems in Use for Gold and Silver in the Earliest Times" in the "Inter. Num. Orient." 1877, vol. i. part iii. pp. 1-7.

³ In Mr. Chisholm's Report on the "Ancient Standard Weights of Babylon, Assyria, etc., now in the British Museum" ("Ninth Annual Report of the Warden of the Standards," 1874-75, p. 49), under "Weights of various forms now in the British Museum" he describes (No. 5) a "silver ingot, broken in half, inscribed 'Tel el yahoudeh' (the hill of the Jews); $\frac{1}{2}$ mina? Weight 1567 grains." On inquiry from Mr. Grueber, of the British Museum, I find that the Jewish origin of this weight (?) is very doubtful, that it is much more likely to be Assyrian, that it bears *no inscription*, but came from "Tel el yahoudeh" with many other objects, and that Dr. Birch is of opinion that it is certainly *not* a weight. In all probability it is a simple bar of silver which served for melting purposes. Dr. Birch cannot fix any date to it, but it cannot be later than B.C. 600.

times called *stater*—standard; a word owing its origin to Babylon, and which, as the weight was employed by the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, and Greeks, has the same meaning in the language of all these nations. The weight of the golden targets made by Solomon for the Temple are stated to have been 300 [*shekels*] of gold each (2 Chron. ix. 16), whilst in the parallel passage the amount of gold employed for each shield is given as three *pounds* (*manehs*, 1 Kings x. 17). It would thus appear that the *maneh* of gold was equal to 100 shekels, but it must be observed that in the Chronicles the Hebrew is “300 of gold,” the word *shekels* being supplied in the A.V.; and it has been suggested¹ that the Chronicles were written in the Macedonian period, and that consequently one should understand the passages to mean “100 *drachms* to the *maneh*,” as in use among the Greeks. The passages, however, are obscure, and in any case the calculation of 100 shekels to the *maneh* is not likely. That in Ezekiel (xlv. 12) relative to the *maneh* cannot be explained satisfactorily. Sixty *manehs* equalled a talent. [SHEKEL; TALENT.] The word *maneh* further occurs in Ezra ii. 69; Neh. vii. 71, 72: comp. 1 Esdras v. 45.

POUND. (1) *Mvâ, mina* (1 Maccab. xiv. 24; xv. 18). Here large sums are weighed by this standard, and it refers to the Attic talent. (2) *λίτρα, libra*, a word used by the Greeks of Sicily in their system of weights and money, sometimes called *stater*—standard—and equivalent to the Latin word *libra* or *as*, the unit of weight among the Romans. Josephus says² that the Hebrew *maneh* of gold equalled $2\frac{1}{2}$ *litrae*. The *libra* or Roman pound=5059 grains, consequently $2\frac{1}{2}$ Roman pounds=12647 grains; and as the Hebrew gold shekel was the fiftieth part of the *maneh*, it must have weighed about 253 grains [SHEKEL]. The word *λίτρα* occurs in the N. T. in John xii. 3 and xix. 39.

SHEKEL (שֶׁקֶל), a word signifying “weight,” according to which numerous objects were weighed, especially the metals, and hence became the term usually employed for a piece of silver of fixed value. Cf. *stater*—“standard.” The gold shekel, as derived from a passage in Josephus, must have weighed about 253 grains [see POUND], a very little lower than the 60th of the Assyrian *mina* in gold, which weighed 260 grains; and when he makes in another passage³ ten darics the equivalent of ten gold shekels, he must mean the double darics weighing about 260 grains.⁴ No gold shekel has ever been discovered. Fifteen shekels of silver, each weighing about 224 grains,⁵ were equal in value to one shekel of gold [see

¹ Brandis, p. 55, after Bleek “Einleit. in das alte Test.” p. 394; cf. Ginsburg, in Kitto’s “Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.” ed. Alexander, vol. iii. p. 769.

² Ἡ δὲ μνᾶ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἰσχύει λίτρας δύο καὶ ἡμισυ. “Antiq.” xiv. 7, 1.

³ “Antiq.” iii. 8, 10; comp. Num. vii. 14.

⁴ Brandis, p. 95.

⁵ A full table of the weights of the shekels and half-shekels in different collections, and of the coins issued during the revolts under Nero and Hadrian, is given by Dr. Merzbacher in the “Zeitschrift für Num.” Berlin, 1877, vol. v. pp. 173, 174; and for the weights of Jewish coins in the collection of the Rev.

H. C. Reichardt, see “Num. Chron.” n.s. 1864, vol. iv. pp. 183-185. The shekels and half-shekels as extant generally weigh as follows:

	BRITISH MUSEUM. DR SAULCY.		REV. H. C. REV. S. S. REICHARDT. LEWIS.	
Shekel, Year 1	218.4, 212.3	219.3	215	218
“ “ “	108.2	109.6	92.3 (rubbed)	107½
“ “ “	215	219.3	214.4	205
“ “ “	99.1	109.6	107.6	105½
“ “ “	220.5, 218.2	1225, 1236.3	216.5	213
“ “ “	“	“	100.9, 94.1	105
“ “ “	220	“	217	209
“ “ “	“	“	“	85
“ “ “	“	“	“	218½

TALENT]. 50 or 60 shekels equalled a *maneh*; 3,600 or 3,000 shekels equalled a talent. [See note at end of CHAPTER I.]

TALENT (תַּלְתַּל), properly a "circle," "globe," from תָּלַל, "to move in a circle," hence κύκλος, *circus*. Also a cake or morsel of bread (Exod. xxix. 23; Judges viii. 5; 1 Sam. ii. 36; x. 3; 1 Chron. xvi. 3; Prov. vi. 26). The largest Hebrew weight for metals.¹ First occurs in Exod. xxv. 39, "a talent of pure gold" (תַּלְתַּל זָהָב טָהוֹר; LXX. τάλαντον χρυσίου καθαροῦ; Vulg. *talentum auri purissimi*). The word may be found in many other passages (Exod. xxxviii. 24, 27; 2 Sam. xii. 30; 1 Kings xvi. 24; xx. 39; 2 Kings xv. 19; xviii. 14; xxiii. 33; 1 Chron. xix. 6; xxix. 4, 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 9; xxvii. 5, etc.). It is specially spoken of as "talent of gold" (תַּלְתַּל זָהָב; 1 Kings ix. 14; x. 10, etc.); "talent of silver" (תַּלְתַּל כֶּסֶף; 2 Kings v. 22, etc.); "talent of lead" (תַּלְתַּל עֵפֶרֶת, Zech. v. 7; LXX. τάλαντον μόλυβδου; Vulg. *talentum plumbi*); "talent of brass" (תַּלְתַּל נְחָשֶׁת, Exod. xxxviii. 29; LXX. τάλαντον χαλκοῦ; Vulg. *talentum æris*); and "talent of iron" (תַּלְתַּל בַּרְזֶל, 1 Chron. xxix. 7; LXX. τάλαντον σιδήρου; Vulg. *talentum ferri*). A talent of silver bound up in a bag, and one change of garment, was about as much as one man could carry (2 Kings v. 23), and weighing was in some cases probably avoided by the sealed bags containing a certain weight of silver. [See CHAPTER I. p. 7, note 7.]

The Hebrew talent was derived from Assyria and Babylonia. Of the talents current in these countries, the heavy or Assyrian talent passed through Mesopotamia and Syria to the Phœnician coast towns, and to Palestine, where we find it in use among the Israelites. In Nineveh, as well as in Palestine, besides the weight talent of the king of 3600 sixtieths of the *maneh* for valuing precious metals, a special reckoning was made by talents of 3000 gold and silver units; but when it was found convenient to reckon 3000 shekels instead of 3600 to the talent is not known, nor when a deviation was made from the sexagesimal division of the *maneh* and it was limited to 50 instead of to 60 units.² The sum total of the taxes to the sanctuary paid by the people is stated to be (Exod. xxxviii. 25) 100 talents, 1775 shekels, to which 603,550 men each contributed a half shekel, so that according to this, 3000 shekels are reckoned to the talent; and as the talent is always divided into 60 *manehs*, 50 shekels went to the *maneh*, which is corroborated from the fact that the taxes for persons of various age and sex commence at a maximum point of 50 shekels (Lev. xxvii. 3, 16), and that Achan found a wedge of gold of just 50 shekels weight, and not 60 (Josh. vii. 21).³ [See CHAPTER I. p. 3, note 1, and p. 10.] Among the ancient Hebrews there appear to have

¹ It is called erroneously by Dean Stanley ("Sinai and Palestine," p. 488) "a coin or piece of money." The word is also used topographically, mostly with the article "Ha-Ciccar," (Stanley, *loc. cit.*) for (1) the floor of the valley through which the Jordan runs (2 Sam. xviii. 23; 1 Kings vii. 46; 2 Chron. iv. 17; Nehem. iii. 22; xii. 28), and (2) for the oasis which formerly existed in the lower part of the river, in which the cities of the "round" stood before their destruction (Gen. xiii.

10, 11, 12; xix. 17, 25, 28, 29; Deut. xxxiv. 3), and rendered in the Authorized Version "plain."

² Brandis, pp. 57, 99, 100.

³ Josephus ("Antiq." v. 1, 10) says, "a piece of gold that weighed two hundred shekels" (μᾶζαν δὲ χρυσοῦ σταθμὸν ἑλκοῦσαν σίκλους διακοσίους), but in all probability some words are omitted, and the passage ought to be read as in Joshua, "two hundred shekels of silver and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight."

been three different kinds of talents, which were derived from the three similar talents of Assyria and Mesopotamia, as shown by the following table (cf. Brandis, p. 103):—

	Eng. grains.		TROY WEIGHT. lbs. oz. dwts. grs.	VALUE IN MONEY. £ s. d.
1. The weight talent "of the king" }	= 910499·4	= 60 minæ or 3600 shekels = (252·9165 × 3600) =	158 — 17 11·4	540 0 0
The maneh ...	= 15174·99	= 60 shekels = (252·9165 × 60) =	2 7 12 6·99	9 0 0
The shekel ...	= 252·9165	=	10 12·9165	0 3 0
2. The gold talent ...	= 758749·5	= 60 minæ or 3000 shekels = (252·9165 × 3000) =	131 8 14 13·5	6000 0 0
The maneh ...	= 12645·825	= 50 shekels = (252·9165 × 50) =	2 2 6 21·825	100 0 0
The gold shekel ...	= 252·9165	= $\frac{1}{10}$ of the weight maneh	= 10 12·9165	2 0 0
3. The silver talent ...	= 674392·5	= 60 minæ or 3000 shekels = (224·7975 × 3000) =	117 — 19 16·5	400 0 0
The maneh ...	= 11239·875	= 50 shekels = (224·7975 × 50) =	1 11 8 7·875	6 13 4
The holy shekel ...	= 224·7975	=	9 8·7975	0 2 8

The shekels of the weight talent "of the king" and the gold talent are identical, the latter talent having been formed from the former, which appears to have been used for weighing other materials than the metals ("Absalom's hair after the king's weight," 2 Sam. xiv. 26). The weight of 9 "holy" silver shekels (224·7975 × 9) thus equals 8 sixtieths of the "weight" maneh (252·9165 × 8), and the value of 15 "holy" silver shekels equals that of 1 gold shekel, i.e. £2. Some, however, have taken¹ the silver talent as weighing 660,000 grains [114 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. troy], and (on the basis of the shekel being equivalent to 3s.) equalling £450, and the gold talent (with a shekel of about 132 grains) as weighing double the silver, 1,320,000 grains [229 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. troy], and equalling, at £4 per oz. troy, £11,000.² As to the copper talent, which is supposed³ to have had a shekel of four times the weight of the gold shekel, though only 1,500 to the talent, and therefore equalling 792,000 grains, it is impossible to speak with certainty; but in all probability the copper talent did not contain a fewer number of shekels than that of the silver.

The amounts of talents mentioned in the Bible during the reigns of David and Solomon are almost incredible. David had collected (1 Chron. xxii. 14) one hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, to which he added three thousand talents of gold (1 Chron. xxix. 3, 4), besides seven thousand talents of silver and the additional offerings of the people, which, estimating the weight of the talent at 125 lbs. troy, and gold at 73s. per ounce and silver at 4s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., would give, as reckoned by Mr. Napier,⁴ the immense sum of £939,929,687. Josephus⁵ gives only $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the sum, but even then the figures would be enormous.⁶ The annual income of Solomon is said to have been 666 talents of gold (1 Kings x. 14; 2 Chron. ix. 13), which, taking the estimate of Poole (*op. cit.*) that the gold talent was double the silver, would be equivalent to £7,780,000,⁷ a sum more

¹ Poole, in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Weights; cf. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 287.

² Smith's "Student's O. T. History," 1876, p. 599.

³ Poole, *op. cit.*; cf. Madden, *op. cit.*

⁴ "Manufacturing Arts in Ancient Times," 1879, p. 69.

⁵ "Antiq." vii. 14, 2.

⁶ See CHAPTER IV. p. 45, note 3; p. 47, note 9.

⁷ Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. ii. p. 542.

than the revenues of the whole Persian Empire under Darius, which have been calculated at about three millions and a half.¹ But if we take 15 shekels of silver as equalling one shekel of gold, and 15 talents of silver as equalling one talent of gold, then 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ talents of gold were exactly 10,000 talents of silver, or £4,000,000.² It is, however, difficult to hazard any safe conjecture, and most likely the figures in all these passages have been augmented by corruption.

In the Apocrypha reckoning is also made in talents (1 Maccab. xi. 28; xiii. 16, 19; xv. 31; 2 Maccab. iii. 11; iv. 8, etc.)

B. MONEY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Money in general*:—

The general expression for *silver* [money] in the New Testament is ἄργυρος, *argentum*, (Matt. x. 9; James v. 3), and ἀργύριον, *argentum*, (Acts iii. 6; xx. 33; 1 Pet. i. 18).

Money is rendered as follows:—

1. Ἀργύριον, *pecunia*, (Matt. xxv. 18, 27; xxviii. 12 [ἀργύρια ἱκανά, "large money,"] 15; Mark xiv. 11; Luke ix. 3; xix. 15, 23; xxii. 5; Acts vii. 16 [τιμὴ ἀργυρίου, "a sum of money," *pretium argenti*]; *pecunia*, viii. 20. In Matt. xxvi. 9, the phrase is πολλοῦ [*sc. ἀργυρίου*] "much [money]," *multo* [*argento*]).

2. Χαλκός, *aes*, (Mark vi. 8; xii. 41).³

3. Χρῆμα, *pretium*, (Acts iv. 37; *pecunia*, viii. 18, 20; xxiv. 26); (cf. meaning "silver," Acts viii. 20).

4. Κέρμα,⁴ *aes*, (John ii. 15).

Gold [money] as follows:—

1. Χρυσός, *aurum*, (Matt. x. 9; James v. 3).

2. Χρυσίον, *aurum*, (Acts iii. 6; xx. 33; 1 Pet. i. 18).

Brass [money] as follows:—

Χαλκός, *pecunia*, (Matt. x. 9).

II. *Tribute* [money]:—

This expression is used in the Authorized Version of the New Testament as the translation of two different terms, (1) *the sacred tribute*, and (2) *the civil tribute*.

1. *The sacred tribute* (τὰ δίδραχμα, *didrachma*, Matt. xvii. 24).

¹ Rawlinson, Herod. iii. 95.

² Brandis, p. 98.

³ St. Luke in the parallel passage (xxi. 1) has τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν (their gifts). In ver. 4 εἰς τὰ δῶρα seems to mean the Treasury itself [see under X. *Treasury*]. A coin attributed to Agrippa II.

has the inscription ΧΑΛΚΟΥΞ (Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 120; CHAPTER VI. pp. 146, 147, 148, of present work), and it also occurs on some coins of Antioch ("Jew. Coinage," p. 121). See under VI. *Farthing* (κοδράντης).

⁴ See under IX. *Money-changers*. 3. Κερματιστής.

The sacred tribute or payment of the "atonement money" was half a shekel (Exod. xxx. 13, 16; xxxviii. 26), and was originally levied on every male of twenty years old and above, when the Israelites were first numbered.¹ In the reign of Joash the same sum was demanded annually for the repair of the Temple (2 Chron. xxiv. 4-14). After the return from the Captivity, the annual payment "for the service of the house of God" was *one-third of the shekel*,² and was voluntarily contributed (Neh. x. 32).

The amount of tribute was again restored to the *half-shekel*, which the Jews, when dispersed throughout the world, continued to pay towards the Temple.³

It is to this tribute that St. Matthew (xvii. 24, 25) refers—"And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute [money] (τὰ δίδραχμα) came to Peter and said, Doth not your master pay tribute (τὰ δίδραχμα)? He saith, Yes."

I have already pointed out⁴ that the term "didrachm" was probably adopted as the common name of the coin which was equal in weight to the shekel, and I have now to add that Josephus, in the passage above referred to, probably employs the term τὸ δίδραχμον as St. Matthew does τὰ δίδραχμα to express the *tax* and not the *payment*, and that had he been speaking of the actual money to be paid he would have written τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου, as may be found in Exod. xxx. 13. In another passage Josephus describes the shekel as equal to four Attic drachms,⁵ i.e. current Attic drachms equal to *denarii*, each of which drachm was equivalent to the quarter of a shekel, and he may therefore have employed the word δίδραχμον to represent δύο δραχμαί, or half a shekel. There are pieces of Nero struck at Ephesus a little earlier than the time of Josephus, upon which may be seen the word ΔΡΑΧΜΗ, and weighing 56 grains, the exact weight of the Roman *denarius*, and also others with ΔΙΔΡΑΧΜΟΝ, weighing 113 grains, its double.⁶

St. Matthew then continues (vers. 25, 26), "And when he [Peter] was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute (τέλη ἢ κῆνσον; *tributum aut census*)? Of their own children, or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free."

The τέλος was a tax collected by the publicans (τελώναι) on goods at the bridges, gates, harbours, etc. It answers to the Latin *rectigal*. The term also occurs in Romans xiii. 7. Various passages in the New Testament show how odious the collectors of these taxes were to the Jews.

¹ According to Rabbinic rules (Mishna, "Shekalim I.") it was proclaimed on the 1st of Adar, began to be collected on the 15th, and was due at latest on the 1st of Nisan (Rev. E. H. Plumptre, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Tribute).

² See note at end of CHAPTER I.

³ Τὸ τε δίδραχμον τῷ θεῷ καταβάλλειν ὁ ἐκάστοις πατριον, ταύτην κατερίθεντο. Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 9, 1.

⁴ See note at end of CHAPTER I.

⁵ Ὁ δὲ σίκλος, νόμισμα Ἑβραίων ὢν, Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας. "Antiq." iii. 8, 2.

⁶ Mommsen, "Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine," ed. Blacas and de Witte, vol. iii. p. 307. The word ΔΡΑΧΜΑ occurs on copper coins of Byzantium (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. ii. p. 27), and ΔΙΔΡΑΧΜΟΝ on copper autonomous coins of Rhodes as well as on large brass coins of Tiberius, Nerva, and Trajan struck in the same island (Eckhel, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 604, 605; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 235, 239).

The *κῆνσος* (Lat. *census*) was a poll-tax paid to the Roman emperor, to which I shall presently allude.

St. Matthew concludes (ver. 27), "Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money (*στατήρα, staterem*): that take, and give unto them, for me and thee."

The *stater* here mentioned was an Attic tetradrachm, and at that time equal to a shekel or Hebrew didrachm. I shall more fully advert to it under III. "*Piece of Money.*"

Many commentators, both ancient and modern—and among them Augustine, Origen, and Jerome,—have entirely missed the import of this miracle by interpreting the payment as a *civil* one,¹ which it certainly was not. That it was the *sacred tribute* is plain from our Lord's reason for exemption—"of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? of *their own children* or of strangers?" and further from his reason for payment, "lest we should offend them," which shows that the Jews *willingly* paid the tribute; indeed, it was not generally enforced by law, even from the earliest times, being in this respect unlike the civil tax, on the description of which I am now about to enter.

2. *The civil tribute* (*κῆνσος, census*, Matt. xxii. 17; τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου; *numisma census*, Matt. xxii. 19; *κῆνσος, tributum*, Mark xii. 14; φόρος, *tributum*, Luke xx. 22; φόροι, *tributa*, Luke xxiii. 2).

The civil tribute, which was a tax paid to the Roman emperor, was doubtless established when Judæa became a Roman province. The sum paid annually is not known, but after the capture of Jerusalem and destruction of the Temple, Vespasian ordered the Jews, in whatever country they might be, to pay the sum of *two drachmæ* to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as they had previously paid to the temple at Jerusalem.² Under Domitian the tax was enforced with the utmost severity,³ but upon the accession of Nerva the insulting usage employed to ascertain the liability to paying the tribute was abolished. Of this fact numismatic records are extant. On a large brass coin of this emperor may be found the legend FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA.⁴ After the revolt of Bar-cohab (A.D. 135) Hadrian renewed



¹ Alford, "Greek Test." in *loc.* For full particulars of this miracle see Trench, "Notes on the Miracles," p. 379, 8th ed. 1866.

² Φόρον δὲ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν οὕτως Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλε, δύο δραχμὰς ἑκάστου κελεύσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναὸν συνετέλουν. Joseph. "Bell. Jud." vii. 6, 6.—Καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου διδραχμὸν ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πατρία αὐτῶν ἔθνη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ διὰ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. Dion Cass. lxi. 7. The transfer of the tax paid by the Jews to the Temple of Jerusalem to that of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome was doubtless owing to the latter having been burnt by the Vitellians (Tac. "Hist." iii. 71; Suet. "Vitell." 15; Joseph. "Bell. Jud." iv. 11, 4). It was re-built by order of Vespasian (Tac. "Hist." iv. 53; Suet.

"Vesp." 8; Dion Cass. lxi. 10), but was again burnt during the reign of Titus (Suet. "Tit." 8; Dion Cass. lxi. 24), and again re-built by Domitian with great splendour (Suet. "Dom." 5; Plutarch, "Poplic." 15; Eutrop. vii. 15). A representation of this Temple may be seen on the coins of Vespasian (Cohen, Nos. 403-410; 2nd ed. Nos. 486-493), of Titus (Cohen, Nos. 269-272; 2nd ed. Nos. 242-245), and of Domitian (Cohen, No. 466; 2nd ed. Nos. 533, 534).

³ "Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est." Suet. "Dom." 12.
⁴ See CHAPTER X. p. 230. The Rev. John Kenrick ("Theological Review," No. xxi. April, 1868, p. 256, *note*) is of opinion that "the *Calumnia* here acknowledged answers to the *συκοφαντία* (false accusation) which Zacchæus (Luke xix. 8) confesses, we presume, as practised by his subordinates."

the tax and made it very heavy,¹ and even as late as the reign of Alexander Severus (A.D. 226) the Jews continued to pay the *didrachm*.²

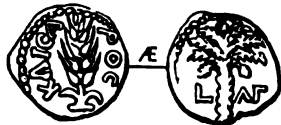
This civil tribute was paid in *denarii*. "Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a *penny*" (δηνάριον, Matt. xxii. 19), and more clearly in St. Mark (xii. 15), "Bring me a *penny* (δηνάριον) that I may see it," and in St. Luke (xx. 24), "Shew me a *penny*" (δηνάριον).

"And He saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They say unto Him, Cæsar's. Then saith He unto them, Render therefore unto Cæsar, the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God, the things that are God's" (Matt. xxii. 20, 21; Mark xii. 16, 17; cf. Luke xx. 24, 25).

The title of Cæsar was common to all the Roman emperors on their coins, banners, and inscriptions, and the name of Tiberius, who was the Cæsar alluded to in the above-quoted passage, is abbreviated on the coins TI., whilst the name CAESAR is at length. The coin here represented is a specimen of the actual type that was shown to our Lord.



The reply, "They say unto Him, Cæsar's" (λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ) may also be illustrated by a small brass coin issued under the procurators Coponius, Ambivivus and Rufus, circulating in Judæa at this time, on which is simply the Greek legend ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ.³



This tribute to the Roman emperors was from the first objected to by the Jews, and was the primary cause of the revolt under Judas the Galilæan,⁴ called also by Josephus, Judas the Gaulonite.⁵

Yet, in spite of our Lord's express statement, the Jews *falsely* accused him to Pilate of "forbidding to give tribute (φόρους) to Cæsar" (Luke xxiii. 2).

The κῆνσος, as I have above stated, was the poll-tax. Indeed, in one MS. the passage in St. Mark (xii. 14) has ἐπικεφάλαιον⁶ for κῆνσον.

The φόρος was a tribute levied for state purposes. In the passages above quoted the φόρος and κῆνσος are equivalent. The φόρος, however, more correctly represents the tribute levied under the Syrian kings (1 Maccab. x. 29), though the word τέλος is also employed (1 Maccab. x. 31; xi. 35). It was, however, distinct from τέλος, which, as shown above, was the tax on goods, etc., a kind of *octroi*, and is elsewhere properly distinguished—τὸν φόρον, τὸ τέλος (Rom. xiii. 7).⁷

¹ Ἀπασι δὲ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἑλλης περιουσίας. Appian, "Syr." 50. As regards περιουσίας "ingeniosius quam verius περιουσίας in περιουκίας mutatum voluit MVSGR." See ed. Schweighauser, vol. iii. part 2, p. 571.

² Καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαίων διδραχμον αὐτοῖς (sc. Ῥωμαίοις) τελοῦντων. Origen, "Letter to Africanus," ed. de la Rue, vol. i. p. 28.

³ CHAPTER VII. pp. 174-176. For further information about the *denarius* see later under IV. *Penny*.

⁴ δὲ Γαλιλαῖος. Acts v. 37; Joseph. "Antiq." xviii. 1, 6; xx. v. 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 8, 1.

⁵ Γαυλωνίτης ἄνθρωπος. "Antiq." xviii. 1, 1.

⁶ The word κεφάλαιον, meaning a sum of money, occurs in Acts xxii. 28, "With a great sum (πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου) obtained I this freedom." It means, in classical authors, the capital as opposed to interest or income (Liddell and Scott, s.v. κεφάλαιος), and in this latter sense may be found in the LXX. (Lev. vi. 5; Numb. v. 7; A.V. "principal.")

⁷ The words *φορεῖ* and *φόρος*, signifying that which was brought in as rent or tribute, are employed by Thucydides (i. 96; cf. ii. 13) for the tribute of the islanders and other Greeks to Athens. The Rev. Dr. C. Bigg, in his edition of Thucydides (i. 96, Rivingtons, 1868), says: "When the

Under the Syrian kings the Jews were subject to another tax called "crown tax" (τὸν στέφανον οὐν ὠφέλιτε, 1 Maccab. xiii. 39; cf. x. 29; xi. 35; xiii. 37; 2 Maccab. xiv. 4). It was remitted with other taxes by Antiochus the Great.¹

III. *A piece of money* (στατήρ, stater, Matt. xvii. 27).

The word *stater*, from *ἵστημι*, means a coin of a certain weight, and hence a standard (comp. *shekel* and *pondo*), and was a term applied by the Greeks to coins of gold, electrum, and silver. The principal earlier gold staters were those of Croesus (Κροισαῖοι), the Persian Darics (στατήρες Δαρεικοί, Δαρεικοί),² and those of Athens. The first and second appear always to have been didrachms of the Perso-Euboic, and the third a didrachm of the Attic talent. The staters of Croesus, which were the earliest gold coins that came to Greece,³ have about the same weight as the darics, i.e. 128 grains troy, which weight is a little less than that of an Attic stater. The electrum staters of the west of Asia Minor were commonly called in ancient times Cyzicene staters (στατήρες Κυζικηνοί, Κυζικηνοί). They consist of about one-fourth part of silver and three-fourths of pure gold, and weigh about 248 grains troy.⁴ The gold alone was reckoned in value, for according to ancient authority,⁵ they passed in Bosphorus, a little after the year B.C. 335, for 28 Athenian silver drachms,⁶ whilst the *stater aureus* of Athens, of pure gold, weighing 133 grains troy, was current at 20 (20:133::28:186+, or $\frac{2}{3}$ of a Cyzicene stater). The silver then (62 grains) was evidently not counted, and this stater of 186+ grains of pure gold was equal to a low didrachm of the Æginetan talent.⁷ Other staters are mentioned as being in circulation in Greece; those of Lampsacus of pure gold, which have the weight of the daric;⁸ of Phocæa,⁹ etc., and those of Philip of Macedon, and Alexander the Great, who issued them of the weight of Attic didrachms.

Athenian alliance was revived after B.C. 377, the contributions of the confederates were called *σύνταξις*, not *φόρος*—the word had become so odious from the association of suffering and degradation which had grown up around it." Dr. Bigg has also informed me that "*φορὰ* is a general word which would embrace *φόρος*, the first being used in the broader signification of payment, the latter more commonly in the narrower sense of tribute; but in many passages it is difficult to draw any distinction between the two terms." The employment of the new word *σύνταξις* instead of the unpopular term *φóρος*, is expressly ascribed to Callistratus, the celebrated orator, B.C. 378 (Harpoc. s.v.; Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. ix. p. 327).

¹ Στεφανίτης φόρος. Joseph. "Antiq." xii. 3, 3. The "chief collector of tribute" in Palestine was called *ἄρχων τῆς φορολογίας* (1 Maccab. i. 29). See CHAPTER V. p. 61, note 5.

² See CHAPTER IV. pp. 47, 48.

³ Herod. i. 54. Mr. B. V. Head ("Metrological Notes on Ancient Electrum Coins," in "Num. Chron." N.S. 1875, vol. xv. p. 258) attributes certain staters to Lydia before the time of Croesus, probably about B.C. 720, struck on the Babylonian standard, the stater weighing 167 grains, which was ultimately superseded by a pure gold stater of 125 grains, issued on the Euboic standard, and which was most likely the prototype

of the Daric. Other electrum staters before the time of Croesus are, according to Mr. Head, struck on the Asiatic standard (220 grains) B.C. 700; on the Æginetic standard (208 grains) B.C. 680; on the Phocæic standard (256 grains) B.C. 600; and the money of Croesus, who abolished the electrum coinage, became universal about B.C. 568. Cf. Head, "The Coinage of Lydia and Persia," in "Internat. Num. Orient." vol. i. part iii. pp. 10-21. See CHAPTER II. p. 20.

⁴ T. Burgon, "Thomas Cat." p. 245. See Head, "On a recent find of Staters of Cyzicus and Lampsacus," in "Num. Chron." N.S. 1876, vol. xvi. pp. 277-298; and "Additional Notes on the same find," 1877, vol. xvii. pp. 169-176.

⁵ Demosth. "in Phorm." p. 914.

⁶ According to Lenormant ("Essai," vol. i. pp. 152, 196), they were current at Athens at 32 drachms. Head ("Num. Chron." N.S. 1876, vol. xvi. p. 295) puts them at 37, but M. Six objects ("Num. Chron." N.S. 1877, vol. xvii. p. 172), allowing up to 30 (see remarks of Head in same vol. p. 176).

⁷ R. S. Poole, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Stater.

⁸ Electrum staters of Lampsacus, weighing 235 grains, have recently been discovered (Head, *op. cit.*)

⁹ Thucyd. iv. 52; Demosth. "in Boeot." p. 1019.

The *stater* is thus always a *didrachm*.

The name was, however, in later times applied to the *tetradrachm* (silver) of Athens¹ as well as to the *tetradrachms* (gold)—commonly called octadrachms—of the Ptolemies.²

There seems then to be no doubt that the name *stater* was first applied to the *didrachm* and then to the *tetradrachm* as a standard of both metals.

At the time of Augustus the Attic *tetradrachm* had fallen to be equal to a Phœnician *didrachm*, and to four *denarii* of the weight of that period. During the first and second centuries the silver currency of Palestine consisted of *tetradrachms* of Antioch on Orontes, of Tyre, etc., and of Roman *denarii* of a quarter their weight. The Attic *tetradrachm* was called *stater*, as the standard coin of the system, and no other *stater* was current in Palestine at this time. The *stater* in the Gospel of St. Matthew was, therefore, a *tetradrachm* of pure silver.

The great cities of Syria and Phœnicia either ceased to strike *tetradrachms* or debased their coinage before the close of the first century A.D. Antioch continued to strike *tetradrachms* to the third century, but gradually depreciated them, though the commencement of their depreciation cannot be determined. It was carried so far as to destroy the correspondence of the *stater* to four *denarii* by the time of Hadrian.

Other cities, if they issued *staters* towards the close of the first century, struck them of such base metal, as to render their separation from copper money impossible.

On this evidence the Gospel of St. Matthew is of the first century.

The minute accuracy of the Evangelist has already been alluded to by Mr. Poole. He says:³ "The silver currency in Palestine consisted of Greek imperial *tetradrachms*, or *staters*, and Roman *denarii* of a quarter their weight, *didrachms* having fallen into disuse. Had two *didrachms* been found by St. Peter, the receivers of tribute would scarcely have taken them, and no doubt the ordinary coin paid was that miraculously supplied."

The *didrachm* of Tyre and the *didrachm* of Antioch, both of which equalled half a *stater*, are very rare *after the beginning of the Christian era*. Of the former the British Museum has only two, and of the latter only one.⁴

¹ Phot. *s.v.* *στατήρ*; Hesych. *s.v.* *γλαυκὸς Λαυριωτικὸς*. Hussey ("Weights and Money," p. 49, *note*) says that the passages referred to by Böckh ("Pol. Ec. Ath." i. 18) cannot be proved to signify the silver *tetradrachm* rather than the gold *stater*. Dr. Arnold, however, in a note to the passage in Thucydides (iii. 70) writes as follows:—"στατήρ. Probably the silver *stater* or *tetradrachm*, and not the gold *stater*, which was equal to twenty drachmæ (see Böckh, 'Staatshaushalt. der Athen.' i. p. 16, 22). So in Xenophon ('Hell.' v. 2, 22) the silver *stater* appears to be meant where the writer is speaking of the fine imposed by the Lacedæmonians upon those of their allies who did not join in an expedition; they were to pay a *stater* a day for every man short of their proper contingent."

² See some "Remarks on the *Staters* of the Ptolemies," by R. S. Poole, in the "Num. Chron." n.s. 1867, vol. vii. p. 161.

³ Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," *s.v.* *Stater*; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 239.

⁴ The two *didrachms* of Tyre in the British Museum have the dates $P\Xi\Theta$ (169=A.D. 43) and $P\Upsilon A$ (191=A.D. 65); that of Antioch (though the coinage commenced in the time of M. Antony and continued through a long series of emperors) has on one side the head of Claudius and on the other the head of Nero. They weigh 110 grains. The Tyrian era commenced in B.C. 126, and coins exist in the British Museum of the following dates: M (40=B.C. 86), MS (46=B.C. 80), $M\Theta$ (49=B.C. 77), $\Upsilon\Theta$ (99=B.C. 27), $P\Theta$ (109=B.C. 17).

The coin of which a representation is here given is a tetradrachm of Augustus, struck at Antioch,¹ and is a specimen of the *stater* that was found by St. Peter in the fish's mouth [see under V. *Piece of Silver*].



It represents the tax for two persons—for our Lord and for St. Peter.

IV. *Penny* (δηνάριον,² *denarius*, Matt. xviii. 28; xx. 2, 9, 10, 13; xxii. 19; Mark vi. 37; xii. 15; xiv. 5; Luke vii. 41; x. 35; xx. 24; John vi. 7; xii. 5; Rev. vi. 6).

According to Pliny,³ silver was not coined at Rome till A.U.C. 485=B.C. 269, but Mommsen⁴ proves that the actual coinage did not commence till B.C. 268. The *denarius* doubtless received its name from being at first equivalent to *ten asses*, but on the reduction of the weight of the *as*, it was made equal to *sixteen asses*. The soldiers, however, still received the *denarius* as equal to *ten of the old asses*.⁵

There appear to have been originally 72 *denarii* struck to the pound,⁶ which system probably lasted till B.C. 217, whilst under the Republic and up to the reign of Nero 84 *denarii* to the pound were issued. From the time of Nero to that of Septimius Severus 96 *denarii* were struck to the pound, but on the accession of Caracalla in A.D. 215 he introduced a new piece called *Argenteus Antoninianus*,⁷ of which 60 or 64 went to the pound, and which soon after supplanted the *denarius*.⁸ The *argenteus* gradually became made of baser metal, until, indeed, it was little more than copper washed with silver or tin. Diocletian

¹ The coins of this city are dated according to four different eras: 1st, that of the Seleucidae (B.C. 312); 2nd, that of its autonomy (B.C. 64); 3rd, that of the victory of Cæsar over Pompey at Pharsalus (B.C. 49); 4th, that of the battle of Actium (B.C. 31). This coin is dated according to the 54th (ΔΝ) year of the Pharsalian era, and the 36th (ΩΛ) of the Actian, and was therefore struck in the year corresponding to A.D. 6. The monogram may be interpreted ANTI.X, i.e. Antioch.

² The American Committee ("Revised Version of the N.T." 1881, p. 321) prefer to translate δηνάριον "shilling," except in Matt. xxii. 19; Mark xii. 15; Luke xx. 24, where the name of the coin, "a denarius," should be given.

³ "Nat. Hist." xxxiii. 3.

⁴ "Hist. de la Monnaie Rom." ed. Blacas and de Witte, vol. ii. p. 28.

⁵ "In militari stipendio semper denarius pro decem assibus datus." Plin. "Nat. Hist." xxxiii. 3. "Denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari—ut singulos denarios mererent." Tac. "Ann." i. 17. For an explanation of the "soldier's pay," as given by Polybius, see under VI. *Farthing*.

⁶ Mommsen, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 26, 153.

⁷ Vopiscus, "Bonosus," 15, but called elsewhere (Vopisc. "Probus," 4), *Argenteus Aurelianus*.

⁸ Some have thought the base metal coin of Gallienus, which had degenerated from the *argenteus*, to be a *denarius aereus*.

On this point Mommsen (*op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 104, *note*) says, "L'expression *denarius aereus* employée par quelques auteurs modernes est fautive, et ne se trouve dans aucune source ancienne. Cette expression dérive du rescrit de Valérien (Vopisc. "Aurelian," 9), où il est question d'*aeris denarii centum*; mais cette manière de s'exprimer ne veut dire autre chose que ce que signifient ailleurs *in aere HS quinquagies* (Vopisc. *loc. cit.* 12) ou *aeris HS decies* (Vopisc. "Bonosus," 16), c'est à dire l'assignation d'une somme en monnaie de cuivre ou plutôt une somme qui n'est pas énoncée en monnaie d'or ou d'argent (see Mommsen, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 107, *note* 1). Il ne peut être ici question de la pièce de cuivre saucée, parcequ'alors Valérien ne faisait encore frapper que du billon." The name *denarius* was, however, sometimes applied to the copper, for Macrobius ("Sat." i. 7, 22) calls the copper piece with which children used to play "heads or tails" (*capita aut naviam*) *denarius*; and small pieces of copper of the time of Justinian perhaps existed called *denarius nummus* or *libella* (Mommsen, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 107). The expression *denarius aureus* seems generally to have been used in opposition to *denarius argenteus* (Mommsen, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 19, *note* 3; Plin. xxxiii. 3; xxxiv. 7; xxxvii. 1; but see Hussey, "Weights and Money," pp. 154-155), and some specimens of the gold coins of the Bosphorus with the mark ✕ evidently indicate the *denarius aureus* (Mommsen, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 294). For the *denarius* mentioned in the edict of Diocletian, see p. 296, *note* 5.

reformed the coinage, issuing pieces of good silver at 60 to the pound.¹ He also issued smaller pieces of silver at 96 to the pound, and specimens exist with the figures XCVI stamped on them.² Constantine the Great made other alterations which continued with variations to the end of the empire.³

Under the Republic the earliest *denarii* had upon the obverse the heads of Hercules, Apollo, Mars, Janus, Jupiter, and afterwards the head of Rome with X for *denarius*; but under the Imperial rule they bore the titles and effigies of the reigning Cæsar.

A *denarius* was the day's pay for a labourer in Palestine at the time of our Lord (Matt. xx. 2, 9, 10, 13).⁴ It was also the pay of a field-labourer in the middle ages,⁵ and the term is still preserved in our £. s. d.

There is no doubt that most of the silver currency in Palestine during the New Testament period consisted of *denarii*. The Attic drachm and *denarius* were at this time identical [see V. *Piece of Silver*.]

The "penny" was the tribute money payable by the Jews to the Roman Emperor, and a representation of it is given above under II. TRIBUTE [MONEY] (2), where I have also spoken of the special passages of Matt. xxii. 19; Mark xii. 15; and Luke xx. 24.

V. *Piece of Silver*—Two words are rendered in the New Testament by this phrase; (1) *δραχμή*, *drachma*; (2) *ἀργύριον*, *argenteus*, *denarius*.

(1) The first occurs in St. Luke xv. 8, "Either what woman having ten pieces of silver (*δραχμὰς δέκα*), if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it?"

The *drachma*, as I have previously stated,⁶ was at this time identical with the *denarius*, and the latter had almost, if not altogether, superseded the former.

¹ A small silver medallion of Constans struck at Aquileia has on it the figures LX (Cohen, No. 21), and that coins were issued at sixty to the pound is proved by the law of the emperors Valentinian II., Theodosius I., and Arcadius in A.D. 384 ("Cod. Theod." xv. 9, 1), in which it is forbidden to distribute to the people silver pieces heavier than sixty to the pound—"nec majorem argenteum nummum fas sit expendere, quam qui formari solet cum argenti libra una in *argenteos sexaginta* dividitur." Cf. J. Friedländer, "De la sign. des Lettres OB." Berlin, 1873, *tirage à part*, p. 28.

² Cohen, "Méd. Imp." vol. v. p. 387; vol. vi. p. 627; Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1865, vol. v. p. 76.

³ Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iii. p. 76.

⁴ Cf. Tobit, v. 14, "But tell me what wages shall I give thee? wilt thou a drachm (*δραχμή*) a day?"

⁵ Akerman, "Num. Ill. of the New Testament," p. 8. According to the edict of Diocletian, issued in 301, as interpreted by the late Col. Leake (Lond. 1826), the maximum of the wages of the agricultural labourers was *twenty-five denarii*, but Mommsen ("Das Edict Diocletians De pretiis Rerum Venalium," Leipzig, 1851) has shown that though the price of all articles and of labour is given in *denarii*, it is impossible to fix the value, as the *denarius* here mentioned is not the usual silver

coin of that name. According to Mr. Waddington ("Edit de Dioclétien," Paris, 1864), the *denarii* alluded to are the small copper pieces, *saucels d'étain*, which have frequently in the field the sign X, indicating the value; but though he thus identifies the pieces in the edict, he says that the value cannot be determined, as one is ignorant of the relation of copper to gold and silver in the monetary system followed by Diocletian. Cf. Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iii. p. 106. See p. 295, note 8.

⁶ See under II. *Tribute Money* (1)—IV. *Penny*. Different weights have been assigned to the drachma, varying from 68·2 grains to 66·5. Col. Leake ("Num. Hell." p. 21) assigned the weight as 67·5 grains, which was adopted by Mr. Poole ("Encyc. Brit." 8th ed. Art. Numismatics). Gen. Cunningham ("Num. Chron." n.s. 1873, vol. xiii. p. 191), taking the mean value deduced by eleven of the principal writers upon this subject, has adopted the value of 67·2 grains. He says, "The convenience of this value is very great, for it is not only a finite fraction itself, but it is continually divisible by 2, as a finite fraction, down to 0·7 of a grain, or $\frac{7}{10}$ th of an obolus. It also gives the whole number of 112 grains for 10 oboli, and fixes the Phœnician drachma at 56 grains, the Macedonian drachma at 112 grains, and the Hebrew shekel at 224 grains, all in whole numbers."

(2) The second word occurs in two distinct passages:—

A. The account of the betrayal of our Lord for “thirty pieces of silver” (τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, *triginta argenteos*, Matt. xxvi. 15; xxvii. 3, 5, 6, 9).

Some have considered these “pieces” to be *denarii*, but on no sufficient grounds.

The parallel passage in Zechariah (xi. 12, 13), translated in the Authorized Version “thirty [*pieces*] of silver,” and which should doubtless be read “thirty *shekels* of silver,”¹ but translated by the LXX. “thirty silvers” (τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς, Vulg. *triginta argenteos*), may throw some light on the subject, whilst it is observable that “thirty *shekels* of silver” was the price of blood to be paid in the case of a servant accidentally killed (Exod. xxi. 32). Mr. Poole² has proposed to explain the passage in St. Matthew as “thirty *shekels* of silver,” not current shekels, but tetradrachms of the Attic standard of Greek cities of Syria and Phœnicia. These tetradrachms were common at the time of our Lord, and we have already seen that of them the *STATER* was a specimen [III. *Piece of Money*]. It is therefore most likely that the “thirty *pieces* of silver,” for which our Lord was betrayed,³ were rather Attic tetradrachms than *denarii*.⁴

In the Authorized Version of St. Matthew the prophecy as to the “thirty *pieces* of silver” is ascribed to Jeremiah, and not to Zechariah. Many suggestions have been made on this question;⁵ but it is to be observed that the Syriac version omits the proper name and merely says “the prophet”; hence a copyist might have inserted the wrong name.

B. The price of the conjuring books that were burnt, valued at “fifty thousand pieces of silver” (ἀργυρίων μυριάδας πέντε; pecuniam *denariorum* quinquaginta millium, Acts xix. 19).

The Vulgate has accurately rendered the phrase *denarii*, as there is no doubt that these coins are intended.⁶

VI. *Farthing*:—

This word occurs four times in the Authorized Version of the New Testament. Two names of coins are rendered by it.

1. Ἀσάριον,⁷ the Greek name of the Roman *as* or *assarius*.

¹ See note at end of CHAPTER I.

² Smith's “Dict. of the Bible,” s.v. Piece of Silver. Bishop Cumberland was also of opinion that the ἀργύριον in this passage was a *silverling* or *shekel* of silver, equal to 2s. 4½d. of our money (Parkhurst, “Lexicon to N. T.” ed. Rose, 1829, s.v. ἀργύριον). Dr. Davidson (“New Testament,” 1876, p. xlvi) says the same thing, but gives the equality as 2s. 6d.

³ See APPENDIX D.

⁴ The A. V. (Matt. xxvi. 15) reads, “they *covenanted* with him for thirty pieces of silver,” but ἐσθησαν should certainly be rendered “they *weighed*,” as in Zech. xi. 12 and other passages, answering to the Heb. לָקַח, showing that money paid was previously cast into the scales, as is the custom at our banks. The parallel passage in St. Luke (xxii. 5) is rightly given as “they *covenanted*” (συνέθετο), that in St. Mark (xiv. 11) as “they *promised*” (ἐπηγγέλαντο).

⁵ Dr. Eadie, in Kitto's “Cyc of Bibl. Lit.” ed. Alexander, s.v. Zechariah.

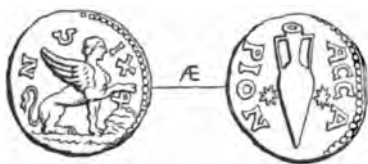
⁶ Dr. Farrar writes (“Life of St. Paul,” vol. ii. p. 27), “50,000 drachms of silver, or about £2030 . . . on the almost certain supposition that the ‘pieces of silver’ of the Acts were Attic drachms of the value of 9½d. If they were Roman *denarii*, the value would be £1770.”—“In a Greek town probably drachmæ = £1875” (Dr. Jacobson, Speaker's “Com. N. T.” vol. ii. p. 482). The Attic drachm by gradual reduction became equal to the Roman *denarius*, and by this time was wholly or almost superseded by it. It is true that Nero issued pieces bearing the legend ΔΡΑΧΜΗ (see p. 290), but these had the weight of the *denarius*, so that in any case the value would not exceed £1770.

⁷ The American Committee (“Revised Version of the N. T.” 1881, p. 321) prefer to translate ἀσάριον (Matt. x. 29; Luke xii. 6) “penny.”

In St. Matthew x. 29, the passage with reference to the two (or five) sparrows sold for a farthing is Οὐχὶ δύο στρουθία ἀσσαρίου πωλεῖται; nonne duo passereres *asse* veneunt? and in St. Luke xii. 6, Οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία πωλεῖται ἀσσαρίων δύο; nonne quinque passereres veneunt *dipondio*?

The *dipondius*, or *dupondius*, was originally equal to two *asses*.¹

From the fact that the Vulgate substitutes the word *dipondius* for the two *assaria* of the Greek text, it is more than probable that a single coin is intended by this latter expression.



This idea is fully borne out by the copper coins of Chios. The Greek autonomous coins of this island have inscribed upon them the words ACCAPION, ACCAPIA ΔΥΩ, or ΔΥΟ, and

ACCAPIA ΤΡΙΑ. There are others inscribed HMYACCAPION and ΟΒΟΛΟC.²

These two latter terms are mentioned by Polybius.

The late Dr. Finlay, in his paper on "The Coinage of the Achaian League,"³ alluded to the passages of Polybius in the following words:—"I cannot decide whether Polybius regarded the League coins as tetrobols or hemidrachms. He says (vi. 39, 12) that the daily pay of a Roman soldier was two obols. We know it was five *asses*, and the weight of a *denarius* of the period cannot have been less than 64 grains troy. I possess one (*gens Publicia*) of that weight. Junia, 63·5; Calpurnia, Julia, Mamilia, and Pomponia, each 62. This gives 32 grains of silver as the equivalent of the Roman pay. The standard weight of an Æginetan obolos, put at 14·5, only gives 29 grains of Greek silver, which is a great but perhaps intelligible loss on the exchange of Roman copper for Greek silver coin. But if we suppose Polybius to refer to the Macedonian standard, the obolos being only 10·75, the pay of a Roman soldier would only be equal to 21·5 grains of Greek silver, when we know that it was equivalent to at least 32 grains of Roman silver. This is quite inadmissible.

"I find it also impossible to reconcile another passage of Polybius with the foregoing, and suspect he must have been referring to different periods without taking into account the great changes that took place in the value of money. He tells us (ii. 15, 6) that an *as* was equal to half an obolos. Now if we reckon the obolos at 14·5, this makes the pay of a Roman soldier equivalent to 36·25 grains of silver, and the Roman *denarius* ought to have weighed 72·5. But if we reckon the obolos at 10·75, the five *asses* are equivalent to 26·750, and the Roman *denarius* to only 53·5. I cannot see my way in this dilemma."

¹ The *dupondius*, with other denominations—the *decussis*, *quadruvius*, and *tripondius*—disappear from the coinage shortly after the reduction of the *as* in B.C. 86 (Mommson, "Monnaie Romaine," ed. Blacas and De Witte, vol. ii. p. 75). Under Augustus, however, two coins were struck of yellow brass (*orichalcum*—see CHAPTER I. p. 13) called *aestertius* and *dupondius*, while the *as* continued to be struck in copper, and was of the same weight as the *dupondius* (Plin. "Nat. Hist." xxiv. 2; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 299; "Handbook of Roman Numismatics," p. 2).

² For the weights of these coins see "Jew. Coinage," p. 303. The word ΟΒΟΛΟC occurs also on a copper coin of Metapontum, struck about B.C. 300 ("Jew. Coinage," p. 244). Vitruvius (lib. iii. 1) states that the Greeks employed *copper oboli*; and Lucian, who was born about A.D. 120, speaks of the *obolus of copper* as a coin of common occurrence (οἷδα γὰρ τὴν χαλκὸν, ὀβολὸν, ὥς οἶσθα, παρὰ τῶν καταπλεόντων ἑκαστον ἐκλέγων. "Contempl." ed. Didot, p. 133).

³ "Num. Chron." N.S. 1866, vol. vi. p. 26.

I will now try to offer some solution of this question, and therefore enter more fully into particulars than I did in my "Jewish Coinage."¹

The words of Polybius are: "The foot-soldiers receive as pay *two oboli* a day, the centurions twice as much, and the cavalry a drachma."² Now Dr. Finlay appears to have done one of two things. He has either reckoned the *denarius* as ten *asses*, and taken *half* of the latter sum for the pay; or he has reckoned it at sixteen *asses*, and taken the *third part*, which would also give five *asses* (or rather $5\frac{1}{2}$). From his assuming that the *denarius* of the period did not weigh less than 64 grains, and that 32 grains of silver (the *half*) was the pay, it would seem as if he had adopted the former reckoning, a view which is confirmed also by his following calculations.

We learn from the passage of Polybius that the pay of the soldier was *one-third* of the drachm or *denarius*, which, taking the *denarius* as ten *asses*, on the authority of Pliny, who says that it was always estimated as such in paying the soldiers,³ would give $3\frac{1}{3}$ *asses* a day. The average weight of the *denarius* of the period is 59 grains—say 60: those at 62, 63, or 64 are exceptional coins. The third of this would be 20 grains of silver. How does this agree with the *two obols*? Taking the Attic obolos of 11·25 grains (or as it was afterwards reduced to 10), two obols of the Attic standard would equal 20 grains, or the pay of a Roman soldier. It is hardly likely that Polybius is speaking of an Æginetan obolos of 14·2 grains, which would give a drachm of 85·2 grains, 25·2 grains more than the *denarius*. The *denarius* previous to B.C. 217 was equal to ten *bi-uncial asses*, but afterwards, in the dictatorship of Q. Fabius Maximus, it was made equal to sixteen *uncial asses*.⁴ In order therefore that the soldiers should not lose, and as their pay was reckoned in *asses*, it was ordered that the *denarius* paid to them should always be held as *ten of the old asses*, and not as ten of the new, so that they still received a *denarius*, for which they could obtain in change sixteen *uncial asses*. In all probability, therefore, from the context of Polybius, he would have regarded the League coins as Attic tetrobols, and not as Æginetan hemidrachms. though these divisions of coins were in themselves equal in weight.

¹ P. 243; cf. Madden, in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bib. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Farthing. Hussey ("Weights and Money," p. 145) has not arrived at any satisfactory conclusion.

² Ὀψώνιον δ' οἱ μὲν περὶ λαμβάνουσι τῆς ἡμέρας δύο ὀβολούς, οἱ δὲ ταξίαρχοι διπλοῦν, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς δραχμήν. "Reliq." vi. 39, 12. Two obols a day was the daily pay of a rower (Lucian, "De Electro," 3). The pay for labour in Lucian's time was four obols ("Tim." 6; "Epist. Saturn." 21), or as much as the centurion got in the time of Polybius. But the pay of the soldier was doubled by Julius Cæsar (Suet. in "Jul." 26), and it was afterwards increased to ten *asses* (Tac. "Ann." i. 17; Plin. "Nat. Hist." xxxiii. 3; Dion Cass. liv. 25). [See under IV. Penny.] Domitian increased it still more by adding three *aurei* annually (Suet. "in Dom." 7). As the soldier also received allowances of corn, the word for pay (*stipendium*) is called by Polybius ὀψώνιον, and so it is designated by St. Luke (iii. 14), and by Josephus ("Antiq." xii. 2, 3).

It also occurs in this sense in 1 Maccab. iii. 28, xiv. 32, and 1 Esdras iv. 56. As wages or reward generally, it is found in Rom. vi. 23, and 2 Cor. xi. 8. The word *μισθός* (Heb. מֶשֶׁלֶם; Vulg. *merces*) is used for "wages or hire" in Gen. xxx. 28, 32; xxxi. 7, 8; Exod. xxii. 15; Deut. xv. 18; Malachi iii. 5; and (Heb. מֶשֶׁלֶם; Vulg. *pecunia*) in Micah iii. 11; and (Heb. מֶשֶׁלֶם; Vulg. *stipendium* and *merces*) in Job vii. 2; Jer. xxii. 13; cf. Tobit v. 14. It is also generally employed in the New Testament (Matt. xx. 8; Luke x. 7; 1 Tim. v. 18; James v. 4).

³ "In militari stipendio semper *denarius* pro decem *assibus* datus." "Nat. Hist." xxxiii. 3 [see under IV. Penny].

⁴ "Q. Fabio Maximo Dictatore, *asses uncialis* facti; placuitque *denarium xvi assibus* permutari." Plin. "Nat. Hist." xxxiii. 3.

The second passage of Polybius states that the sum given by a traveller in Italy for a day's living was a *half as*, and that this was equal to the *fourth part of the obolos*.¹ Consequently an *as* was equal to *half an obolos*, making *four asses* equal to two obols, or the pay of a foot-soldier. I have, however, just attempted to show that $3\frac{1}{2}$ *bi-uncial asses* was the actual sum paid to the soldier, and there is not much doubt that Polybius is here speaking in round numbers and in general terms. It would seem that the half-obol equalled one-twelfth of the drachm, and the *as* one-tenth of the *denarius*, exactly the same proportion as the franc and the shilling.

There are some further thoughts which suggest themselves in this second passage of Polybius—"the half-as was equal to the fourth part of the obolos."

From this statement General Cunningham has not hesitated to assume² that the *assarion* was equal to half an obolos or four *chalci*, and that therefore the Roman *quadrans*, or fourth part of the *as*, was equal to the *chalcous*, from which, as St. Mark (xii. 42) says that the *quadrans* contained *two lepta*, the *lepton* must have been exactly one half of the *chalcous*.

Now the use of the term *ἡμισσάριον* by Polybius is not only interesting but correct. During the time which his history embraces, which is included between B.C. 220 and B.C. 146 (from the second Punic and Social war to the fall of Corinth),³ the *as uncialis* was adopted, as I have above stated, under the dictatorship of Q. Fabius Maximus, but for some few years, perhaps up to B.C. 204, it still weighed about 490 grains, or more than an ounce, whilst from B.C. 204 to B.C. 154 it had a full uncial weight averaging 369 grains.⁴

But the half-obol or 4 *chalci* weighed only 268·8 grains.

During the next Roman monetary period between B.C. 154 and B.C. 134 the *as* is *wanting*, the existing coins being the *semis* weighing about 133·4 grains, and the *quadrans* about 81·5 grains, whilst between B.C. 134 and B.C. 114 there was in addition a *triens* of from 116 to 76 grains.⁵

In this *semis*, then, we seem to have the *ἡμισσάριον* to which Polybius alludes. It agrees in weight with the *dichalcon* or quarter of the obolos, and would have an *as* (if it existed) of 266·8 grains, exactly the weight of four *chalci*. Its *quadrans*, moreover, should agree in weight with the *chalcous*.

But to assume, as General Cunningham has done, that because the *quadrans* of B.C. 154–134 equalled the *chalcous*, therefore the *two lepta* of the time of St. Mark equalled each *half a chalcous*, or 33·6 grains, does not seem to me to be quite proved. Many changes in the Roman copper coinage were made during this period. The *dodrans* and *bes* were introduced between B.C. 114 and B.C. 104, the mean of four *dodrans* giving an *as* of 278·1 grains,⁶ and it was not till about the middle of the latter year, under C. Blasio and C.

¹ ἡμισσάριον, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τέταρτον μέρος ὀβολοῦ. "Hist." ii. 15, 6.

² "Num. Chron." n.s. 1873, vol. xiii. p. 195.

³ Polybius was born about B.C. 210, and died about B.C. 129 (Clinton, "F. H." vol. iii. p. 119).

⁴ Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iv. pp. 31, 32, pl. xxiv., xxv. Nos. 2, 3.

⁵ Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iv. p. 37, pl. xxvi. Nos. 6, 7; pl. xxvii. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9.

⁶ Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. ii. pp. 76, 348; vol. iv. p. 47, pl. xxviii. Nos. 6, 7.

Fonteiis, that the *as*, weighing 339.9 grains, reappeared. By the *lex Papiria* in B.C. 89, an *as* of half an ounce was introduced; no importance, however, seems to have been attached to its intrinsic value, consequently we find specimens of the *as* weighing one-eighth of an ounce (92.6–51.7 grains), and soon (B.C. 84–74) the issue of copper money almost entirely ceased. About B.C. 38 there was a great change in the copper coinage, a *sestertius* of copper equal to four *asses*, and called *τετρασσάριον*, and weighing 421.6 grains, was introduced, together with pieces of three *asses*, of two *asses*, of one *as*, and of half an *as*.¹ This system did not last long. Augustus introduced the *sestertius* (396.3 grains) and *dupondius* (203 grains) of yellow metal (*ὀρείχαλκος*), whilst the *as*, having the same weight as the *dupondius*, was struck of copper, the other denominations being the *semis* and the *quadrans*, the former of which disappears under Antoninus Pius, the latter under Trajan.²

It is then to the period of Augustus and his successors that we must look for the *quadrans* mentioned by St. Mark.³

The *assarion* of the New Testament must be sought for among the Greek imperial coins, and the second brass coins of Antioch in Syria seem to furnish us with probable specimens. One of these coins with the countermark ΓΑΔ proves that it was lawfully current in Gadara of Decapolis.⁴ They were issued of four sizes, the *sestertius*, the *as*, the *semis*, and the *quadrans*, or *χαλκοῦς*.

These coins from the time of Augustus are of two series, (1) with Greek legends and having the name of the town and the date of the era of Antioch, and (2) with the name of the emperor in Latin, and on the reverse the letters S. C. Of the Greek coins specimens are extant in the British Museum of Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, and Galba; and of the Latin of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Otho, and Vespasian. After the reign of Vespasian, the two sets become amalgamated and form one series. In my "Jewish Coinage" (p. 302) I stated that the large coins of the Latin series were doubtless the *as* of copper and the second brass the *semis*, but I think I was mistaken.⁵ When the *sestertius* and *dupondius* were introduced, the *as*, which is very rare,⁶ became the same weight as the *dupondius*, which did not exceed 203 grains, and the *as* averaged about 160. As therefore the largest coins struck at Antioch weigh 302 grains, it is clear that



¹ Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iii. pp. 33, 34; vol. iv. p. 77, pl. xxxiii.

² Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iii. p. 35; vol. iv. p. 83, pl. xxxiv. See p. 302, note 2, and CHAPTER VI. pp. 146, 147, 148.

³ See under *κοδράνης*, and VII. *Mite*.

⁴ Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 302.

⁵ Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 111, note 91) identified them with the *dupondius* and the *as*, but these were of

the same weight (Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 299, 302, note 4).

⁶ The *as* of Nero is excessively rare. No specimen exists in the British Museum or in France, but there was one formerly in the Blacas Collection (Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iv. p. 86; pl. xxxv. No. 5), though M. de Witte does not know where it is now is, and so is unable to record its weight.

these cannot be the *as*, but rather the *sestertius*, and that the second brass coins averaging 143 grains are specimens of the *as*.¹

2. *Κοδράντης*. This word occurs in two passages—(1) "Till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing" (*κοδράντην, quadrantem*, Matt. v. 26), and (2) "she threw in two mites, which make a farthing" (*λεπτὰ δύο, ὃ ἐστὶ κοδράντης: duo minuta, quod est quadrans*, Mark xii. 42).

The *quadrans*, or fourth part of the Roman *as*, was at one time equal to the *χαλκοῦς*, weighing 67·2 grains.

In the time of Cicero, as recorded by Plutarch in the story of the impiety of Clodius, *circ.* B.C. 62, it was said to be the smallest Roman brass coin.²

The copper currency of Palestine in the time of Augustus and Tiberius consisted partly of Roman coins and partly of Græco-Roman or Greek Imperial. Under Vespasian there are small pieces weighing 67 and 55 grains. These will therefore be the *semis*; whilst the *χαλκοῦς*, of which no example is in the British Museum, but which is known to exist,³ weighs from 32 to 33 grains. The *χαλκοῦς* of Agrippa II. weighs 23 grains.

Thus, in consequence of the reduction of the weight of the *as* and other changes, the *χαλκοῦς* or *quadrans* of 67·2 grains became reduced to just half the weight, and may be considered together with the small coins of the Herodian family to be the smallest copper coin of this period (thus agreeing with the *quadrans* struck at Rome)—the farthing of the New Testament.

VII. *Mite* (*λεπτόν, minutum*, Mark xii. 42; Luke xii. 59; xxi. 2).

The *lepton* was originally a small Greek copper coin, of which *seven*, it is said, went to the *χαλκοῦς*; ⁴ but this division is not at all likely, nor do any coins that have come down to us show that this division ever existed. General Cunningham proposes to consider,⁵ and I think with justice, that the *lepton* was originally one-sixteenth of the *obol*, weighing 33·6 grains, and hence half of the *χαλκοῦς*.⁶

According to St. Mark (xii. 42) it is stated, "two *lepta*, which is a *quadrans*" (*λεπτὰ δύο, ὃ ἐστὶ κοδράντης*). The explanation *ὃ ἐστὶ κοδράντης* is omitted in the parallel passage in St. Luke (xxi. 2).

¹ The woodcut represents a *sestertius*; the *as* is of the same type, but smaller.

² τὸ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος κοδράντην ἐκάλουν. Plutarch, "in Cic." xxix. 26. Mommsen ("Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iii. p. 35, *note*) is of opinion that most of the passages in which mention is made of the *quadrans* under the Empire are insufficient to prove its existence as a current coin, and considers that the passage in Plutarch is rather contrary than favourable to this idea. See p. 301, *note* 2.

³ Pellerin, "Lettre," iv. pl. iv. 2; Hunter, pl. lxxviii; Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 286; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 121, *note* 5. [See p. 289, *note* 3; CHAPTER VI. pp. 146, 147, 148, and under VII. *Mite*.] It may be as well to notice that Schleusner ("Lex. N. T." s.v. *κοδράντης*), after

Fischer, considers the *quadrans* of the New Testament not to have equalled the Roman *quadrans*, but to have been the fourth of the Jewish *as*. The Jewish *as* is made to correspond with the half of the half-ounce Roman *as*; and as, according to Jewish writers, the פרוטה or פרוטה was the eighth part of the *assar* or Jewish *as* (Buxtorf, "Lex. Talm." s.v. פרוטה), and as the Evangelists have understood this word פרוטה to be the *lepton*, it follows that the *quadrans* equalled δύο λεπτά. But this theory is not tenable (Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 296-302; Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. *Mite*).

⁴ Suidas, s.v. τετρακοντα and δβολός.

⁵ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1873, vol. xiii. p. 194.

⁶ See under VI. *Farthing* (*κοδράντης*), and IX. *Money-changers*.

These words of St. Mark have been the cause of much controversy. It will be, perhaps, as well to recapitulate some opinions that have been offered.

The late Abbé Cavedoni supposed¹ that St. Mark meant to say *one lepton* was of the value of *one quadrans*, for had he intended to express that two of the small pieces of money were equal to a *quadrans*, then he must have written *ἄ ἐστι* instead of *ὃ ἐστι κοδράντης*, and the Vulgate has also very correctly translated *quod est*, and not *quæ sunt*. Moreover, from other passages it is evident that the *quadrans* is the same as the *lepton*, for the words of our Lord in St. Matthew (v. 26) are *ἔσχατον κοδράντην*, and in St. Luke (xii. 59) are *ἔσχατον λεπτόν*. Finally, says Cavedoni, "the contrary supposition, that the *quadrans* was equal to *two lepta*—as the *quadrans* at that time weighed only 30 grains—would bring the result, that among the Jewish coins in the time of our Saviour, some must have existed of the weight of 15.44 grains, or perhaps a little more; but of such kind of small Jewish coins I know none."

I did not in my "Jewish Coinage" accept these views,² and in 1865 I received a letter confirming my conclusions from the Rev. J. B. McClellan, in which he says: "In reference to the passage, Mark xii. 42, *λεπτά δύο, ὃ ἐστι κοδράντης*, there is no room for doubt, in consequence of the phrase *ὃ ἐστι*, which is a common formula of explanation, both in St. Mark and other places of the New Testament. See Mark iii. 17, similar both as to number and case of the words preceding [*καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα Βοανεργῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν, υἱὸς βροντῆς: et imposuit eis nomina Boanerges, quod est, filii tonitruis*]. Cavedoni's opinion is not in the slightest degree sustained by *ὃ ἐστι*, but, on the contrary, the usage of *ὃ ἐστι* makes it *certain* that the *κοδράντης* was equal in value to *two λεπτά*, though possibly *λεπτά δύο* (like *ἀσσάρια δύο*) may have been *one* coin. I should be inclined to draw this inference from *ὃ ἐστι*. There is, of course, one more inference, that the *λεπτά* or *λεπτόν* was not current among the readers contemplated by St. Mark."

I have stated earlier³ that General Cunningham has found no difficulty in the passage, and has accepted the view (to which I had originally inclined, but which after careful study I am induced to doubt) that *two lepta* equalled *one quadrans*; but he is speaking of a time between B.C. 220 and B.C. 146, and the period we are now considering is about A.D. 60, when the *quadrans* had become much reduced in weight, in fact, equivalent in weight to the old *lepton*. We then have on the one hand the statement of St. Mark, on the other the evidence of the coins.

The mite alluded to by St. Mark was a Jewish coin, for the Jews were not permitted to bring any but Jewish coins into the Holy Place, and for this cause money-changers stood in the entrance of the Temple in order to give Jewish money in exchange for foreign,⁴ and it may be that the smallest coins of Alexander Jannæus, and of the period after him, and

¹ "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 76.

² "Jew. Coinage," p. 297; Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Mite.

³ See under VI. *Farthing* (*ἀσάριον*).

⁴ See under IX. *Money-changers*.

of the Herods, which weigh from 15 to 18 grains, are the pieces in question, and the half of those weighing about 30 grains, which I take to be the *quadrans* or *lepton*.¹ Perhaps, in the same way as we know that the *quadrans* was reduced to the same weight as the *lepton*, so the *lepton* itself was reduced to the same weight as the old half-*lepton* of 16·8 grains, and in this case *two of these* would be a *quadrans*.

But it is more probable that these pieces, of which there are very few examples, are only the *quadrans* of light weight.

I am now inclined myself to consider that St. Mark wrote and meant δύο λεπτά [*sc. νομίσματα*], "two small pieces of money,"² meaning the smallest pieces of money then extant, and that the δ ἐστι κοδράντης has been added to show that the *quadrans* was then the smallest piece struck; and in this case the parallel passages of "till thou hast paid the very last mite" (τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτόν, Luke xii. 59), and "till thou hast paid the very last farthing" (τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην, Matt. v. 26), may be considered as corroborative evidence.³

It is impossible to get over the fact that at this period the *quadrans* of the Empire, which still retained the name of χαλκοῦς, had the same weight as the *lepton* of the time of the Seleucidæ.

VIII. Money of account:—

1. *Talent* (τάλαντον, *talentum*). This word occurs (1) in the parable of the unmerciful servant (Matt. xviii. 23–35), who owed his lord ten thousand talents, and was forgiven, but who in his turn would not forgive one of his fellow-servants who owed him an hundred pence (*denarii*); and (2) in the parable of the talents (Matt. xxv. 14–30).

2. *Pound* (μνᾶ, *mina*). This word occurs in the parable of the pounds (Luke xix. 13–25), which is very similar in its teaching to that of the talents.

The Greek talent and Greek pound are doubtless here referred to. At this time the Attic talent obtained in Palestine, and 60 *minæ* went to the talent. The Greek name *mina* was derived from the Hebrew *maneh*, of which 60 went to the Hebrew talent.⁴

IX. Money-changers:—

Three distinct terms are employed in the New Testament to express this class.

1. *Τραπεζίτης*, A.V. "exchanger"; *numularius*, Matt. xxv. 27, from τράπεζα, a table,

¹ See under VI. *Farthing* (κοδράντης).

² The word λεπτός occurs as an adjective in Gen. xli. 4. A.V. "lean."

³ Alford (Mark xii. 42) says, "Mark adds δ ἐστι κοδράντης for his Roman readers, showing that at this time no real coin of the name of *lepton* existed." Beza considered δ ἐστι κοδράντης a marginal quotation which has crept into the text, and Wassenburgh that there is no means of getting over the difficulty of the passage but by expunging the words (Bland, "Annotations to New Test."; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 297). Maldonatus (a Jesuit writer of great repute, who flourished about 1562–72), quoted by Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 80, note 58),

writes: "Dubium autem videtur esse, utrum horum verborum sensus sit, unumquodque minutum, an simul utrumque esse quadrantem. Euthymius singula minuta singulos quadrantes fuisse putat, quæ opinio validissima videtur posse ratione confirmari; nam quod Matthæus (v. 26) dicit novissimum quadrantem, Lucas (xii. 59) dicit novissimum minutum, quasi *quadrans et minutum idem sint*."

⁴ See APPENDIX A.

⁵ The Athenians called money-changers ἀργυρομοιβοί. In fact, all the terms in connexion with money were derived from ἀργυρος or ἀργύριον, and not from χρυσός. See CHAPTER II. p. 17, note 1.

a word which is employed for the "tables" (*mensæ*) of the money-changers in Matt. xxi. 12; Mark xi. 15; John ii. 15, and for the "bank" (*mensa*) in Luke xix. 23.

2. *Κόλλυβιστής*, A.V. "money-changer"; *numularius*, Matt. xxi. 12; Mark xi. 15; A.V. "changer," John ii. 15, from *κόλλυβος*.

3. *Κερματιστής*, A.V. "changer of money"; *numularius*, John ii. 14, from *κερματίζω*, "to cut small," and this from *κέρμα*, "money," *αεθ*, John ii. 15.

1. *Τραπεζίτης* was the ordinary name for the banker at Athens. Their principal occupation was that of changing money at an "agio." They were private bankers, like the *argentarii* at Rome, who must be distinguished from the *mensarii* or *mensularii* and the *numularii*, who were public bankers appointed by the state on various emergencies, the latter of whom seem to have been permanently employed.¹ Hence the Vulgate has rendered their name in all cases correctly.

From their weighing the coins paid to them the *trapesitæ* were contemptuously called *ὀβολοστάται*, and their profession *ὀβολοστατική*.²

As the Greek *τραπεζίτης* is from *τράπεζα*, "a table," so our English word "banker," French "banquier," is derived from the French *banc*, a *bench*, on which the person sat to do his business.

2. The origin of the word *κόλλυβος* or *κόλλυβον* is doubtful. Its meaning is also obscure. Sometimes it is designated as the "changing of money" or "rate of exchange,"³ sometimes as a "small coin,"⁴ or "a kind of money."⁵ In the former sense it is mentioned by Cicero,⁶ and by Suetonius, who writes:⁷ "The Emperor Augustus was upbraidingly told by Mark Antony that his grandfather was a money-changer (*arum argentarium*). Some said [at which Suetonius expresses surprise] that his father Caius Octavius carried on the same business; whilst Cassius of Parma taxed him not only with being the son of a baker, but also of an usurer (*nummularii*) in the following words, 'Thou art a lump of thy mother's meal, which a money-changer (*mensarius*) of Nerulum, taking from the newest bake-house of Aricia, kneaded with his hands discoloured by the changing of money (*collybo*).'"

¹ Smith's "Dict. of Antiq." s.v. *Argentarii* and *Mensarii*.

² Becker, "Charicles," 1874, p. 71.

³ Ἀργυρίου ἀλλαγή, ὁ καλούμενος κόλλυβος. Pollux, "Onom." iii. 9; cf. vii. 33. Frequently called *καταλλαγή*, and always carefully reckoned (Becker, "Charicles," p. 291). A money-changer is called *καταλλάκτης* by the Gram. Byz. (Liddell and Scott, s.v.)

⁴ Καὶ κόλλυβον, λεπτόν τι νομισμάτιον. Pollux, "Onom." ix. 72.

⁵ Ἔδος νομίσματος, Hesychius, s.v. The scholiast on Aristoph. ("Pax" 1199) explains *κόλλυβον* as a "kind of paltry coin"—*εἶδος εὐτελοῦς νομίσματος*. Prof. W. Robertson Smith has kindly sent me the following note on the word *κόλλυβος*, from Prof. de Lagarde's work ("Orientalia," ii. p. 27, Separatabdruck, from vol. xxvi. of "Abh. K. G. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen")—"Ἡ Π II. (i.e. intensive stem)=*ἡλλαξ* Gen. 41, 14; Regn. B. 12, 20 [2 Sam. xii. 20]. So in Syriac

ܠܡܡ ܡܕܠܘܐ=*ἀργυραμοιβολ*. From this comes *ܩܠܒܐ* ἄλλαγμα, Buxtorf, 772. Die phoenicische Gestalt dieses Wortes erkennlich in *ܩܠܒܐ* *ܩܠܒܐ* *ܩܠܒܐ* Pollux ζ. 170; *κόλλυβον* *λεπτόν τι νομισμάτιον*, θ. 72. Die Consonanten sind da *χόλλυβος* für Griechen so unhörbar und unsprechbar, wie *θρίχα*, verändert worden. Vgl. *Θάψακος* mit *ΠΘΕΠ*." Prof. Smith adds: "The Π in the root *ܩܠܒܐ* is Arabic *ح* not *ج*, and so would equal Greek *χ*, and give *χόλλυβος* as transcription. This rough sound, according to Lagarde, the Greeks could not catch or pronounce rightly, and softened the aspirates, just as they say *τρίχα* for *θρίχα*."

⁶ "Nam *Collybus* esse qui potest, cum utantur omnes uno genere nummorum?"—"In Verr." iii. 78, 181; "Sed certe in *collybo* est detrimenti satis."—"Epist. ad Att." xii. 6.

⁷ "In Aug." 2-4.

The employment of the three different terms for "money-changers" in a few lines is worthy of notice.

In an inscription given by Böckh¹ the word *κόλλυβος* occurs twice, and *ἀκολλύβιστος* once, and here it seems also to mean the money exacted by the changers for changing money. The inscription itself, whose date is given by Böckh as previous to B.C. 167, appears to record a decree made by an assembly of the islanders (*κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν*) at Tenos, to set up a statue to one Timon, because whilst some demanded 105 drachms of Tenos for 100 drachms of Rhodes—[τῶν] *πωλού[ντων ὑπὲρ ἑκατ]ὸν δραχμῶν τοῦ Ῥοδίου ἀργυρίου οὐκ [ἐλαττον ἀπαιτούντων] ἑκατὸν καὶ πέντε δραχμῶν τῶν Τ[ηνίων]*—he procured for them the sum without their having to pay any *agio* ([*ἀκολλ[ύβιστον]*).

Mr. Conder is of opinion that the *κόλλυβος* was not a coin but an "agio," or small payment for exchange. He suggests² that "there is a Chaldaean word *ܢܠܒܐ* (*pitch*), from which the term may naturally come as something attached, or adhering to, the half-shekel. In the Pentateuch we have a very similar instance. The word *ܢܠܒܐ* is translated 'pitch' in Gen. vi. 14, and *redemptionis pretium* in Exod. xxi. 30."

But the most important passage of all to throw light on this question is that in Theophrastus.³ It is alluded to by Liddell and Scott, and from it they define the *κόλλυβος* to be "a small gold weight," and apparently without sufficient reason.

The passage is as follows:—*Εὐρήσθαι δέ φασι νῦν ἀμείνω πολὺ τῆς πρότερον ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὸν ἐκ τῆς καθάρσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κατάχαλκον χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον γνωρίζειν, καὶ πόσον εἰς τὸν στατήρα μέμικται. Σημεῖα δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου· ἐλάχιστον δὲ γίνεται κριθή, εἰτα κόλλυβος, εἰτα τεταρτημόριον, ἡ ἡμιώβολος, ἐξ ὧν γνωρίζουσι τὸ καθήκον.*

Theophrastus is here speaking of the touch-stone, by means of which it is possible to ascertain the quantity of alloy contained in a gold or silver stater, for which purpose it is not necessary to analyze the whole coin, but only the smallest division of it, "the smallest division is a *κριθή*, the next a *κόλλυβος*, the next a *τεταρτημόριον*, and the next an *ἡμιώβολος*, from which they find out what is proper, i.e. the alloy."

The word *κριθή* means "a barley-corn," or "a grain," as the word *λεπτός* means "a husked grain of barley."

The *κόλλυβος* is the next largest piece.

The *τεταρτημόριον* or *ταρτημόριον* is the quarter-obol.

The *ἡμιώβολος* is the half-obol.

From this account General Cunningham is of opinion⁴ that the *κριθή* equals the *λεπτόν*, "which was $\frac{1}{16}$ of the obolos in weight, that is $\frac{1}{16}$ of 11·2 grains, or exactly $\frac{1}{16}$, 0·7, of an English grain, which is in fact the actual weight of a grain of 'husked barley';" adding that "Maimonides (or Mâmun), quoting the Misna, makes the *mea* or later Jewish obol of

¹ "Corpus Ins." No. 2334.

² "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 180, *note*.

³ "Frag. II. De Lapidibus," 46, ed. F. Wimmer, Paris, 1866, p. 346.

⁴ "Num. Chron." N.S. 1873, vol. xiii. p. 194.

11·2 grains consist of 16 barley-corns, each of which was therefore 0·7 of an English grain."

Hence the λεπτόν would be equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ the χαλκοῦς, itself $\frac{1}{8}$ of the obol.¹

The τεταρτημόριον being the $\frac{1}{4}$ obol of 2·8 grains, and the ἡμιόβολος a piece of 5·6 grains, it follows that the κόλλυβος must have been a *silver* piece ranging between the λεπτόν and the $\frac{1}{4}$ obol, and therefore the $\frac{1}{8}$ of an obol, weighing about 1·4 grains. It would thus be the *silver equivalent* of the χαλκοῦς.

I may however add that according to the Talmud² the collybus was equal in value to a silver obolus, which has a weight of 12 grains, whilst Brandis³ seems to make it a *copper* coin, and takes it to be equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ a χαλκοῦς, and therefore worth about $\frac{1}{16}$ of an obol, or $\frac{1}{16}$ of the drachm.⁴ This theory I consider quite inadmissible. The κόλλυβος, if minted as a coin, coincided with the $\frac{1}{8}$ of an obol; and another proof of its being a *silver* coin is, that it is not at all probable, as we know the $\frac{1}{8}$ of an obol was called χαλκοῦς, that the word κόλλυβος would be applied to the same coin.

3. The word κέρμα, from κείρω, "to cut off," is very rare in the singular. It will be noticed that in St. John the expression is τὸ κέρμα.

To "change a drachm" was called κερματίζω, and the change itself κέρματα.⁵ Money-changing was called κερματισμός.⁶

The money-changers sat in the courts of the Temple⁷ on the 25th of Nisan for the purpose of exchanging foreign money for Jewish, as the Temple tax could *only* be paid in this latter coin. The κοδράντης of the New Testament was not $\frac{1}{8}$ of the obol, but must have been whatever then constituted the smallest piece of money; this was in all probability the *quadrans* weighing 30 grains.⁸ The money-changers seem to have acted as bankers, in the advanced sense of the term, money being placed in their hands for the purpose of increasing it, and on which interest was paid (Matt. xxv. 27; Luke xix. 23).

To lend on usury (τόκος) to a brother Israelite was strictly forbidden (Exod. xxii. 25; Levit. xxv. 36, 37; Deut. xxiii. 19), but to lend to a stranger was permissible (Deut. xxiii. 20), and appears to have been practised during the Captivity, though it was considered an

¹ See under VII. *Mite*.

² Rev. C. E. Stowe, in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Money-changer. Castell in his lexicon at the word כֶּלֶפֶן says, "The change (*collybus*) or the loss in changing a coin is an obolus of silver" ("Rev. Num." 1858, p. 364; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 241).

³ "Das Münz-Mass und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien," p. 292.

⁴ Theophylact (Archbishop of Bulgaria, A.D. 1071) says, "Κόλλυβος λέγεται τὸ λεπτόν νόμισμα παρ' Ἑλλήσιν, δ' Ὠραιῶσι νοῦμνον (*nummum*) ὀνομάζουσι," evidently alluding to the smallest copper coin (weighing 19 grains) of the time of Justinian (A.D. 527-565), called *denarius nummus* or *libella* (Mommson, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iii. pp. 107-109, 165; vol. iv. p. 111, pl. xl. No. 9), and being one-twelfth of the silver *sestiqua*. See under IV. *Penny*.

⁵ Hussey, "Weights and Money," p. 50. The late Dr. Finlay ("Greece under the Romans," 2nd ed. 1857, p. 538, note 3) speaks of the smaller copper coins of Justinian I. (A.D. 527-565) by the name κέρμα, adding that they are generally rare.

⁶ Olympiod. "in Plat."

⁷ It has been suggested (Lord A. Hervey, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. ii. p. 490, s.v. Nehemiah, Book of) that the "goldsmiths" who repaired the vessels of the Temple (Nehem. iii. 8) are perhaps the prototypes of the money-changers in the Temple. They are designated in the LXX. of χαλκεῖς (Vulg. *aurifices*; cf. Hom. "Od." iii. 432). In the New Testament (2 Tim. iv. 14) Alexander the *copper-smith* (ὁ χαλκεύς) is mentioned.

⁸ See under VI. *Farthing* (Κοδράντης).

abomination (Prov. vi. 1,¹ xi. 15, etc.; Ps. xv. 5; Jer. xv. 10; Ezek. xviii. 13; xxii. 12; cf. Joseph. "circ. Ap." ii. 28).

After the return from the Captivity, the Jews were required by Nehemiah to leave off usury: "Restore I pray you to them even this day their lands, their vineyards, their olive-yards, and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil, that ye exact of them" (Nehem. v. 11), and he further compelled them to confirm their promises by oath (ver. 12).

In the New Testament period "lending" was not objected to, provided it was done "hoping for nothing again" (Luke vi. 35; cf. Matt. v. 42).

The system, however, pursued by the money-changers in the Temple must have been a vicious one, for our Lord, when he overthrew their tables, exclaimed, "My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves" (Matt. xxi. 13; Mark xi. 17; Luke xix. 46; cf. Is. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11).

X. *Treasury, or Treasure*:—

This term is used in the Authorized Version of the New Testament as the translation of three different words:

1. *Γαζοφυλάκιον*, *gazophylacium*, (Mark xii. 41, 43; Luke xxi. 1; John viii. 20), from *γάζα*, "a treasure," and *φυλάσσω*, "to keep."

The word *Γάζα* (Heb. גָּזָא, Chald. גָּזָא), which occurs in this sense in Acts viii. 27, is employed frequently in the Old Testament for "treasures," or "treasure-house" (Ezra v. 17; vi. 1; vii. 20;² Esther iii. 9 [LXX. *γαζοφυλάκιον*]; iv. 7; Ezek. xxvii. 24 [A. V. "chests"]; 1 Chron. xxviii. 11 [LXX. *ζακῶν*;³ Vulg. *cellariorum*]).

The officer who had charge of the treasures—the treasurer—was named גִּזְבָּר (Ezra i. 8; LXX. *Γασβαρηός*; Vulg. *Gasabar*; cf. Ezra vii. 21; גִּזְבָּר, Dan. iii. 2, 3).

Gaza is not a Hebrew but a Persian word.⁴ Prof. Rawlinson says:⁵ "The term does not occur in inscriptions; but there can be little doubt that it existed, and was written <𐎠𐎡𐎹> or <𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎡𐎹>. Originally the pronunciation was probably rather *ganza* than *gasa*, the Persians being in the habit of inserting the sound of *n* before the dentals *d*, *t*, and *s*, although they did not write it. As the Hebrews had no such practice, they naturally supplied the *n* and expressed the Persian <𐎠𐎡𐎹> or <𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎡𐎹> by *genex* גִּנֶּזֶךְ (Esther), or *g'naz* גִּנָּז (Ezra). . . . The Persian word for 'treasurer' was almost certainly

¹ The Hebrew word here used for surety is עֶרֶב from עָרַב "to give pledge," and from עֶרְבֹן "a pledge," has come the Greek ἀρραβών (see 2 Cor. i. 22; v. 5; Eph. i. 14), and the Latin *arrhabo* or *arrha*—money given to ratify a contract,—a deposit. Comp. Fr. *arrhes*.

² Josephus ("Antiq." xi. 5, 1) in recording the circumstances mentioned in this chapter uses the word *γαζοφυλάκιον* for the "king's treasury."

³ This word appears to be a transliteration of the Hebrew גִּזְבָּר from גָּזָא.

⁴ گنج *ganj*, Sanscrit गन्ज *ganja*. "*Gaza*, sic Persæ ærarium vocant."—Pomp. Mela i. 11, 3; "pecunia regia, quam *gazan* Persæ vocant."—Curt. iii. 13.

⁵ "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 424.

The Hebrew אָרֹן is also used for the "coffin" into which Joseph was put in Egypt (Gen. l. 26), rendered by the LXX. *σopός*, and by the Vulg. *loculus*. It is, however, most frequently used of the "ark of the covenant." For the term *κιβωτός*—which is employed in the LXX. both for the "ark of the covenant" and for "Noah's ark" (Heb. תֵּבָה)—see my paper "On the Coins with the Legend ΝΩΕ, representing Noah and his wife within an Ark."¹

2. *Kop̄savās*, *corbona* (Matt. xxvii. 6), the sacred treasure of the Jews, and so designated by Josephus.² It is apparently derived from the Hebrew קָרְבָן, *korban*. This latter word occurs only once in the New Testament (Mark vii. 11), where it is explained, *Kop̄sav̄n*, *δὲ ἐστὶ δῶρον*, a gift.³ Josephus gives the same explanation,⁴ and adds that those who are desirous of freeing themselves from the ministration to God, are to give thirty shekels if a woman, fifty if a man. The same author, quoting Theophrastus, speaks of *Korban* as one of the foreign oaths forbidden to the Tyrians [or Phœnicians], which oath, he adds, is found only among the Jews, and signifies "a gift to God."⁵

The word *Korban* (קָרְבָן) is used with *Minha* (מִנְחָה), lit. "a gift," but employed in the books of Moses (cf. Lev. ii. 1, 4, 5, 6) principally for "unbloody sacrifices," (LXX. *δῶρον θυσία*, *δῶρον*, *προσφορά*). *Minha* has other meanings.⁶ With respect to *Korban*, the Rev. Dr. Barry writes:⁷ "The idea of a gift hardly seems inherent in the root, which rather points to sacrifice as a symbol of communion or covenant between God and man."

As to *δῶρον* in the New Testament, it principally means "gifts in general" (Matt. ii. 11), "sacrificial gifts" (Matt. v. 23, 24; viii. 4; Heb. v. 1; xi. 4), "gifts of God to man" (Eph. ii. 8), "of man to man" (Rev. xi. 10), but it is also used of gifts to the "treasury" (Luke xxi. 1), and in one case appears to mean the "treasury itself" (*εἰς τὰ δῶρα*, Luke xxi. 4).

3. *Θησαυρός*, *thesaurus*.

A. As the "treasure house" (Matt. ii. 11; xiii. 52).

B. As the "treasure" (Matt. vi. 19, 20; xii. 35; xiii. 44; xix. 21; Mark x. 21; Luke vi. 45; xii. 33; xviii. 22; 2 Cor. iv. 7; Coloss. ii. 3; Heb. xi. 26).

The word is used in the LXX. as the translation of the Hebrew אֲצִיזָה, meaning either "the treasures of God" (Deut. xxviii. 12; xxxii. 34), or "a store-house for corn" (1 Chron. xxvii. 27), or "a treasury for gold and silver," either of the Temple or of the king (Josh. vi. 19; 1 Kings vii. 51; Neh. x. 39; xii. 44 [treasure], xiii. 12, etc.).⁸

¹ "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 209; and in Smith's and Cheetham's "Dict. of Christ. Antiq." s.v. Money.

² *Τὸν λεγόν θησαυρὸν, καλεῖται δὲ Κορβανᾶς.* "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 4.

³ The exact meaning of this passage, as well as of the corresponding one (Matt. xv. 5), is not easy of interpretation (Dr. Gotch, Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, and Rev. H. W. Phillott, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Corban).

⁴ *Καὶ οἱ κορβᾶν αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσαντες τῷ Θεῷ, δῶρον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν.* "Antiq." iv. 4, 4.

⁵ *Ἀπλοῖ δ', ὅς ἐν εἰποὶ τις ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραίων μεθερμηνευόμενος διαλέκτου, δῶρον Θεοῦ.* Joseph. "Contra Ap." i. 22.

⁶ E. Deutsch, Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, s.v. Gift.

⁷ Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v. Sacrifice.

⁸ Cf. Schleusner, "Thes. Vet. Test." s.v. *Θησαυρός*.

C. THE TALMUDIC WRITINGS ON THE COINAGE OF THE FIRST AND SECOND REVOLTS.

IN justification of the original classification of Jewish coins to the First and Second Revolts by Dr. Levy, as published in my "Jewish Coinage," it will be but right to reproduce the evidence he has collected from the Talmudic writings.¹

"It is well known that no trace of the Maccabæan coins is to be found in all the Jewish writings subsequent to the Bible, even to the end of the Talmud, excepting the well-known passage in the book of Maccabees. On the other hand, many quotations in that traditional work may be referred to coins of the time of the two Revolts. Let us consider these passages in the chronological order in which they were written.

"In the *Mishna*, we have found no allusion to the subject. In the *Thosiphtha*, the next source, we read with reference to the redemption of the second tithe (*Ma'aser Sheni*, c. 1, 5):² אין מחללין אותו לא על מטבע שמרוד ולא על מטבע שאינו יוצא ולא על המעות שאין ברשותו כיצד היו לו מעות כזביות וממעות ירושלמיות אין מחללין אותו עליהן אם חלל לא קנו עליהן מעשר אבל מטבע היוצא משם מלכים הראשונים מחללין אותו עליהן, i.e. 'The *Ma'aser Sheni* is not to be redeemed by the coinage of the Revolt, nor by a coinage which is not current, nor by a money of which they are not in possession.' How is this to be understood? When they have money of Ben-Kosiba, or of Jerusalem,³ they must not redeem with it; and if they have done so, they can buy no *Ma'aser Sheni* with it. Yet they might redeem with the money that was current in the time of earlier kings.

"The passage of the *Talmud Jerushalmi* (*Ma'aser Sheni*, 1, 2) runs thus: ממבע שמרד כגון בן כחיבא אינו מחלל היו לו מעות של סכנה אתא עובדא קומי רבי אימי אמר יוליך הננוח לים המלח, i.e. 'The coins of the revolt, as well as those of Ben-Kosiba, cannot be used for redemption, the danger-money, in obedience to the decision given in a certain case by R. Ime, shall be thrown into the salt-sea (i.e. 'sea' in general).'

"The Babylonian *Gemara* (*Baba Kama* 97b.) quotes the aforesaid *Thosiphtha*, in

¹ "Jüd. Münzen," pp. 126-131; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 329-333. A résumé of Dr. Levy's researches is given by M. de Saulcy in the "Rev. Num." 1865, pp. 9-12, *tirage-à-part*.

² "We cannot take any notice of the corrections of R. Elias Wilna, in the sadly critical state of the text of the *Thosiphtha*;

since, in spite of his acuteness, he often falls into mistakes, as he frequently alters the text according to the Babylonian Talmud, and by so doing is often led into errors."

³ "וממעות" ought certainly to be read instead of "ומעות", as is clear from the other Talmudic passages quoted further on."

the following manner: **אין מחללין על המעות שאינם יוצאות כיצד היו לו מעות כחביות** **אין מחללין** **ירושלמיות או של מלכים הראשונים אין מחללין**, i.e. 'They durst not redeem with coinage that was not current, for instance, with money of Kosiba or of Jerusalem,¹ or with that of former kings.'

"Now, even if it be shown, by comparing these passages, that the text of the *Thosiphtha* has been much corrupted, yet this at least is certain, that Ben-Kosiba struck money; that a remainder of it was still extant after the post-Mishnaic times, but had even at that time no currency. But what are we to understand by the *Jerusalem-money*, and the *Danger-money*?

"The former we meet with again in another part of the *Jerusalem Talmud* (*Kethub. i. 2*): **אמר ר' יוחנן מלעים מבורוניות מהגינות ירושלמיות**. In this place mention is made of the sum prescribed in the *Kethuba* of the woman, which, according to the opinion of some scholars, might be composed of holy shekels (after Tyrian money), according to others, of some other current coinage. On this point it is remarked by R. Johanan, that **מבירוניות**, **מהגינות**, and Jerusalem-coins also were sufficient in this case. Moreover, if we are in the dark as to what is meant by the two first kinds of coin,² yet this much is certain, that they, as well as the Jerusalem-coins, did not belong to the proper currency. We also arrive at the same conclusion from the passages before quoted, without, however, coming to a decided opinion on the Jerusalem-coins. Let us consider one other quotation in the *Talmud* (*Bechoroth 50 a. Aboda Sara 52 b.*). Thus it says: **בקשו לגנוז דינרא הדריינא מוריינא שיפא מפני**, i.e. 'They had willingly laid aside the smooth polished *Denarii* of Hadrianus Trajanus on account of the types of Jerusalem which were struck upon them.' This passage is not easy to be understood.³ We must however understand it, as follows, until we get a better explanation. Trajan, it is well known, called in, in the year A.D. 107, the silver coinage which had hitherto been current in the Roman empire, and issued a new coinage on account of the profit which thereby accrued to him,⁴ striking it of full weight and value after the *denarii* of his time, and stamped it with the Restoration-mark of Trajan. We must now assume that many coins were certainly still current in Jerusalem, and especially in Palestine, belonging to the time of the Jewish Revolt under Nero, with the legend 'Jerusalem' (**ירושלם**), or with the types which bear reference to the Holy Temple. In the work of Restoration of Trajan, these were certainly not passed over, and the coins thus

¹ "Peculiar, although unfounded, is Lightfoot's opinion ('Opp. omn.' i. p. 452), 'Ita dicti sunt, quod ejusdem ponderis et valoris forent cum moneta Hierosolymitana, non cum Tyria.'"

² "Is it not possible to read **מלעים מבורוניות מהגינות ירושלמיות** i.e. 'Neronian *denarii* of the Jerusalem Chiefs'? This conjecture certainly seems somewhat hazardous, yet it is at any rate worthy of attention, considering the evidently corrupted text. The Talmud besides knew **מלע נירונית** 'a *denarius* of Nero.' Cf. *Baba Mezia* 25, b."

³ "Grätz (iv. p. 514) thinks this passage should be understood

that Hadrian (Trajan was an adopted name and **שפא** = *Sebastos*) profaned holy coins of Jerusalem, probably intended for building the Temple, and stamped his own name *Hadrianus Trajanus Sebastos* thereon. Clever as this suggestion is, we must still doubt **שפא** = *Sebastos*, and the supposition that the money was meant for building the Temple."

⁴ "Cf. Mommsen, 'Röm. Münzwesen,' p. 758, seq. ["Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas and De Witte, vol. iii. p. 31.] This *savant* shows in another place that this measure was not carried out in its entirety, and that it was especially ignored where no profit was thereby attained."

profaned were turned into re-coined, well-polished, smooth coins;¹ thus they were a stumbling-block to the Jews, and they would gladly not have used them, had not a verse of Scripture (Ezekiel vii. 22) come to their assistance in the embarrassment which must necessarily have arisen from not using so current a coinage. For the rest, we hold with Grätz with regard to the words 'Hadrianus Trajanus' in the passage above quoted, as being the full name of the Cæsar Hadrianus, as he is usually called on those coins which were struck by him. The rendering which we have given of the Talmudic passage finds its confirmation through its connexion with another passage, together with which it is found in both places (*Bechoroth* and *Aboda Sara*). On this point R. Osija says, 'they would willingly have abstained from the use of the gold and silver, because of the gold and silver of Jerusalem' (which, as Raschi teaches us, was for the most part *holy*), and thereupon after an objection to this opinion, follows our passage. If we turn back after this digression to the Jerusalem-coins, we are of opinion that no other coins could well be meant, than those which were struck in the time of the Revolt under Nero, which, as before said, bear the legend 'Jerusalem,' and the types which referred to this city and the temple.² But the same coins are in like manner signified in the parallel passage above quoted by 'The Money of Danger,' (*מעוֹת שֶׁל סַכְנָה*). In the above quoted passage from *Baba Kama*, 'Money of Kosiba and Jerusalem-money' are connected together as not being current coinage, that is to say, the money of the First and Second Revolt, but instead of 'Jerusalem-money' there is found in the passage of the Jerusalem Talmud (*Ma'aser Sheni*, 1, 2) 'Money of Danger,' which must therefore be considered identical with the other. As the time of Ben-Kosiba is called simply *שְׁעַת שְׁמֵר* or *דְּרוֹר שֶׁל שְׁמֵר*,³ so the time of the First Revolt is called now and then the time of *סַכְנָה*; thus the Mishna (*Kethub.* 9, 9); R. Simon b. Gamliel says 'from the time of danger and thenceforth (*מִן הַסַּכְנָה וְאִילָן*) the woman can redeem her *Kethuba*, without producing the bill of divorce.' Here evidently is meant by *סַכְנָה*, the First Revolt of the Jews, in which Simon himself played so active a part."⁴

¹ "So we must take the word *נִשְׁפָּט*. The name *נִשְׁפָּט* means in the Syriac and Chaldee 'to smooth, to polish, to brighten, to clean;' thence also *נִשְׁפָּט* and *נִשְׁפָּט* (in Syriac), 'even, bright' (cf. Bernstein, "Lex. Syr. ad chrestom." Kirach. s.v.). This signification holds good for those coins which came *bright* from the Mint; whilst, according to the old common meaning 'rubbed,' that is when the stamp was no longer intelligible, there was no reason to reject the coins, as the superscription was illegible."

² "It is easy to perceive that the passage (*Kama*, 97 b), *אִיִּהוּ כְּטָבַע שֶׁל יְרוּשָׁלַיִם*, can throw no light on the subject. The same passage is mentioned in the section on Counterfeit Jewish coins."

³ "Cf. Grätz, iv. p. 526."

⁴ "Cf. also Mishna, *Sabbath*, 19, 1. But why the *מעוֹת שֶׁל סַכְנָה* was thus rejected, . . . that no profit could be gained by it, the commentators on the Talmud do not make clear; neither can we assign any reason for it."

D. COUNTERFEIT JEWISH COINS.

WE have given in the previous Appendix some of Dr. Levy's researches from the Talmud relative to the coins of the First and Second Revolts. It may not be uninteresting to give also some of the passages he has selected from the Talmud, from which many of the counterfeit Jewish coins have probably been made.¹

"It is well known that the invention of stamped coins, as well as of other useful arts, was ascribed by the Greeks and Romans to the Gods and Heroes. . . . The Arabs were not behind-hand in this matter. Kuthami² mentions gold *denarii* of Nimrod (Nemrûdâ), and the Midrasch claims for its contemporary Abraham the honour of having first blessed the world with money. There are four, says Bereschith Rab. (cap. 39), to whom the invention of coins (מוֹנֵטִין, *monetae*),³ may be ascribed; Abraham, of whom it is said (Gen. xii. 2), 'And I will make of thee a great nation,'—therefore from him coins proceeded. And what are these like? An old man and woman on the one side, and a youth and maiden on the other. After him comes Joshua, of whom it is said in the Bible (Josh. vi. 27), 'So the Lord was with Joshua, and his fame was noised throughout all the country;' his coins went over all the world. Of what kind were they? A bull on the one side, and a buffalo on the other; according to the saying (Deut. xxxiii. 17), 'His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of unicorns' (דִּנְיָ). Then David, according to the words (1 Chron. xiv. 17), 'And the fame of David went out into all lands,' so also his coins went over all the world. And what were they? A shepherd's wallet and staff on one side, and a tower on the other, according to the verse (Solomon's Song iv. 4), 'Thy neck is like the tower of David.' Lastly, Mordecai, of whom it is said (Esther ix. 4), 'For Mordecai was great in the king's house, and his fame went out throughout all the provinces.' So coins are also attributed to him. How may they be described? Sackcloth and ashes on one side, and a crown of gold on the other.

"We may compare with this passage from Midrasch another in the *Talmud* (*Baba Kama*, 97 b). It is said in the Boraitha, 'How did the coins of Jerusalem look? (אִזְרוֹ מַמְבֵּט)

¹ "Jüd. Münzen," pp. 159-163; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 334-338.

² "See Chwolson: 'Ueber die Ueberreste der Babylonischen Literatur,' pp. 53 and 73; comp. Gutschmid, 'Die nabathaische Landwirthschaft und ihre Geschwister,' in the 'Zeitschrift der deutsch. Morgenl. Gesell.' xv. p. 42."

³ "The interpretation of the Midrasch rests upon a play upon

words: *moneta* (coin) and *monitum* (remembrance), both from *mones*, resounding again in מוֹנֵטִין (see Beer, 'Das Leben Abraham's,' p. 209). Cf. also Isid. 'De Orig.' xvi. 17, 'moneta, quia monet, ne qua fraus in metallo vel pondere fiat;' therefore also derived from a kind of Midrasch, instead of from the *Juno moneta*, in whose Temple there was a mint."

(של ירושלים). David and Solomon on the one side, and Jerusalem, the holy city, on the other. And how the coins of our Patriarch Abraham? An old man on one side, and a youth and maiden on the other.' Whereupon Raschi adds, 'Old man and woman, that is Abraham and Sarah; youth and maiden, that is Isaac and Rebecca.'

"These are the chief passages, which, from the directions they contain, have, in a measure, served for the fabrication of so great a quantity of false Jewish coins, that in former times they nearly surpassed the authentic ones in number. So that we must not be surprised when we find that *savants* of the last century assert that they had not met with a single authentic Jewish coin in any cabinet.¹ But that originals of these specimens were once extant, as some numismatists wish to affirm, in accordance with the judgment of some teachers of the Talmud, we must deny. We think that no Rabbi of the time of the Talmud ever had before him the original of such a coin; the assertion is, as has been shown, a mere play upon the word '*moneta*,' and the description of the coins is but taken from the Greek and Roman coins, the types of which they could no longer interpret, but explained as well as they could. This is also the case with the passage quoted from the Talmud, 'What is the coin of Jerusalem?' which far from explaining the above given *מעות ירושלמיות*, which was already not understood, endeavours to extract some meaning from the types found on Imperial Roman coins, and thus originated the fancy that a coin of Jerusalem had been seen.

"The fabricators of these coins have on the whole gone very clumsily to work. The Abraham coin has, in fact, no image; it appears somewhat in the following manner:²

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
א ש	י ר
זקן וקניה	בחור ובתולה
א ש	י ר

according to the Midrasch, Talmud and its commentators.³

"On other fabricated coins, they have not even faithfully followed those works, as, for instance, there is one with the inscription *דוד המלך ובנו שלמה המלך*, i.e. 'King David and his son King Solomon,' and on the other side, round a city or tower, *ירושלם עיר*, i.e. 'Jerusalem the holy city.' Consistently with this the *Talmud* (*Jerus. Sanhedrin*, 2, 3) also ascribes coins to King Saul; 'Abigail, David's wife, refused to own his royalty, as Saul's money was still current (*עדיין מוניטא דמלך שאול קיים*). Probably here also *monitum*—*remembrance, reputation*, may have been implied.

"Another coin has round an image of Solomon, bearing a crown on his head, the

¹ "Rasche, 'Die Kenntnisse antiker Münzen,' p. 40." [Also Pinkerton, in his "Essays on Medals," vol. i. p. 291, "Hebrew shekels and brass coins with the Samaritan characters are generally fabrications of modern Jews; the admission of but one of them is rightly esteemed to be a disgrace to a cabinet!"]

² "For illustrations of this kind of coin, see Hottinger, 'Cippi Hebraici;' Froelich, 'Annales Syriæ;' Leusden, 'Philologus Hebr. mixtus,' ii. p. 129, ed. Ultrajecti."

³ "The single letters are intended to denote the names of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca."

words שלמה המלך, 'The King Solomon,' and on the other side, round a building, which should represent the Temple built by him, היכל שלמה 'Solomon's Temple.' Even the image of Moses with his name on one side and on the other the verse (Exodus xx. 3): לא יהיה לך אלהים אחרים על פני, 'Thou shalt have no other Gods before me,' are found as coin types. Very frequent is a coin with the head of Christ, and the name ישו 'Jesu' and the wonderful inscription on the reverse, משיח מלך בא בשלום אדם עשוי, i.e. 'The King Messiah comes in peace, God is made man.'¹

"Other forgeries are made with more or less skill, either from authentic original coins of the Jews, or from descriptions of them. The notorious Becker, who possessed no inconsiderable knowledge of numismatics, and noted skill in copying old original coins, had also in his list² a shekel of Simon of the year II., and this is faithfully copied from an original specimen. The inscription is also copied from it, and is in old Hebrew writing. The other current shekels have the square writing. One of them goes as far back as King David, and has the absurd inscription, שקל דוד נשאר בלם באוצר ציון בבית המקדש, i.e. 'Shekel of David, which remained hidden in the treasure of Zion in the Sanctuary,' written round a tree, at the sides of which are found an urn with a crown, and an anointing horn, and the letter ש (short for שקל?). The other side has a vase with a three-fold bough, together with a crown and horn, and above these the letters ש ב are brought in, יהוה שמר ישראל (מלך) כבוד בירושלים, i.e. 'The Lord is Israel's guardian, King of Glory (?) in Jerusalem.' The most frequent, however, is a very

¹ "Other similar coins, such as those of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, we pass over here; they are found in the writings above specified."

[This legend is sometimes varied, and is read "Messiah the King came in peace and being made the light of men, He lives" (Rev. C. W. King, "Early Christian Numismatics," 1873, p. 104; A. Way, in the same volume, pp. 297, 298); or, "Jesus Nazarenus Messias Deus et homo simul" (A. Way, *op. cit.* p. 299). The Rev. R. Walsh, in his "Essay on ancient coins, medals and gems, as illustrating the progress of Christianity in the early ages" (1828), considers (p. 10) that "the very circumstance of the head of Christ wanting a nimbus of glory, is a presumption amounting to a certainty, that it was not fabricated after the seventh century, at which time that symbol of sanctity was adopted as a distinctive mark of sacred persons, and it was considered impious to depict them without it." But putting on one side this and other descriptive nonsense, as given by Mr. Walsh, there is no doubt that these medals were made after the description of Christ in the apocryphal letter of Lentulus to the Roman Senate (Fabric. "Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test." pp. 301, 302; see Didron, "Christian Iconography," ed. Bohn, 1851, vol. i. p. 246) about the middle of the sixteenth century, by Italian artists, by the order of some admirer of our Saviour, and perhaps even by order of John Pico, Prince of Mirandola, A.D. 1490-1533, of whom there is a beautiful gold coin with his portrait in the British Museum (cf. Köhler, "Münz-Belustigung," vol. vi. p. 357, Nuremberg, 1734). Many similar medals were also made at this period ("Museum Mazzuchellia-

num," pl. i. Ven. 1761, 2 vols. fol.). In any case their age is sufficiently shown by their being cast, not struck, in addition to their bearing modern Hebrew characters (cf. Madden, "Num. Chron." n.s. 1866, vol. vi. p. 186, note 58).]

² "Pinder, 'Die Becker'schen falschen Münzen beleuchtet,' p. 27, No. 127." [Cf. T. J. Arnold, "Becker's Forgeries," in "Num. Chron." n.s. 1863, vol. iii. p. 246.

By the kindness of the Rev. S. S. Lewis I have been favoured with a sight of some very curious silver pieces in the collection of Mr. Whittall of Smyrna, which I have no hesitation in stating to be forgeries, an opinion in which Mr. Lewis also concurs, though it must be added that the owner is convinced of their genuineness. They consist of a shekel and half-shekel of the "year 2" and a shekel of the "year 3," weighing respectively 54½ grains, 34 grains, and 60 grains. It has been suggested that they were struck on some pieces of the Seljukid dynasty. Apart from their thinness and small weight, the lettering is very bad, and on the shekel of the "year 3" the legend reads from left to right—

השורקה מלשורה?

A large silver coin, the size of a five-shilling piece, bearing the legends of the shekel of the "year 4," and weighing 368 grains, is in the possession of Colonel Warren, R.E., who obtained it at Jerusalem about the year 1874. Col. Warren considers it to be a copy of some coin or token, specimens of which do not now exist. The lettering on this piece is not only very bad, but very peculiar. I believe that some are disposed to consider it genuine, but I am not of that opinion.]

large silver piece (cast) with an olive-branch with many leaves and buds, and the inscription ירושלים הקדושה 'The Holy Jerusalem' on one side, and on the other, round a vessel, from which issues smoke, שקל ישראל 'Shekel of Israel.' Whoever has seen a genuine shekel will hardly allow himself to be deceived by so bungling a performance; apart from other signs, the legend in *square Hebrew writing* is especially the surest mark of forgery."¹

E. LIST OF WORKS AND PAPERS IN CONNEXION WITH JEWISH NUMISMATICS PUBLISHED SINCE 1849.²

- 1 (1849). C. CAVEDONI, "Numismatica Biblica o sia Dichiarazioni delle Monete Antiche Memorata nelle Sante Scritture," in the "Memorie di Religione, di Morale et di Letteratura," III. ix. pp. 321-356. Modena.
- 2 (1850). C. CAVEDONI, "Numismatica Biblica," etc., in the "Mem. Rel." III. x. pp. 5-59; 293-335; xi. pp. 5-25. Modena.
Nos. 1 and 2 were translated into German in 1855. See No. 10. They were published as a separate volume at Modena in 1850.
- 3 (1853). F. DE SAULCY, "Sur les monnaies de cuivre frappées à Jérusalem par l'ordre des gouverneurs Romains de la Judée, depuis le règne d'Auguste jusqu'à celui de Néron," in the "Revue Numismatique," p. 186.
- 4 (1854). REV. H. J. ROSE, "On the Jewish Shekel," in the "Numismatic Chronicle," o.s. vol. xvi. p. 89.

¹[In 1859 spurious shekels with the ordinary Hebrew characters found a ready sale in London, each specimen being described as "a correct copy and representation of the old Hebrew money (from an original which can be seen at Messrs. Pinches & Co., medallists, etc., 27, Oxendon Street), current during the lifetime of our Saviour, for 30 pieces of which he was betrayed by Judas Iscariot" (Evans, "Num. Chron." o.s. 1859, vol. xx. p. 8, note 2). A remarkable work, entitled, "One of the thirty," edited by H. Jennings, and published by J. C. Hotten (now the property of Messrs. Chatto and Windus), gives an ideal history of the supposed original of one of those pieces of silver for which our Lord was sold. The search for the piece and its ultimate discovery are fully described (pp. 343-348), and it is stated to have been of the size of a *crown piece* (see p. 316, note 2). The representation of the coin on the cover, and on the title-page of this volume, gives an imitation from a silver shekel of the first year of Simon Maccabæus (B.C. 141-140; see CHAPTER V., p. 67), the cup is totally different from that on the genuine coins and the lettering of the inscription—שקל ישראל—is very bad.

The genuine example of "one of the the thirty" has been already alluded to (APPENDIX B. p. 297).

The legend of the "thirty pieces of silver" paid to Judas occurs among some short pieces at the end of the MS. of Elias of Nisibis in the India Office, London. They were made by Terah and descended to Isaac, came to Pharaoh, were sent by Pharaoh to Solomon, and after many adventures were sent by king Abgarus to Jesus with the seamless coat. Our Lord paid them into the Treasury of the Temple, from which they were taken to be given to Judas (Prof. W. Robertson Smith, review of Prof. de Lagarde's "Prætermisorum Libri duo," 1879, in the "Academy," Nov. 20, 1880, p. 369).]

² Though my Catalogue does not commence till 1849, I must allude to the late J. Y. Akerman's "Numismatic Illustrations of the Gospels and of the Acts of the Apostles," published in 1846, which are also printed in the "Num. Chron." o.s. vol. viii. p. 133 *seq.* and vol. ix. p. 17 *seq.* This work is illustrated with 30 excellent woodcuts and a plate.

- 5 (1854). F. DE SAULCY, "Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque." Paris.

In this work the shekels, etc., are assigned to Jaddua the high-priest at the time of Alexander the Great, an attribution afterwards abandoned. See CHAPTER IV. p. 50, note 1, and Nos. 40, 50.

- 6 (1855). C. CAVEDONI, "Appendice alla Numismatica Biblica," and "Postilla all' Appendice," in the "Mem. Rel." III. xviii. pp. 180-248, 455-456. Modena.

Translated into German in 1856. See No. 11.

- 7 (1855). F. DE SAULCY, "On Jewish Coins," in the "Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athénæum Français" for January, p. 5.

- 8 (1855). C. CAVEDONI, "Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque par F. de Saulcy," in the "Bulletino Archeologico Napoletano," n.s. No. 65, pp. 113-120; No. 68, pp. 137-142, and "Postilla all' Articolo suddetto" in *op. cit.* No. 73, p. 177. Naples.

These are reviews of M. de Saulcy's work, No. 5.

- 9 (1855). PROFESSOR EWALD, "Reviews of M. de Saulcy's Work," in the "Gött. gel. Anz." No. 65, v. 25, pp. 641-655, and in the "Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen," No. 8, v. 26.

- 10 (1855). A. VON WERLHOF, "Biblische Numismatik oder Erklärung der in der heil. Schrift erwähnten alten Münzen von D. Celestino Cavedoni." Hannover.

This is a German translation of Cavedoni's works, Nos. 1 and 2. At pp. 159-162 there are some additional observations on § 3 of the second chapter, which are not in the original Italian.

- 11 (1856). A. VON WERLHOF, "Biblische Numismatik, etc." Zweiter Theil. Hannover.

This is a German translation of Cavedoni's works, No. 6. It contains an excellent preface by the Translator.

- 12 (1857¹). F. DE SAULCY, "Observations sur la Numismatique Judaïque à propos du Mémoire de M. l'Abbé Cavedoni, 'Appendice alla Numismatica Biblica.' Modena, 1855," in the "Revue Numismatique," p. 280.

This is an examination by M. de Saulcy of Cavedoni's works, No. 6.

- 13 (1857). REV. H. C. REICHARDT, "Inedited coins of Judæa," in the "Zeitschrift der D.M.G." pp. 155, 156. See No. 20.

¹ In this year Cavedoni wrote, "I libri santi illustrati e difesi co' riscontri delle medaglie antiche. Articoli III." in the "Op. Rel." I. i. pp. 5-43, 161-192, 321-343; ii. pp. 58-103, 449-452,

which was published as a separate work. I have not seen a copy. (See "Notizie intorno alla vita ed alle opere di Monsignor Celestino Cavedoni," p. 85, No. 178. Modena, 1866.)

- 14 (1858). C. CAVEDONI, "Nuove osservazioni intorno alla Numismatica Giudaica," in the "Bull. Arch. Nap." n.s. No. 140, pp. 122-127. Naples.

These are further observations on the work of De Saulcy, No. 5.

- 15 (1859). JOHN EVANS, "Review of De Saulcy's 'Numismatique Judaïque,'" in the "Numismatic Chronicle," o.s. vol. xx. p. 8.

- 16 (1860). M. DE VOGÜÉ, "Monnaies Juives. Éléazar," in the "Revue Numismatique," p. 280.

- 17 (1862). DR. LEVY, "Geschichte der Jüdischen Münzen." Breslau.

- 18 (1862). REV. CHURCHILL BABINGTON, "Description of some Unpublished Jewish Coins," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. ii. p. 64.

- 19 (1862). REV. H. C. REICHARDT, "Unpublished Greek Imperial coins—Ælia Capitolina," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. ii. p. 114. See No. 43.

- 20 (1862). REV. H. C. REICHARDT, "Inedited Coins of Judæa," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. ii. p. 268.

Several of the coins here described were previously published in 1857. See No. 13.

- 21 (1863). C. CAVEDONI, "Nuovi studi sopra le antiche Monete Giudaiche," in the "Opuscoli Religiosi Letterarii e Morali," II. i. pp. 161-192. Modena.

This is a review by Cavedoni of Dr. Levy's work, No. 17. Translated into German in 1866. See No. 35.

- 22 (1863). R. S. POOLE, "Money," in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible."

- 23 (1863). NOEL HUMPHREYS, "The First Jewish Shekels," in the "Intellectual Observer," p. 328.

To the errors in this paper I called attention in the "Reader" of December 12th, 1863, and January 2nd, 1864.

- 24 (1864). F. W. MADDEN, "On the Jewish Coins which bear the name of Simon," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. iv. p. 17.

- 25 (1864). F. W. MADDEN, "History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in the Old and New Testaments."

- 26 (1864). REV. H. C. REICHARDT, "Remarks on Some Jewish Coins, etc.," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. iv. p. 174.

- 27 (1864). F. DE SAULCY, "Nouvelles Observations sur la Numismatique Judaïque à propos du livre intitulé 'History of Jewish Coinage,' par F. W. Madden," in the "Rev. Num." n.s. vol. ix. p. 370.

- 28 (1865). F. DE SAULCY, "Lettre à M. J. de Witte sur la Numismatique Judaïque," in the "Rev. Num." n.s. vol. x. p. 29.

This is a continuation of No. 27.

- 29 (1865). F. W. MADDEN, "Remarks in Reply to the New Observations on Jewish Numismatics by M. F. de Saulcy," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. v. p. 191.
- 30 (1865). DR. C. L. GROTEFEND, "Review of the History of Jewish Coinage by F. W. Madden," in the "Jahrbucher des Vereins von Alterthums-freunden im Rheinlande," p. 289.
- 31 (1865). F. W. MADDEN, "Additional Observations on the Jewish Coinage," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. v. p. 342.

These remarks include the new varieties published by Dr. Grotefend. See No. 30.

- 32 (1865). C. CAVEDONI, "Le Principali Questioni riguardanti la Numismatica Giudaica diffinitivamente decise," in the "Op. Rel." II. v. pp. 112-119, 177-191.
- This is a review of Madden's "History of Jewish Coinage," No. 25.

- 33 (1865). RAFFAELE GARRUCCI, "Monete delle due Rivolte Giudaiche," in the "Dissertazioni Archeologiche di vario Argomento," vol. ii. p. 31. Rome.
- 34 (1866). F. W. MADDEN, "Coins of the two Revolts of the Jews," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. vi. p. 36.

This paper gives the classification of the coins of the Revolts proposed by the Padre Garrucci. See No. 33.

- 35 (1866). A. VON WERLHOF, "Neuere Untersuchungen über die antiken Jüdischen Münzen von C. Cavedoni," in the "Münzstudien, herausgegeben von H. Grote," vol. v. pp. 9-37. Leipzig.

This is a German translation of No. 21.

- 36 (1866). REV. H. C. REICHARDT, "Ueber die Münzen Simons des Makkabäerfürsten," in the "Wien Numism. Monatshefte von Dr. Egger."
- 37 (1866). F. DE SAULCY, "Réponse à la Note Critique de M. Madden insérée dans le Numismatique Chronicle. Lettre à M. Alexandre Bertrand," in the "Revue Archéologique," n.s. vol. v. p. 326.

- 38 (1867). REV. H. C. REICHARDT, "On Jewish Coins," in the "Wiener Num. Monatshefte von Dr. Egger," vol. iii. p. 103, *seq.*

- 39 (1868¹). REV. JOHN KENRICK, "Jewish Coins and Hebrew Palæography," in the "Theological Review," No. xxi. April, p. 244.

This is a review of Madden's "Jewish Coinage," No. 25.

- 40 (1868). F. DE SAULCY, "Étude Chronologique des Livres d'Esdras et de Néhémie." Paris.

It is in this publication, as I have already pointed out (CHAPTER IV. p. 44, *note* 4) that De Saulcy attributes the shekels and half-shekels to the time of Ezra. See Nos. 5, and 50.

¹ Dr. Merzbacher ("Zeits. f. Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 185, *note* 1) calls attention to a work by A. Hager, entitled, "Die Münzen der Bibel" (Stuttgart, 1868), but adds that he only names it to warn people from using it. I have not seen it.

- 41 (1869). F. DE SAULCY, "Étude Chronologique de la Vie et des Monnaies des Rois Juifs Agrippa I. et Agrippa II.," in the "Mémoires de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie," p. 26. Paris.
- 42 (1869). F. DE SAULCY, "Note sur quelques Monnaies d'Ascalon, frappées pendant le règne d'Hérode, puis par Salomé sa sœur, et par Archelaüs," in the "Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie," vol. iii. 2nd part, p. 253. "Note sur les Monnaies de Philippe le Tétrarque," in *op. cit.* p. 262. "Numismatique de Tibériade," in *op. cit.* p. 266. Paris.

These three articles are dated March, 1872, though appearing in the volume of the "Annuaire" for 1869.

- 43 (1869). REV. H. C. REICHARDT, "Unpublished Greek Imperial Coins—Ælia Capitolina," in the "Numismatische Zeitschrift," p. 81. Wien. See No. 19.
- 44 (1870). F. W. MADDEN, "Money," in Kitto's "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," ed. Rev. Lindsay Alexander, D.D.
- 45 (1871). REV. H. C. REICHARDT, "Drei merkwürdige Münzen der Könige Agrippa I. und II.," in the "Numismatische Zeitschrift," Dritter Jahrgang (Januar—Jun.), p. 83. Wien.
- 46 (1871). TH. MOMMSEN, "Zu den Münzen Agrippas I. und II.," in the "Numismatische Zeitschrift," Dritter Jahrgang (Jul.—Dec.), p. 449. Wien.
- 47 (1871). F. DE SAULCY, "Catalogue Raisonné de Monnaies Judaïques recueillies à Jérusalem en Novembre, 1869," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. xi. p. 235.
- 48 (1872). F. W. MADDEN, "Jewish Coins," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. xii. p. 1.
This is an examination of De Saulcy's paper, No. 47.

- 49 (1872). FRANÇOIS LENORMANT, "Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'ancien monde." Paris.
Of this work there are at present published only three parts—vol. i. Première livraison, 1872; vol. i. Seconde livraison, 1873, and vol. ii. Première livraison, 1873.
In it (vol. i. pp. 176, 186) the attribution by M. de Saulcy of the shekels and half-shekels to the time of Ezra is unconditionally adopted. See No. 71.

- 50 (1872). F. DE SAULCY, "Numismatique des Macchabées. Recherches sur l'origine du droit monétaire de ces princes," in the "Revue Archéologique," n.s. 1872, p. 1.
The attribution of the shekels, etc., to Ezra, as set forth in De Saulcy's work on "Ezra and Nehemiah" [see No. 40], is here repeated with renewed emphasis. De Saulcy writes: "C'est moi qui suis dans le vrai, et l'erreur est tout entière à mes doctes adversaires."

- 51 (1873). DR. EUGEN MERZBACHER, "De siclis, nummis antiquiss. Jud. diss. inaug." Berol.
This work I have not seen.

52 (1873). DR. EUGEN MERZBACHER, "Jüdische Aufstandsmünzen aus der Zeit Nero's und Hadrian's," in the "Zeitschrift für Numismatik," vol. i. p. 219. Berlin.

53 (1874). F. W. MADDEN, "Jewish Coins and Money of the Bible," in the "Sunday at Home," pp. 68, 117, 197, 260, 308, and 388.

54 (1874). F. R. CONDER, "Measures, Weights, and Coins of the Bible," in the "Bible Educator," vol. ii. pp. 278, 380; vol. iii. pp. 10, 69, 96, 97, 175, 177, 180, 222, 238, 239, 241, 330, 331, 347, 349, 361, 362; vol. iv. pp. 27, 180.

See Nos. 60 and 73.

55 (1874). F. DE SAULCY, "Numismatique de la Terre Sainte." Paris.

56 (1874). "THE ACADEMY." Anonymous article on "Spurious Hebrew Coins," September 5; letters of Mr. Walter Besant and Dr. J. Evans on the same subject, September 12; letter of Mr. F. R. Conder, September 19; letter of Dr. J. Evans, October 24; letter of Mr. F. R. Conder, October 31; letter of Dr. J. Evans, November 14.

This correspondence principally relates, as I have already mentioned (CHAPTER V. p. 69, note 1), to the hoard of Jewish shekels found near Jericho, which Mr. Conder attempted to show were modern forgeries; but his suggestions were proved by Mr. W. Besant and Dr. J. Evans to be totally unfounded. Dr. Merzbacher ("Zeit. für Num." vol. iii. p. 144, Berlin, 1876), in alluding to this find, from which he says he has himself procured several well preserved pieces, writes, "A second *Tychsen* has been discovered, thanks to the praiseworthy energies of Messrs. Evans and Madden."

57 (1874). "THE ATHENÆUM." Letter of Mr. F. R. Conder on "Hebrew Metrology," December 12, and answer to the same by Mr. B. V. Head, December 26.

Mr. Head shows that the pretended Rabbinical distinction between the Mosaic and later shekel is altogether fallacious, and that there is absolutely no evidence that the Jews ever used any other coin shekel than that weighing 220 grains. Cf. Brandis, p. 104, note 3. See APPENDIX A.

58 (1874). F. W. MADDEN, "Jewish Numismatics; being a Supplement to the 'History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in the Old and New Testaments,' published in 1864," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. xiv. p. 281.

59 (1875). F. W. MADDEN, "Jewish Numismatics, etc.," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. xv. pp. 41, 101, 169, and 298.

These papers are in continuation of No. 58.

60 (1875). "THE JEWISH CHRONICLE." Review of Parts I. and II. of my papers on "Jewish Numismatics," September 10, p. 381. See Nos. 58 and 59.

The writer of this review, in examining the theories put forth by Mr. Conder, speaks of the "extraordinary nature of his unfounded assertions," and of the "dogmatic, authoritative

tone of his statements," which might carry away the general reader unless controverted.¹ See CHAPTER X. p. 237, and Nos. 54 and 73.

- 61 (1876). DR. EUGEN MERZBACHER, "Jüdische Sekel," in the "Zeitschrift für Numismatik," vol. iii. p. 141. Berlin.
- 62 (1876). DR. EUGEN MERZBACHER, "Untersuchungen über alt-Hebräische Münzen, I.," in the "Zeitschrift für Num." vol. iii. p. 183. Berlin.
- 63 (1876). F. W. MADDEN, "Jewish Numismatics; being a Supplement to the 'History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in the Old and New Testaments,' published in 1864," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. xvi. pp. 45, 81, and 177.

These writings are in continuation of Nos. 58 and 59.

¹ It is necessary to give the remarks in full, as showing the views that the Jews themselves hold as regards Mr. Conder's interpretations.

"Mr. F. R. Conder, in a series of papers on 'Measures, Weights, and Coins of the Bible,' contributed by him to the 'Bible Educator,' takes exception to the renderings generally given to the inscriptions found on some ancient Hebrew shekels ('Bible Ed.' vol. iii. p. 176). In some of these inscriptions we meet with the word שָׁמַע or שָׁמַעֲנָה, which numismatists take for שִׁמְעוֹן (Simon), the name of the prince, or at least the person, by or for whom the coins were struck. But this simple interpretation fails to give satisfaction to Mr. Conder. According to him, it is not a noun proper, but a verb, yet not derived from שָׁמַע (he has heard), but from some nondescript word which means 'coin.' And he has the boldness to find this coin in Gen. xxiii. 16, which he renders, 'My lord, the land is worth to me four hundred shekels of silver,' instead of, as in the Anglican version, 'My lord, *hearken unto me*, the land is worth four hundred shekels of silver.' Now the Hebrew word in the rendering of which (given by us in italics) Mr. Conder differs from the Anglican version is שָׁמַעֲנָה, a root which occurs hundreds of times in the Bible, and never, as is clear from the contexts, has or can have any other signification save that of attending, hearing, listening, or hearkening. In the very chapter under consideration detailing the conversation between Abraham and the Children of Heth, and subsequently Abraham and Ephron the Hittite, this word occurs no less than six times. It is, therefore, but reasonable to infer that if this root in verse 16 has the meaning given to it by Mr. Conder, 'is worth to me,' it must have the same meaning in verse 13, part and parcel of the same conversation. Its rendering therefore, according to Mr. Conder, must be, 'And he (Abraham) spake unto Ephron in the audience of the people of the land, saying: But if thou wouldest only *be worth to me*, (instead of 'hear me,') I will give thee the money for the field.' And again in verse 11, 'Nay, my lord, *it is worth to me*, (instead of 'hear me,') 'the field give I thee,' and so on in all other passages where the same root occurs. Will any reader of this chapter allow that the contexts can bear the renderings which Mr. Conder must give the word שָׁמַעֲנָה if he wishes to be consistent? But how did he come to discover what escaped the sagacity of all ancient and modern translators of the Bible, as well as the most industrious and critical lexicographers? Because the Talmud in some few places mentions a certain coin which it designates שֶׁמַּעֲנָה or שֶׁמַּע, therefore, Mr. Conder argues, the Biblical שָׁמַעֲנָה must be identical with the rabbinical שֶׁמַּעֲנָה, and this again with the word שָׁמַעֲנָה found on the ancient Hebrew shekels.

Mr. Conder might just as well argue that גַּן (a garden) and גַּנָּן (a thief) are the same because they have two letters alike, or that our English 'cat' and 'cattle' are identical, because the first syllable of the second word is identical with the first word.

"Again, another word occurring in these inscriptions is לְדַרְוֹת, meaning, 'to the deliverance,' viz. from the oppressor. Now this obvious and consistent rendering does not find favour in the sight of the ingenious Mr. Conder. Some other meaning must be found for it, and this he discovers in Exodus xxxii. 16. In this verse the tables on which the commandments were written are described. The words are, 'And the writing was the writing of God, graven (חָרוּת) upon the tables.' It will be seen with the exception of the ל, all other letters of the word under discussion in the inscription of the shekel, and that in the verse quoted, rendered 'graven' are alike. This is quite sufficient evidence for Mr. Conder that the meanings of the two words are identical, and that consequently the word under discussion does not mean 'deliverance,' but 'graven or stamped.' That the two roots may have different vowels and may be derived from different roots does not seem to have occurred to our etymologist. Yet such is the case. The former is an abstract noun with the formative מִן of frequent occurrence in the rabbinical writings derived from the root חָרַךְ, found both in Biblical Hebrew and in Arabic, meaning to be free or of noble birth, and is pronounced חָרִיךְ; the latter is the passive participle of the root חָרַת, akin to חָרַשׁ (to engrave), (and the Greek χαράσσω) scores of times found in the Bible, and pronounced חָרִיט.

"Further, instead of לְדַרְוֹת we find sometimes in the inscription לְנֶאֱמַל (to the redemption). This is a noun found over and over again in the Bible, derived from the root נָאֵל (he redeemed), the signification of which is ascertained beyond all doubt, and which being synonymous with חָרִיט, gives it powerful support. But Mr. Conder has a pet theory. This must be established by hook or by crook. This theory happens to be incompatible with the ascertained meaning 'redemption.' This theory requires some Hebrew word that might be made to mean 'cycle.' Now נֶאֱמַל sounds somewhat like גִּלְתָּ, which may be derived from the root גָּלַל (to roll), and may therefore mean cycle, which as known comes from a Greek word which has an analogous signification. By therefore ascribing to the noun נֶאֱמַל the meaning of the fictitious גִּלְתָּ, Mr. Conder's hypothesis may be triumphantly established. What matter whether true or not? Facts must bend to theories. So Mr. Conder has proved *q. e. d.*, and the 'Bible Educator' has become the medium of enriching Biblical science with a new original discovery."

64 (1877). F. DE SAULCY, "Description de quelques monnaies judaïques, nouvelles et insuffisamment connues," in the "Mélanges de Numismatique" (Jan.—April), p. 85.

65 (1877). J. P. SIX, "Observations sur les monnaies Phéniciennes," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. xvii. pp. 238-239.

In this paper M. Six defends the old attribution of the shekels to Simon Maccabæus.

66 (1877). DR. EUGEN MERZBACHER, "Untersuchungen über alt-Hebräische Münzen, II.," in the "Zeitschrift f. Num." vol. iv. p. 350. Berlin.

This paper, which deals with the coins of the Revolts, is in continuation of No. 62.

67 (1878). DR. A. VON SALLET, "Die Silbermünzen des Barcochba," in the Zeitschrift f. Num." vol. v. p. 110. Berlin.

68 (1878). DR. EUGEN MERZBACHER, "Untersuchungen über alt-Hebräische Münzen, III.," in the "Zeitschrift f. Num." vol. v. p. 151. Berlin.

This paper, which treats of the 'Age of the Shekel,' is in continuation of No. 66.

69 (1878). DR. EUGEN MERZBACHER, "Untersuchungen über alt-Hebräische Münzen, IV.," in the "Zeitschrift f. Num." vol. v. p. 292. Berlin.

This article is devoted to the 'Chronology of the Shekel,' and is a continuation of No. 68.

70 (1878). F. W. MADDEN, "Money and Weights of the Bible," in "The Queen's Printers' Aids to the Student of the Holy Bible," incorporated (1880) with the "Sunday School Centenary Bible," or "Variorum Teacher's Bible." (Eyre and Spottiswoode.)

71 (1878). F. LENORMANT, "La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité," vol. ii. pp. 28, 29, 155. Paris.
In this work M. Lenormant assigns the shekels without a word of explanation and without reserve to Simon Maccabæus. See No. 49.

72 (1879). F. W. MADDEN, "Rare or Unpublished Jewish Coins," in the "Num. Chron." n.s. vol. xix. p. 13.

This article treats of Nos. 46, 49, 61, 65, 67, 68, and 71.

73 (1879). F. R. CONDER, and C. R. CONDER, R.E., "A Handbook to the Bible."

In this volume the Messrs. Conder reproduce some of the statements already referred to under No. 60, and adopt a novel classification and interpretation of Jewish coins. [For example, see CHAPTER VIII. p. 199.] I have simply to call attention to the work, and to state that the numismatic portion thereof is unsound. See "The Athenæum," Jan. 24, 1880. The reviews of this book in the "Saturday Review," Nov. 20, 1879, and "The Academy," Dec. 13, 1879, are in this respect misleading.

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